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THE

Retrospective Review.

NEW SERIES.

Vol. II.—Part I.

A pleasant Comedie, called Summer's last Will and Testament; written by Thomas Nash. Imprinted at London, by Simon Stafford, for Walter Burre. 1600.

The Countrie Girle. A Comedie, as it hath beene often acted with much Applause. Never printed before. By T. B. London, printed for A. R. 1647.

Our articles on the early English Drama, contained in a former part of this work, though making more than one allusion to Thomas Nash, do not contain any account of the only dramatic production which that celebrated wit wrote without assistance, nor of that which he wrote in conjunction with Marlowe. The reason of this omission was their excessive rarity, which, at the time, precluded our getting access to them. That industrious labourer in the fields of dramatic literature, Langbaine, although living so much nearer the time of their publication, could never procure a sight of either of them. The omission, however, we are now enabled to supply, and shall, therefore, proceed to give an account of "Summer's last Will and Testament," written by Nash alone; and we shall also slightly touch on the other play, "Dido, Queen of Carthage," which has lately been reprinted from one of the two old copies which are alone known to exist.

Nash was born in the town of Leostoff, or Lowestoft, a small sea-port on the coast of Suffolk, about the year 1564, and became a student of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he remained seven years. He was chiefly distinguished for the active part he took in the literary warfare between the Puritans

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and the Episcopalians. Nash took the side of the establishment, and attacked Martin Mar-prelate (the name by which the Puritans were designated), with such power of ridicule and invective, that he was chiefly instrumental in silencing him. He also engaged in a bitter conflict with Gabriel Harvey, which was carried to such a pitch of violence, that the Archbishop of Canterbury issued an order, "that all Nash's books and Harvey's books be taken wheresoever they may be found, and that none of the said books be ever printed hereafter."

Nash was, like most of the wits of his time, poor: he gives a very miserable account of himself on this head, in a passage in his "Pierce Pennilesse, his Supplication to the Devil," quoted in one of the articles before referred to; and in the same work he sues for a patron, in a strain which appears to be wrung from him by the hard gripe of poverty. The passage is so curious and characteristic, and part of it is penned with such beauty of expression, that we are tempted to quote it. "Gentles," says he, addressing the Public, "it is not your lay Chronigraphers, that write of nothing but Mayors and Sheriffs, and the dear year, and the great frost, that can endow your names with never-dated glory; for they want the wings of choice words to fly to heaven, which we have: they cannot sweeten a discourse, or wrest admiration from men reading, as we can, reporting the meanest accident. Poetry is the honey of all flowers, the quintessence of all sciences, the marrow of all wits, and the very phrase of angels: how much better is it, then, to have an elegant lawyer to plead one's cause, than a strutting townsman that looseth himself in his tale, and doth nothing but make legs. So much it is better for a nobleman or gentleman to have his honour's story related, and his deeds emblazon'd by a poet, than a citizen."—"For my part, I do challenge no praise of learning to myself; yet have I worn a gown in the university: but this I dare presume, that if any Mecænas bind me to him by his bounty, or extend some sound liberality to me worth the speaking of, I will do him as much honour as any poet of my beardless years shall in England. Not that I am so confident what I can do, but that I attribute so much to my thankful mind above others, which, I am persuaded, would enable me to work miracles. On the contrary side, if I be evil intreated, or sent away with a flea in my ear, let him look that I will rail on him soundly: not for an hour or a day, while the injury is fresh in my memory, but in some elaborate polished poem, which I will leave to the world when I am dead, to be a living image to all ages, of his beggarly parsimony and ignoble illiberality: and let him not (whatsoever he be) measure the weight of my words by this book, where I write *quicquid in buccam veneret*, as fast as my hand can trot; but I have terms (if I be vext) laid in steep in aquafortis and gun-

powder, that shall rattle through the skies, and make an earthquake in a peasant's ears."

Nash enjoyed great reputation amongst the poets of the time, and is much commended by them. His various literary labours, however, brought him neither wealth nor contentment. "I am grown," he says, "at length to see into the vanity of the world more than ever I did, and now I condemn myself for nothing so much as playing the dolt in print." He died in the year 1600 or 1601.

"Summer's last Will and Testament," of which we propose to give an account in this article, is a singular production. It is between a pageant and a play, has not sufficient of spectacle for the former, nor of dialogue for the latter, and is spoiled for both. Written by an accomplished scholar, it is remarkably destitute of art, or contrivance, or design: it is the offspring of whim, the bantling of a mad wit, with a patrimony of most prodigal tongue. To adopt his own apology for it—"Wit hath his dregs as well as wine; words their waste; ink his blots." Nash occasionally wrote in a figurative, nay, poetical vein in his prose, but seldom in his verse. In the production before us, we meet not with poetical descriptions of the seasons, as might have been expected, with the beauties of summer, or the terrors of winter: Flora scatters not her flowers, nor Pomona her fruits. The author's almost irrepressible tendency is to satire; if he commences with any thing of the beautiful, ten to one that it winds up with satire, or ends in vituperation. Never man possessed a greater fecundity of abuse: he was the very knight-errant of satirical invective; he possessed an armoury of bitter words, which seems inexhaustible; all of them sharpened, not polished for the fight. The war of words is his felicity, he enjoys it with rapture; and at the same time that he is the bitterest, he is one of the pleasantest of satirists.

But to proceed with the "Pleasant Comedy of Summer's last Will and Testament."—The prologue is curious and characteristic of the author; it is spoken by the clown:

"At a solemn feast of the Triumviri in Rome, it was seen and observed, that the birds ceased to sing, and sat solitary on the housetops, by reason of a sight of a painted serpent set openly to view. So fares it with us novices, that here betray our imperfections: we, afraid to look on the imaginary serpent of envy, painted in men's affections, have ceased to tune any music of mirth to your ears this twelvemonth, thinking, that as it is the nature of the serpent to hiss, so childhood and ignorance would play the goslings, contemning and condemming what they understood not. Their censures we weigh not, whose senses are not yet unswaddled. The little minutes will be continually striking, though no man regard them. Whelps will bark before they can see, and strive to bite before they have teeth. Politicians speak of a beast, who, while he is cut on the table, drinketh,

and represents the motions and voices of a living creature. Such like foolish beasts are we, who whilst we are cut, mocked, and flouted at, in every man's common talk, will notwithstanding proceed to shame ourselves, to make sport. No man pleaseth all; we seek to please one. Didymus wrote four thousand books, or as some say, six thousand, of the art of grammar. Our author hopes, it may be as lawful for him to write a thousand lines of as light a subject. Socrates (whom the Oracle pronounced the wisest man of Greece) sometimes danced; Scipio and Lelius by the seaside played at pebble-stones. Semel infatuimus omnes. Every man cannot, with Archimedes, make a heaven of brass, or dig gold out of the iron mines of the law. Such odd trifles, as mathematicians' experiments be, artificial flies to hang in the air by themselves, dancing balls, an egg-shell that shall climb up to the top of a speard, fiery breathing gores, Poeta noster professeth not to make. Placeat sibi quisque licebit: what's a fool but his bable? Deep reaching wits! here is no deep stream for you to angle in. Moralizers! you that wrest a never meant meaning out of every thing, applying all things to the present time, keep your attention for the common stage: for here are no quips in characters for you to read. Vain glozers, gather what you will. Spite, spell backwards, what thou canst. As the Parthians fight flying away; so will we prate and talk, but stand to nothing what we say."

Summer, "Harvest and Age having whitened his green head," determines to make his last will and testament; but, in order to know what he has to bequeath, it is first necessary to summon his officers, to give an account of the wealth they were intrusted with. One of the chief interlocutors is a clown, or fool, who criticises the characters, and makes remarks on what is passing.

Ver, the spring, is first summoned into court, and enters " with his train, overlaid with suits of green moss, representing short grass, singing

> Spring, the sweet spring, is the year's pleasant king,
> Then blooms each thing, then maids dance in a ring;
> Cold doth not sting; the pretty birds do sing
> Cuckow, jugge, jugge, pu we, to witta woo.
> The palm and may make country houses gay.
> Lambs frisk and play, the shepherds pipe all day;
> And we hear aye birds tune this merry lay,
> Cuckow, jugge, jugge, pu we, to witta woo.
> The fields breathe sweet, the daisies kiss our feet,
> Young lovers meet, old wives a sunning sit;
> In every street these tunes our ears do greet,
> Cuckow, jugge, jugge, pu we, to witta woo."

Ver being ordered to give an account of his stewardship, goes out and returns with " the hobby-horse and morris dancers, who dance about."

Ver proves an unthrift, and justifies himself in the following manner :—

" *Ver.* This world is transitory ; it was made of nothing, and it must to nothing: wherefore, if we will do the will of our high Creator (whose will it is, that it pass to nothing), we must help to consume it to nothing. Gold is more vile than men. Men die in thousands and ten thousands, yea, many times in hundred thousands in one battle. If, then, the best husband be so liberal of his best handywork, to what end should we make much of a glittering excrement, or doubt to spend at a banquet as many pounds as he spends men at a battle? Methinks I honour Geta, the Roman emperor, for a brave-minded fellow; for he commanded a banquet to be made him of all meats under the sun, which were served in after the order of the alphabet; and the clerk of the kitchen following with the last dish (which was two miles off from the foremost), brought him an index of their several names. Neither did he pingle* when it was set on the board, but for the space of three days and three nights never rose from the table.

Will Summer. O intolerable lying villain, that was never begotten without the consent of a whetstone.

Summer. Ungracious man, how fondly he argueth!

Ver. Tell me, I pray, wherefore was gold laid under our feet in the veins of the earth, but that we should contemn it, and tread upon it, and so consequently tread thrift under our feet. It was not known till the iron age, donec facinus invasit mortales, as the poet says ; and the Scythians always detested it. I will prove it, that an unthrift, of any, comes nearest a happy man, in so much he comes nearest to beggary. Cicero saith, summum bonum consists in omnium rerum vacatione, that is the chiefest felicity that may be, to rest from all labours. Now, who doeth so much vacare a rebus, who rests so much? Who hath so little to do as the beggar? Who can sing so merry a note as he that cannot change a groat? Cui nil est, nil deest: he that hath nothing, wants nothing. On the other side it is said of the Carle, Omnia habeo, nec quicquam habeo: I have all things, yet want every thing. Multi mihi vitio vertunt, quia egeo, saith Marcus Cato in Aulus Gellius, at ego illis quia nequeunt egere: Many upbraid me, saith he, because I am poor ; but I upbraid them, because they cannot live if they were poor. It is a common proverb, Divesque miserque, a rich man, and a miserable: nam natura paucis contenta, none so contented as the poor man. Admit that the chiefest happiness were not rest or ease, but knowledge, as Herillus, Alcidamus, and many of Socrates' followers affirm; why, paupertas omnes perdocet artes, poverty instructs a man in all arts, it makes a man hardy and venturous ; and, therefore, it is called of the poets, paupertas audax, valiant poverty. It is not so much subject to inordinate desires as wealth or prosperity. Non abet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem: poverty hath not wherewithal to feed lust. All the poets were beggars: all alchymists and all philosophers are beggars: Omnia mea mecum porto, quoth Bias, when he had nothing but bread and cheese in a leathern bag, and two or three books in his bosom: Saint Francis was a holy saint, and never had any money. It is madness to

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* Pingle, to eat with very little appetite.

dote upon music. That young man of Athens (Ælianus makes mention of) may be an example to us, who doted so extremely on the image of fortune, that when he might not enjoy it he died for sorrow. The earth yields all her fruits together, and why should we not spend them together? I thank heaven on my knees, that have made me an unthrift."

Ver is condemned, by way of penance, never to appear, "but Lent shall wait on him."

Solstitium is next called in: he appears like an aged hermit, with a pair of balances and a white hour-glass in one hand, and a black one in the other; the one to measure the day, and the other the night. Little had been committed to Solstitium, and he renders a proper account. Summer regrets that his modesty had kept him out of sight, that his good deserts might have had their reward. The poet here takes occasion to introduce a little satire on the Queen.

"*Solst.* Deserts, my lord, of ancient servitors,
Are like old sores that may not be ript up:
Such use these times have got, that none must beg,
But those that have young limbs to lavish fast."

Sol is next brought into court, is abused on all sides, and condemned to be long eclipsed by the moon.

He is succeeded by Orion, the "gentleman dog-keeper," who is accused of causing pestilence in the dog-days. Orion justifies himself, or rather the canine race, at some length. The culprit is then banished for a year and a day.

Harvest is the next personage who is called to account, and is commended and ordered to rest from labour until the year is renewed. Harvest is introduced "with a scythe on his neck, and all his reapers with sickles, and a great black bowl with a posset in it borne before him." They come in singing a stanza, which "Ivanhoe" has made familiar to modern readers.

"Merry, merry, merry, cheary, cheary, cheary,
Trowl the black bowl to me,
Hey derry, derry, with a poupe and a lery,
I 'll trowl it again to thee:
Hooky hooky, we have shorn,
And we have bound,
And we have brought harvest
Home to town."

Bacchus is the next who makes his entry, and is condemned.

Summer, after lamenting over the bad account rendered by his servants, bequeaths his crown to Autumn, which excites warm indignation in the cold breast of Winter, who abuses Autumn amongst other things that he and Spring are the favourites of scholars, whom he then takes occasion to vituperate, and gives a

satirical history of learning, which is curious, and though long, we are tempted to quote it.

" *Winter.* What scholars are, what thriftless kind of men,
Yourself be judge, and judge of him by them.
When Cerberus was headlong drawn from hell,
He voided a black poison from his mouth,
Called aconitum, whereof ink was made:
That ink with reeds first laid on dried barks
Serv'd men awhile to make rude works withal,
Till Hermes, secretary to the gods,
Or Hermes Trismegistus, as some will,
Wearied with graving in blind characters,
And figures of familiar beasts and plants,
Invented letters to write lies withal.
In them he penn'd the fables of the gods,
The giants' war, and thousand tales besides.
After each nation got these toys in use,
There grew up certain drunken parasites,
Term'd poets, which for a meal's meat or two,
Would promise monarchs immortality;
They vomited in verse all that they knew,
Found causes and beginnings of the world,
Fetch'd pedigrees of mountains and of floods,
From men and women whom the Gods transform'd:
If any town or city they pass'd by,
Had in compassion (thinking them mad men)
Forborne to whip them, or imprison them,
That city was not built by human hands,
'Twas rais'd by music, like Megara walls;
Apollo, poets' patron, founded it,
Because they found one sitting favour there;
Musæus, Linus, Homer, Orpheus,
Were of this trade, and thereby won their fame.
Will Summer. Fama malum, quo non velocius ullum.
Winter. Next them, a company of ragged knaves,
Sun-bathing beggars, lazy hedge creepers,
Sleeping face upwards in the fields all night,
Dream'd strange devices of the sun and moon,
And they, like gipsies wandering up and down,
Told fortunes, juggled, nicknam'd all the stars,
And were of idiots term'd philosophers:
Such was Pythagoras the silencer,
Prometheus, Thales, Milesius,
Who would all things of water should be made;
Anaximander, Anaximenes,
That positively said the air was God;
Zenocrates, that said there were eight Gods;
And Crotoniatis Alcmeon too,
Who thought the sun, and moon, and stars were Gods:
The poorer sort of them that could get nought,

Profest, like beggarly Franciscan Friars,
And the strict order of the Capuchins,
A voluntary wretched poverty,
Contempt of gold, thin fare, and lying hard:
Yet he was most vehement in these.
Diogenes, the Cynic and the dog,
Was taken coining money in his cell.

Will Summer. What an old ass was that! Methinks he should have coined carrot roots rather: for as for money, he had no use for it, except it were to melt, and solder up holes in his tub withal.

Winter. It were a whole Olympiad's work to tell
How many devilish, ergo armed arts,
Sprung all as vices, of this idleness;
For even as soldiers not employed in wars,
But living loosely in a quiet state,
Not having wherewithal to maintain pride,
Nay scarce to find their bellies any food;
Nought but walk melancholy, and devise
How they may cozen merchants, fleece young heirs,
Creep into favour by betraying men,
Rob churches, beg waste toys, court city dames,
Who shall undo their husbands for their sakes:
The baser rabble how to cheat and steal,
And yet be free from penalty of death.
So those sword warriors, lazy star gazers,
Used to no labour but to louse themselves,
Had their heads fill'd with cozening fantasies;
They plotted how to make their poverty
Better esteemed of than high sovereignty:
They thought how they might plant a heaven on earth,
Whereof they would be principal louse gods;
That heaven they called Contemplation,
As much to say, as a most pleasant sloth,
Which better I cannot compare than this,
That if a fellow licensed to beg,
Should all his lifetime go from fair to fair
And buy gape-seed, having no business else.
That contemplation, like an aged weed,
Engendered thousand sects, and all those sects
Were but, at these times, cunning shrouded rogues,
Grammarians some; and wherein differ they
From beggars, that profess the pedlers' French?
The poets next, slovenly tatter'd slaves,
That wander and sell ballads in the streets.
Historiographers others there be,
And they like lazars by the high wayside,
That for a penny, or a half penny,
Will call each knave a good fac'd gentleman,
Give honor unto tinkers for good ale,
Prefer a cobbler 'fore the black prince far,
If he bestow but blacking of their shoes:

And as it is the spittle-houses guise,
Over the gate to write their founders' names,
Or on the outside of their walls at least,
In hope by their examples others mov'd,
Will be more bountiful and liberal;
So in the forefront of their chronicles,
Or peroratione operis,
They learning's benefactors reckon up,
Who built this college, who gave that free school,
What king or queen advanced scholars most,
And in their times what writers flourished;
Rich men and magistrates whilst yet they live,
They flatter palpably, in hope of gain.
Smooth-tongued orators, the fourth in place,
Lawyers, our commonwealth entitles them,
Mere swash-bucklers, and ruffianly mates,
That will for twelve pence make a doughty fray,
Set men for straws together by the ears.
Sky measuring mathematicians;
Gold-breathing alchymists also we have,
Both which are subtile humorists,
That get their meals by telling miracles,
Which they have seen in travelling the skies,
Vain boasters, liars, make-shifts, they are all.
Men that removed from their inkhorn terms,
Bring forth no action worthy of their bread.
What should I speak of pale physicians?
Who as Fismenus non nasatus was,
(Upon a wager that his friend had laid,)
Hir'd to live in a privy a whole year:
So are they hir'd for lucre and for gain,
All their whole life to smell on excrements.

Will Summer. Very true, for I have heard it for a proverb many a time and oft, Hunc os fœtidum, fah, he stinks like a physician.

Winter. Innumerable monstrous practices
Hath loit'ring contemplation brought forth more,
Which 'twere too long particular to recite:
Suffice they all conduce unto this end,
To banish labour, nourish slothfulness,
Pamper up lust, devise new fangled sins.
Nay I will justify there is no vice,
Which learning and vild knowledge brought not in,
Or in whose praise some learned have not wrote.
The art of murther Machiavel hath penn'd:
Whoredom hath Ovid to uphold her throne:
And Aretine in late of Italy,
Whose Cortigiana teaches bawds their trade.
Gluttony Epicurus doth defend,
And books of the art of cookery confirm;
Of which Platoria hath not writ the least.
Drunkenness of his good behaviour

Hath testimonial from where he was born:
That pleasant work de Arte bidendi,
A drunken Dutchman spued out few years since.
Nor wanteth sloth (although sloth's plague he want)
His paper pillars for to lean upon:
The praise of nothing pleads his worthiness.
Folly Erasmus sets a flourish on.
For baldness, a bald ass, I have forgot,
Patch'd up a pamphletary periwig.
Slovenry Grobianus magnifieth.
Sodomitry a cardinal commends,
And Aristotle necessary deems.
In brief all books, divinity except,
Are nought but tales of the devil's laws,
Poison wrapt up in sugar'd words,
Man's pride, damnation's props, the world's abuse:
Then censure (good my lord) what bookmen are;
If they be pestilent members in a state,
He is unfit to sit at stern of state,
That favours such as will o'erthrow his state:
Blest is that government where no art thrives,
Vox populi, vox Dei:
The vulgar's voice, it is the voice of God.
Yet Tully saith, Non est consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen, non differentia:
The vulgar have no learning, wit, nor sense.
Themistocles having spent all his time
In study of philosophy and arts,
And noting well the vanity of them,
Wish'd, with repentance for his folly past,
Some would teach him the art of oblivion,
How to forget th' arts that he had learn'd.
And Cicero, whom we alleg'd before,
(As saith Valerius) stepping into old age,
Despised learning, loathed eloquence.
Naso, that could speak nothing but pure verse,
And had more wit than words to utter it,
And words as choice as ever poet had.

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* * * * * *
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You that be wise, and ever mean to thrive,
O study not these toys we sluggards use,
But follow arms, and wait on barbarous wars.
Young men, young boys, beware of schoolmasters,
They will infect you, mar you, blear your eyes:
They seek to lay the curse of God on you,
Namely, confusion of languages,
Wherewith those that the Tower of Babel built
Accursed were in the world's infancy.

Latin, it was the speech of infidels:
Logic hath nought to say in a true cause:
Philosophy is curiosity;
And Socrates was therefore put to death,
Only for he was a philosopher."

Winter obtains a partial success from this elaborate speech, and is made treasurer and protector over Autumn. Autumn refuses a crown on such conditions, and in his turn becomes the accuser of Winter and his sons Christmas and Back-winter, and in the end these two varlets are brought before the court. Christmas is accused of inhospitality, and is admonished to mend his manners. Back-winter is ordered to be imprisoned until Winter becomes faint and weak and wants his assistance. After Summer has bequeathed his withered flowers " unto dead corses for to deck them with," and made other similar bequests, the piece closes with a panegyric on Queen Elizabeth, then on one of her progresses.

We have said that Nash does sometimes write in a poetical vein in his prose compositions, and in proof of it we are tempted to quote a touching little eulogy on Henry Smith, a celebrated preacher of that time.

" Silver-tongued Smith," says Nash, " whose well-tuned style hath made thy death the general tears of the muses, quaintly couldst thou devise heavenly ditties to Apollo's lute, and teach stately verse to trip it as smoothly, as if Ovid and thou had but one soul. Hence alone did it proceed that thou wert such a plausible pulpit man: before thou enteredest into the wonderful ways of theology, thou refinedst, preparedst, and revivifiedst thy wings with sweet poetry. If a simple man's censure may be admitted to speak in such an open theatre of opinions, I never saw abundant reading better mixt with delight, or sentences which no man can challenge of profane affectation, sounding more melodious to the ear or piercing more deep to the heart."

Dido, which was published in 1594, is in its form and construction a regular tragedy, and chiefly derived from Virgil. It appears to us, from internal evidence, that Nash wrote the greater portion, indeed nearly the whole, of this play. The only part which we can decidedly ascribe to Marlowe's hand is the greater part of the first scene of the third act, and the conclusion of the second act; although we can trace him in several places where he appears to have added a few touches, but of no great extent. As a drama Dido is very defective; it rather resembles a narrative poem than a play; and, although on a pathetic subject, is almost without pathos or passion of any kind. The versification, except what clearly belongs to Marlowe, is constrained and stiff, though sufficiently regular. The part which we have ascribed to Marlowe is very distinguishable from the rest; it is characterized by the overrichness, the gorgeousness

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of imagery in which Marlowe sometimes indulged, as well as by the superior melody of the measure; in imagery it reminds one of his song, "Come live with me and be my love."

That the reader may compare the two portions, we will first quote a part which we ascribe to Nash, and afterwards a part written, as we suppose, by Marlowe.

Dido, having rejected the suit of Iarbas, he prepares to propitiate Jupiter by sacrifice:

> "Come, servants, come; bring forth the sacrifice,
> That I may pacify that gloomy Jove,
> Whose empty altars have enlarg'd our ills.
> Eternal Jove! great master of the clouds!
> Father of gladness, and all frolic thoughts!
> That with thy gloomy hand corrects the heaven,
> When airy creatures war amongst themselves;
> Hear, hear, O hear! Iarbas' plaining prayers,
> Whose hideous echoes make the welkin howl,
> And all the woods Eliza to resound:
> The woman that thou will'd us entertain,
> Where, straying in our borders up and down,
> She craved a hide of ground to build a town,
> With whom we did divide both laws and land,
> And all the fruits that plenty else sends forth,
> Scorning our loves and royal marriage rites,
> Yields up her beauty to a stranger's bed;
> Who, having wrought her shame, is straightway fled:
> Now, if thou be'st a pitying god of power,
> On whom ruth and compassion ever waits,
> Redress these wrongs, and warn him to his ships,
> That now afflicts me with his flattering eyes."

Now mark the difference: Dido is speaking to Cupid, who, under the disguise of Æneas's son, has made an efficient use of his arrows on her heart.

> "No, for thy sake, I'll love thy father well.
> O dull-conceited Dido! that till now
> Didst never think Æneas beautiful!
> But now, for quittance of this oversight,
> I 'll make me bracelets of his golden hair;
> His glist'ring eyes shall be my looking-glass,
> His lips an altar, where I'll offer up
> As many kisses as the sea hath sands.
> Instead of music I will hear him speak,—
> His looks shall be my only library,—
> And thou, Æneas, Dido's treasury,
> In whose fair bosom I will lock more wealth
> Than twenty thousand Indias can afford.
> O here he comes: Love, love, give Dido leave
> To be more modest than her thoughts admit,
> Lest I be made a wonder to the world."

XUM

And again, she is speaking to Æneas:

"Æneas, I'll repair thy Trojan ships,
Conditionally that thou wilt stay with me,
And let Achates sail to Italy:
I'll give thee tackling made of riveld gold,
Wound on the barks of odoriferous trees,
Oars of massy ivory, full of holes,
Through which the water shall delight to play;
Thy anchors shall be hew'd from crystal rocks,
Which, if thou lose, shall shine above the waves;
The masts, whereon thy swelling sails shall hang,
Hollow pyramids of silver plate;
The sails of folded lawn, where shall be wrought
The wars of Troy, but not Troy's overthrow;
For ballast, empty Dido's treasury:
Take what ye will, but leave Æneas here.
Achates, thou shalt be so meanly clad,
As sea-born nymphs shall swarm about thy ships,
And wanton mermaids court thee with sweet songs,
Flinging in favours of more sovereign worth
Than Thetis hangs about Apollo's neck,
So that Æneas may but stay with me."

We probably shall not again have so favourable an opportunity as the present of mentioning an interesting point in dramatic history relative to Marlowe. It has long been matter of surprise that Marlowe should be the author of Tamburlaine the Great; but the authority on which he was supposed to be so was considered too high to be disputed. In our article on that poet, we stated our disbelief of the fact. Dr. Farmer conjectured that "the play Tamburlaine praised by Heywood, might be different from the bombast one, and that written by Kyd." The editor of the recent edition of Marlowe's works, however, shows that Marlowe never wrote, and that Heywood never praised, a play called Tamburlaine. The sole evidence on which such a play has been ascribed to Marlowe is a passage in a prologue, written by Heywood, to the Jew of Malta. That passage, with the old punctuation, is as follows:

"We know not how our play may pass this stage,
But by the best of poets* in that age;
The Malta Jew had being and was made;
And he then by the best of actors† play'd:
In Hero and Leander, one did gain
A lasting memory: in Tamburlaine,
This Jew, with others many: th' other wan
The attribute of peerless, being a man
Whom we may rank with (doing no one wrong)
Proteus for shape, and Roscius for a tongue."

* Marlowe. † Allen.

It is quite manifest, we think, that the mistake arose from an error in punctuation, which should have been thus:

> "In Hero and Leander one did gain
> A lasting memory: in Tamburlaine
> This Jew with others many, th' other wan
> The attribute of peerless—&c."

We consider the mistake so obvious, and the correction so evidently proper, that we do not conceive it necessary to adduce any arguments in its support.

"The Countrie Girle" is ascribed by Kirkman, who has been followed by other writers, to Anthony Brewer, the author of the Lovesick King; and the authors of the Biographia Dramatica suppose that the printer, knowing Brewer only by the familiar diminutive of Tony, or mistaking the letters, erroneously inserted the initials T. B. This supposition is not entitled to any consideration in the scale of evidence; the authority of Kirkman, therefore, is the only ground on which it is to be ascribed to Anthony Brewer, and that authority is not of any great, though of some, weight. Kirkman, however, who was a bookseller, and is treated with some respect by Langbaine, is not always to be relied on: as for example, he published Lust's Dominion as a play of Marlowe's, which it is now clearly ascertained it was not; and as he is not supported by any other evidence, we shall treat the play as unappropriated, or as belonging to the owner of the initials T. B. This mysterious cipher lays claim to another play. "The Merry Devil of Edmonton" is entered in the book of Stationers' Hall as being by T. B.; and one might with equal reason ascribe this to Anthony Brewer, as the authors of the Biographia Dramatica have "the Countrie Girle." Although the internal evidence of the two plays is by no means sufficient to justify us in ascribing them to the same author, the Merry Devil being written in a graver and more sedate style, yet there are some remarkable coincidences which it is worth while to notice. Both scenes are laid in part at Edmonton. The humour of two of the characters in the Merry Devil, and of one in the Country Girl, is founded upon the constant repetition of a particular phrase; thus Sir John the Priest, in the former, puts at the end of every sentence, with slight variations, the follow edifying consolation: "Grass and hay, we are all mortal—we'll live till we die, and be merry, and there's an end:" and the Host of St. George, in the same play, concludes most of his observations with "I serve the good duke of Norfolk." In the like strain of bald humour, the tongue of Gregory Dwindle, in the Country Girl, is continually wagging with "Well, an my father would but die once!" The Country Girl too contains the fol-

lowing allusion to the other play: "Is your merry devil, that cheated the devil, come again to make merry amongst you?' These are much stronger circumstances than a supposed mistake of T. B. for A. B. or the conjectured substitution of Tony for Anthony: nevertheless we do not adduce them as proofs of the identity of the writers of those two productions, for there are differences which incline us to draw a contrary inference. Whoever may be the author of "the Countrie Girle," we deem it of sufficient merit for a brief notice. It contains two distinct plots, of which the one relating to the Country Girl herself forms the least part. There is nothing particularly finished in its structure, or interesting in its events; nothing to shake our sides with laughter, or overwhelm us with emotion. But then the situations are turned to the greatest advantage, and our feelings are sufficiently excited to engage our interest. The piece presents little of character, and yet we may mention that that of Sir Oliver Bellingham is extremely well drawn; and those of Sir Robert Mallory and Margaret as tolerably discriminated.

We subjoin a brief sketch of the plots. Sir Robert Mallory having brought up Margaret, the beautiful daughter of a tenant, in a manner much above her condition, vainly endeavours to seduce her. Lady Mallory, his wife, is informed of his frequent visits to the fair tenant, and in the disguise of an old woman, the pretended agent of Sir Robert, endeavours to bribe Margaret to comply with his wishes; and discovering the virtue and prudence of the young woman from the repulse she receives, throws off her disguise, and directs Margaret, and her father, brother, and sister, to dress themselves in brave apparel, and when Sir Robert pays his next visit, to assume the characters of persons in a superior station of life, and affect not to know him. This is accordingly done; and ultimately, Lady Mallory appears upon the scene, joins in denying any knowledge of Sir Robert, and finally, in making him confess and relinquish his designs on Margaret. The other plot turns upon the widow of Sir James Mosely. She is so affected by her husband's death that she refuses all comfort, and although beset with suitors (some of them foolish enough to be sure), she cannot be prevailed upon to listen to any of them for a long time. At length, Sir Oliver Bellingham, a noble-minded, finished gentleman, so far succeeds as to obtain a promise that if she ever marries he shall be the man; he, on his part, undertaking never more to plague her with his suit. On one occasion, when all the hopeful suitors are assembled together in the lady's house, news is brought that a Captain Mollineux, a rough and fierce admirer of the lady before her marriage, is just returned, and purposes to try his luck once more; and shortly after the hero himself enters and proclaims his intention, unceremoniously kicks out

three of the suitors, and is forcing his way after the lady who is about to retire, when he is restrained by Sir Oliver. A challenge, on the part of the Captain, succeeds, which is in the first instance refused, on principle, by Sir Oliver; but the name of coward stirs the blood of the knight and he accepts it. They meet, and the Captain, after a display of noble bearing on the part of Sir Oliver, is wounded, it is supposed dangerously; and it is reported that Sir Oliver has fled. The event of this quarrel produces a very serious effect on the object of it: in company with her brother, Sir Robert Mallory, she visits the Captain to ascertain his danger: the character of the Captain has undergone a complete change; he is converted from a sort of wild and wilful beast into a mild, good-natured personage, who lauds his antagonist in the highest manner. This scene elicits from the widow some very intelligible tokens of interest in Sir Oliver, and finally, the Captain undertakes to send for him. Sir Oliver is in fact in the house, behind the arras; he subsequently appears before Lady Mosely in the disguise of the doctor who had cured the Captain, and after hearing her expression of interest to see Sir Oliver, he discovers himself, and obtains possession of the lady. The Captain having obtained a sight of pretty Margaret, proposes for and receives her hand; and with the marriages of three of the other suitors, all cheated in the course of various farcical scenes into a belief that they had married the lady, the piece concludes.

In the following passage Sir Robert urges his suit to Margaret, who repulses it with a mixture of truth and grace. How different the natural sentiments of Margaret are from the affected refinement of the fine ladies of modern comedy! Her purity needs no veil to cover it. She needs no other armour than innocence; it is at once her sword and buckler.

"*Sir Rob.* Still, still this cloud upon thy brow, sweet Peg?
You know my mind.
Mar. And you know mine, Sir Robert.
Sir Rob. I mean, I love thee, my sweet Peggy.
Mar. Do you?—Not half so well as I love you.
Sir Rob. Love me!
Then there's some hope again.—Why, god-a-mercy,
Let's see how handsomely thoul't give thy body
To my embraces, girl.—How, fly 'em, Peg?
Not kiss me neither?—such a thing denied,
How canst thou say thou lovest me?
Mar. Yes, Sir Robert:
I love you in your name; your reputation;
The dignity you carry in your years;
The goodness should go with them;—in your lady;
I love you, Sir, i'th' fair benevolence
You owe her virtues.

Sir Rob. Heyday!—Love me, quotha!—Nay, come, come!
Mar. I love you in your vows,
Those nuptial vows, that whilst you live should live
Unstain'd between you:—In a word, Sir Robert,
I love you in that purity, that shall,
When death shall threaten your last minute to you,
Make you look boldly on him; smile upon him;
And in conclusion, seal you one of those,
That, from this vale of trouble, he conveys
To th' purity of angels:—Thus I love you.
Sir Rob. This is not that I look for: hark you, Margaret;
Your father is my tenant.
Mar. Sir, he is.
Sir Rob. Nay, since you urge it, let me tell you, minion,
He's not my tenant neither; but my beadsman.
Mar. And like an humble beadsman, in his prayers
Remembers all your charity.
Sir Rob. He does:—But you forget it, fair one.
Mar. Then let heaven,
Whence we petition the reward it merits,
Forget me too.
Sir Rob. Is't not forgetfulness
When all the love, the tender cares, and cost,
That from thy infancy, to this ripe growth,
I have bestowed upon you, cannot gain me
Such a request as this is?
Mar. This? Alas!
Your greatest gain 's in losing.—Nay, I'll tell you,
The love, the care,—that cost, that noble breeding,
That seems to you a winning argument,
Is my best argument against you.
Sir Rob. How?
Mar. Why, sir, the education, that fair breeding
You have bestowed upon my poverty,
Has made me what I am; so copiously
Furnish'd my soul with all that best adorns her,
That whatsoe'er 's in opposition to't,
Has no admittance to her, near her;—no,—
But, most deservedly, do rank themselves
With things that most displease her.—Such a thing is——
Sir Rob. What?—my love?
Mar. No, but your lust, Sir Robert.—I am bold,
But I can kneel to beg your mercy for it."

And when Lady Mallory, in disguise, uses similar arguments, Margaret exclaims with indignant eloquence:

"*Mar.* Do his years
Equal the number of my years?—does his
Estate and mine lie level?—wears Sir Robert
The snow-white livery of a single life
Unsoil'd, as I do?—can his heart and mine,
With heaven's applause, be made one heart?—partake

(As hearts, divinely brought together, do)
One happiness, one sorrow?—can the hand
Of any man, under yon golden roof,
Untie a nuptial gordian?—loose the knot
Has tied the souls of him and his chaste lady
So fast together?—make but this appear,
And I 'll believe thee:—I 'll then say, the heat
His bosom carries is a holy fire:
A flame, as pure as those are sent to heav'n
From our religious altars.—But till then,
Let him desist to robe so foul a sin
In so divine a garment.—Love!—'tis lust,
A sulphurous flame; which, tell him, I shall shun,
As those dark flames beneath us."

The first interview between Sir Oliver Bellingham and Lady Mosely, after the death of her husband, will serve as an introduction to those personages. It is, like all the scenes in which Sir Oliver takes a part, distinguished by a cheerful manliness, a noble and gentlemanly tone of sentiment and expression. We cannot say that the scene is great, as a specimen of dramatic writing; but it is in that gently exciting strain, which, calling upon us for no great expense of feeling, is, perhaps, more generally pleasing than scenes of intense interest.

" *Sir Oli.* Distilling still salt water, to deface
That masterpiece of Nature?—Can the heart
Thus feast itself upon the bane of hearts?
For such is grief, sweet lady.
Lady. Good enough,
To make this flesh as my dead husband's is,
A banquet to corruption.
Sir Oli. Still that note?
Touch only that dull string of death?
Lad. When life
Would willingly exchange itself with death,
What music sweeter?
Sir Oli. I must tell you, lady,
I thought the music of your husband's end,
Those heavenly notes he entertain'd it with,
Taught him by angels, had instructed you,
To look upon that Being that he has,
As he 's a glorious chorister with them;
And not upon that burden of the flesh
Left in the grave behind him.—Or at least,
Not so, to look upon your husband dead,
As thus, to die yourself. For what is 't, while
Of life's best hopes you shall your life deprive,
But what I tell you?—to be dead, alive.
Lad. Sir, as I am, pray leave me.
Sir Oli. Only so?—Out-rival'd by the dead.
Lad. To me he lives:

And in so vive a figure every hour 's
Presented to me, that I feel no less
Command o'er my affections in that shape ;
Nor less attraction of my duty to it,
Than when he had that heat, gave all those parts,
That now lie useless, their peculiar motion.
Nay, so that shape 's imprest upon my soul,
That he appears so really mine own,
As, all the embraces of a second match
Would stick upon me, like the leprous stains
Of lust and base adultery. In a word,
That figure fills this bosom :—And in this
Pray understand the vainness of your suit,
And so conclude it.

Sir Oli. This command upon it,
It dies, though I die with it.—Yet thus much, lady,
I have not, in this eagerness of suit,
Pursued, what 's yours, but you.—The gifts of fortune ;
The state your birth allowed you ; or th' addition,
By your lost husband, left you : but the endowments
Of your fair soul,—your virtues,—and of those
The amplest dower, (I cannot flatter here)
Beauty was ever blest withal ! These, lady,
Have been the object of my love.

Lad. A love,
That, could I love, I should e'en dote upon ;
And in a title, far beneath your own,
Prefer 't above all title, though it came
Robed in the state of princes.—But—

Sir Oli. No more.
I have my answer, and am married.

Lad. Married !

Sir Oli. As you are, madam, never to be married :
Be that the witness of my love.

Lad. Admired !
I should not be a woman, should I not
Love such a love as this is !

Sir Oli. Do you, lady ?
Then I revoke that vow, and dare embrace you.

Lad. But understand me, sir : I love your love,
And—as yourself have pleas'd to speak of me—
Those singular virtues it is built upon :
That I am fix'd on ; with that estimate,
That, next the memory of my dead husband,
It shall be my best comfort.—Thus I love you,
But must not marry.

Sir Oli. I 've done.—Yet, lady,
In this—this purest, immaterial thing
There may be made a contract ; and the assurance
Of such a love as this is, interchanged
And fairly seal'd between us.

Lad. Sir, how mean you ?

Sir Oli. Fairest, you have vow'd your widowhood to the grave,
At least, you have so protested: yet because
Our hearts and purposes are not our own,
And that no bosom has that constancy
But heav'n may alter the resolve it has,
And make it follow what it fled,—it may
My love petitions, that if e'er hereafter
You find that alteration in your soul,
And again fancy wedlock,—I—your servant,
May, for that second happiness to heaven,
Stand fair'st in your election.
Lad. Pray no more.
Sir Oli. Give my request an answer:—If you do.
Lad. A fruitless promise: and suppose it made,
This would but—
Sir Oli. What?—I understand you, lady.
It shall not make me bolder in my suit;
Nor prompt my love, in any treacherous way,
To gain what it so follows.—No; I know
The man would basely compass such a joy,
Like him that fishes with a poison'd bait,
Infects the meat should feed him.—Fairest, I won't;
Nor vex you with one syllable; but live,
Vowed, like yourself, till such a change shall be,
To amorous language silent.—Is it granted?
If my best thoughts merit but this, express it.
Lad. That satisfaction take.—If e'er I marry,
It shall be you; so help me heav'n.
Sir Oli. To which
I am rapt in this sweet tone.—If e'er I know
The sweets of Hymen, I must find them here;
So help me heav'n!—So, we are married now:
And in this joy I leave you."

The character of Sir Oliver is finely displayed in the duel scene, which is equal to a similar one in the Fair Quarrel. It is an excellent specimen of a gentlemanly combat on the part of Sir Oliver.

"*Enter Sir Oliver and the Captain, as in the field.*

Capt. Now, Knight, I see, you love a noble promise
Too well to break it:—you 're a gentleman.
Sir Oli. Sir, should I find that I had lost myself
In any thing that should proclaim me less,
I should not hate mine enemy so much
As such a heady action.
Capt. I am ready.
Sir Oli. I see you are: but ere our weapons meet,
Tell me, what seconds have you, Captain?
Capt. Seconds?—A strange demand.—How mean you?
Sir Oli. Why, a man
That may assist you if you fail.
Capt. A second?—were any such appointed?—I have none.

Sir Oli. How, Captain?—None?
Capt. I have not, sir: have you?
Sir Oli. Believe 't, I have;—I should not else have met
So great a danger, Mullynex.
Capt. A second!
Is this the nobleness you boast?—A knight!
A servile foot-boy,—his master ere
Give but one copy of a noble soul,
Would have disdain'd this cowardice—a second!
Sir Oli. Nay, you may term it what you please:—no matter,
'Tis my advantage, Captain.
Capt. Ha! where is he?
Sir Oli. You may as well demand of more than one,
For I have more, stout Captain.
Capt. More?
Sir Oliv. Yes, more.
To keep, what lost can ne'er be found again,
We cannot be too cautelous.
Capt. A man?
Insnare me thus? where be they? If they be
As base as thou art, be they ten to one
I shall not fear the encounter.
Sir Oli. Think you so, sir?
A minute's patience, I shall name them to you,
And let you see your danger.
Capt. Name them.
Sir Oli. Yes,
The first bold second that attends my sword
Is thine own rash and inconsiderate fury;
For then that foe within a man,—without
We cannot meet that enemy that can
Present us with more danger: there 's the first.
The next my undertaking, in defence
Of such a stock of goodness in that lady,
As envy ne'er durst look on: which who knows not,
So fair and just the ever-watchful eye
That midnight actions are apparent to
Cannot but see, nor that great Ens behold,
But be assistant to 't.—A third (rash man)
The contumelious and unmanly darings,
That, to inforce me from the peacefulness
Ere lived in my calm bosom, you have most
Uncivilly cast upon me.—Smil'st thou?
Capt. Yes.—Are these your seconds?
Sir Oli. Mullynex, they are.
Dar'st thou unarm'd—indeed a naked man
(For he that fights in such a cause as thine,
With nothing in 't but an impetuous will,
Is little better)—venture all thy blood
'Gainst such a great advantage?
Capt. What I dare,
My sword shall tell thee, Bellingham. [*Thrust.*

Sir Oli. So sudden? [*Passes, Bellingham only puts by.*
You see, till now my weapon has been used
Merely defensively, to guard myself;
Nor point, nor edge, offering their violence
Against thy bosom.—Were I sure I could
Put by thy fury till it hath spent itself,
Or tired thy body past the danger of it,
The fighting part should only be thine own:
Mine only, mine own buckler.
Capt. Slighted?—death!
I 'll put your fence-play to 't a little better.
Sir Oli. I must not dally then. [*Fight.*
Capt. Come, Bellingham.
Sir Oli. Hold, Captain, hold,—you bleed.
Capt. As you must do,
Or all my blood's at hazard.—Have I touch'd you?
Sir Oli. You have, stout Captain:
Shall we part upon the equality of our hurts?
Capt. How! part, sir?
Sir Oli. Yes, our manhoods, standing in this equal point,
We may do 't fairly; slight applyments yet
May make us whole again.
Capt. Shall a scratch part us?
Sir Oli. How fatal, sir, another close may be, we know not.
Capt. No, nor do we fear it.
Sir Oli. Come then, Mullynex, what following hurts you have,
Call not the work of my unwilling hands,
But thine own frenzy:—witness heav'n they are. [*Fight.*
Captain, you faint.
Capt. Take your advantage then.
Sir Oli. Advantage, sir—how mean you?
Capt. Of my wound:
My weakness, Bellingham,—you see there 's now
No interposed resistance 'tween my heart [*Throws off his weapon.*
And thy bold weapon—Come.
Sir Oli. I rather wish
That all thy blood were in thy veins again;
Had all the fire and livelihood it had;
Though with that strength, new courage, and the malice
That but two minutes past pursued my life,
You should again pursue it, and put it to
Another dangerous hazard.
Capt. Thou may'st wish it;
For 't were no hazard, 'gainst the muniment,
And strong defences that Heaven plants about,
A soul so pure as thine is.
Sir Oli. How? is this
The language of a wounded man to him
That made them, Mullynex?
Capt. What language fitter?
Thou art a noble enemy:—And now
My troubled understanding 's calm again,

I see myself worthy the wounds I have,
And all their anguish trebled.—Thou art just.
Sir Oli. I am too unmindful of what most I mind,
Thy smarting faintness:—But, my cares shall now
Only attend thy safety.
Capt. Mind thine own:—fly, Bellingham.
Sir Oli. Let all my best desires
Be fruitless then.—Come, Mullynex, let me
Support thy fainting body.
Capt. Worthy sir,—you've a noble second.
Sir Oli. Sir, I have, and whosoe'er dares be a duellist
Should have the like;
Should build his hopes, rather upon his cause
Than on his strength, his skill, and hoodwink'd fury,
For these are nothing."

The parts of the play occupied by the more comic characters are low, worthless buffoonery; meagre in humour, and barren of wit.

Upon the whole, this is a very good play, and was so considered by a person of the name John Leanerd, who, in 1677, published it as his own, under the title of "Country Innocence; or, the Chambermaid turned Quaker," and dedicated it to his honoured friend, Sir Francis Hinchman. Langbaine, from whom we derive this information, accuses him of another larceny of the same sort.

Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government, in Letters of illustrious Persons and great Ministers of State, as well foreign as domestick, in the Reigns of King Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, wherein such Secrets of Empire and Publick Affairs as were then in Agitation are clearly represented, and many remarkable Passages faithfully collected: To which is added, in this third Edition, a second Part, consisting of a choice Collection of Original Letters and Negotiations, never before published. London, 1 *Vol. folio,* 1691.

Original Correspondence, illustrative of the History and Manners of the Reign of Elizabeth; being one Section of the "History of Hallamshire." By the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. S. A.

THE collection of letters known by the title of the "Cabala[1]," has been more frequently consulted by the writers of history

[1] The first edition was entitled "Cabala, Mysteries of State, in Letters of the great Ministers of King James and King Charles, wherein much of the publique Manage of

and biography, as well as of books of the epicene description called "Memoirs," than any similar work; and the fact of its having passed through three editions proves the popularity which it attained. Compared with various other compilations of the same kind which have subsequently appeared, its value is not so pre-eminent as of itself to explain the different manner in which it was received; and to no other cause than a change in the public taste can the circumstance be attributed, that whilst such interesting letters as those edited by Sir John Fenn, by Mr. Lodge, and by various other persons, have, comparatively speaking, been neglected, the collection before us should have experienced so flattering a reception.

It will not, we hope, be supposed from these observations, that we are not sensible of the illustrations which the "Cabala" affords to various parts of English history; but the popularity of a work depends upon the amusement rather than the instruction which is to be gained from it; and as but very few of the letters in question can be read with any view to the former, it speaks most favourably of the literary taste of the last century, that the avidity after the latter was sufficiently great to require three impressions of mere official correspondence.

The public are so well acquainted with the "Cabala," that it was much more from the fear that we should be considered neglectful of our duty if we failed to pay early attention to it, than from any expectation of presenting our readers with much that will entertain them, that we have made it the subject of this article. This consideration will induce us to dismiss it as briefly as possible; but, as it may be useful, a slight account of its contents will be given: our extracts will be selected from among the few statements of general interest, rather than those of historical importance, since the latter have been dove-tailed into nearly every work which treats of the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the First.

Although the title-page states that the volume contains letters of the reign of Henry VIII., there are not more than

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Affaires is related. Faithfully collected by a Noble Hand. London, 1654, [but the copy in the Museum has been thus corrected: 'October 31, 1653'] 4to. pp. 347."

The second edition, which is a folio of four hundred and sixteen pages, has nearly the same title as the third edition, excepting that its contents are said to have been "formerly in two volumes, to which is added, Several Choice Letters and Negotiations nowhere else published, now collected and printed together in one volume." It appeared in 1663, from the publishers of the edition of 1653, and apparently contains the whole of what is in the *third* edition, excepting the letters which there form the second part. What was meant by saying that the letters in the edition of 1663 were previously published "in *two* volumes," has not been ascertained. The edition noticed in the text was published by Thomas Sawbridge, in Little Britain, and Matthew Gillyflower, in Westminster Hall, and others; but the initials of Sawbridge and Gillyflower only are affixed to the preface.

four or five of that period; and the only one at all worthy of attention is the aprocryphal letter from Anne Boleyn to her husband from the Tower, with which our readers are too well acquainted to wish to meet with it in our pages. The greater proportion of the first part is occupied with correspondence of the time of James I. and Charles I., principally of letters to the favourite Buckingham, soliciting his patronage and favour, but containing many from Raleigh, Sir Dudley Carleton, the Earl of Bristol, Dr. Donne, and other eminent persons. Some of them afford striking evidence of the sycophancy of all classes, and particularly of the spiritual as well as temporal peers, who often addressed him in terms suited only to the Deity, styling themselves his "creatures," and approaching him with the most unmanly and disgusting humility. Such is the nature of a great many of the letters to the duke, and those which related to political affairs evince the extraordinary influence which he possessed. From the renowned Bacon there are several letters; and though part are deserving of attention, we shall perhaps have a better opportunity of noticing them. The negotiations for the marriage of Charles I. with the Spanish Princess occupy several pages; and almost an equal number are filled with particulars of the arrangement with the French court for a similar purpose.

The history of the reign of Elizabeth receives many valuable illustrations, especially with reference to the connexion between this country and the Netherlands; the correspondence on which affair, together with the few other articles that occur in the second part of the volume, were, it is said, copied from the originals in the library of Viscount Longueville, at Euston Maudit, in Northamptonshire. However sensible we may be of the imperfect account which we have given of the contents of, or rather of the subjects which are noticed in, the "Cabala," it is not in our power to render it more satisfactory, unless we in fact made this article an index to the work. We therefore wish to impress upon every person, who is interested in the period of history to which it refers, the necessity of attentively perusing the whole volume, as it is impossible to ascertain its contents in any other manner; for there is no index, the letters are not arranged in chronological order, and no notes whatever exist; nor is it stated in either of the editions where the originals of the first part are preserved.

Dr. Field Bishop of Llandaff's letter to the Duke of Buckingham will perhaps justify our assertion with respect to the sycophancy of the prelates of the age. Field was translated from St. David's in December, 1635, and died, without reaping the effects he expected, in June, 1636, between which periods his letter must have been written.

XUM

"My gracious good Lord,

"In the great library of men, that I have studied these many years, your grace is the best book and most classick author that I have read, in whom I find so much goodness, sweetness, and nobleness of nature, such an heroick spirit for boundless bounty, as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made Deans, some Bishops, some Lords, and Privy Councillors; none that ever looked toward your grace did ever goe empty away. I need goe no further than myself, (a gum of the earth) whom some eight years ago you raised out of the dust for raising but a thought so high as to serve your Highness. Since that, I have not played the truant, but more diligently studied you than ever before; and yet (dunce that I am) I stand at a stay, and am a non proficient; the book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiency of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile, some wile in some of my fellow students, who hide my book from me, or some part of it. All the fault is not in mine own blockishness, that I thrive no better. I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices; your grace was pleased to protest, no man had, and to assure me no man could. My heart tells me it hath been always upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them ever since most sound unto your grace. Give me leave after so long patience, (for which virtue you were once pleased to commend me to my old master King James, and I have not yet lost it) now that for these twelve months almost I have been not onely upon the stage, but upon the rack of expectations, even distracted between hope and fear, to comfort myself with recordation of your loving kindnesses of old, when, on that great feast-day of your being inaugured our Chancellor, my look was your book wherein you read sadness, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your grace would give me no cause. You replied with (loss of blood rather) that was your noble expression, but God forbid so precious an effusion, (I would empty all my veins rather than you should bleed one drop) when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the heaven where I would be. My Lord, I am grown an old man, and am like old household stuff, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it, therefore, but once for all, be it Ely, or Bathe and Wells; and I will spend the remainder of my days in writing an history of your good deeds to me and others; whereby I may vindicate you from the envy and obliquy of this present wicked age wherein we live; and whilst I live in praying for your grace, whose I am totally and finally,

"THEOPHILUS LANDAVEN."—P. 111.

But the Bishop of Llandaff was by no means singular in his adulation of greatness; for his brother prelates nearly equalled him in this disgraceful conduct. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, for example, tells Charles I., in a letter in which he complained that he had not received his writ of summons to Parliament, which was "denied to no prisoners or condemned peers" in the pre-

ceding reign, that his Majesty's presence was "the onely Heaven wherein his soul delighted[1]."

Queen Elizabeth's attention to her dress is shown by the following extract from a letter from Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, to Sir Henry Norris, the English ambassador to the French court, dated 20th February, 1566-7.

"The Queen's Majesty would fain have a taylor that had skill to make her apparell both after the French and Italian manner; and she thinketh that you might use some mean to obtain some one such there as serveth that Queen, without mentioning any manner of request in the Queen Majesty's name. First to cause my Lady your wife to use some such means to get one, as thereof knowledge might not come to the Queen Mother's ears, of whom the Queen's Majesty thinketh thus, that if she did understand that it were a matter wherein her Majesty might be pleasured, she would offer to send one to the Queen's Majesty. Nevertheless, if it cannot be so obtained by this indirect means, then her Majesty would have you devise some other good means to obtain one that were skilfull."—P. 125.

Those who are acquainted with the character of Burghley, are aware of the various pursuits to which he gave his attention, and they will not be surprised at the ensuing passages in his letter to Sir Henry Norris. In a postscript to his dispatch of the 27th of August, 1568, he says:

"I have boldly received from you sundry books; and I am bold to pray you to provide for me a book concerning architecture, entituled according to a paper here included, which I saw at Sir Thomas Smith's, or if you think there is any better of a late making of that argument."—P. 141.

A book was sent accordingly; but from his letter of the 27th of September it is evident that it was not the one he wished:

"I thank you for the book you sent me of architecture; but the book which I most desired is made by the same author, and yet entituled 'Novels institutions per bien bastir' per Philemont de L'orm.[2]" —Pp. 141-2.

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[1] Page 108.

[2] The following notice of L'Orme will be found in Gwilt's edition of Chambers's Civil Architecture, Lond. 1826, among the notes of its learned editor.

"Philibert De Lorme, a native of Lyons, was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He may be fairly ranked among the restorers of architecture in France; but as the father of constructive skill, more especially in carpentry, he has the highest claims on our gratitude. His employment in Paris and its vicinity was very extended; in the former, the palace of the Tuilleries, in its original state, was from his designs; Jean Bullant being said to have been associated with him for the purpose of carrying them into execution. Both these architects have been honoured by Chambray, who thought them not unworthy to stand by the side of the greatest masters, in his celebrated 'Parallele.'

"The taste of the age decoyed De Lorme into the customary division of his façades into 'pavillons,' as the French term them, with towers whose quoins are heavily rusticated; a practice destructive of all effect, as well as unity of design, and calculated to make that appear *petite* which its volume alone would otherwise have rendered imposing.

XUM

Cecil's dislike to his mission to the Queen of Scots, in 1570, is forcibly displayed in his letter to Norris.

"I am thrown into a maze at this time, that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildmay, and I, are sent to the Scottish Queen, as by the Queen Majesty's letters you may see: God be our guide; for neither of us like the message."—P. 167.

A petition from Lord Falkland to the King for the pardon of his son is extremely curious:

"Most humbly shewing that I had a son, until I lost him in your Highness's displeasure, where I cannot seek him, because I have not will to find him there. Men say, there is a wild young man now a prisoner in the Fleet, for measuring his actions by his own private sense; but now that, for the same, your Majesty's hand hath appeared in his punishment, he bows and humbles himself before, and to it. Whether he be mine or not, I can discern by no light, but that of your royal clemency, for only in your forgiveness can I own him for mine. Forgiveness is the glory of the supremest powers, and this the operation, that when it is extended in the greatest measure, it converts the greatest offenders into the greatest lovers; and so makes purchase of the heart, as especial priviledge peculiar and due to sovereign princes.

"If now your Majesty will vouchsafe out of your own benignity to become a second nature, and restore that unto me which the first gave me, and vanity deprived me of, I shall keep my reckoning of the full number of my sons with comfort, and render the tribute of my most humble thankfulness; else my weak old memory must forget one."—P. 221.

A few extracts from the letters of Henry Rich, first Lord Kensington, and afterwards Earl of Holland, describing his inter-

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"De Lorme was the author of two works on architecture, viz. a complete Treatise in nine books, fol. Paris, 1567, which was probably the book sent to Cecil, and the other on carpentry, entitled, 'Nouvelles Inventions pour bien bâtir et à petits frais,' fol. Paris, 1561. The latter contains an entirely new system of carpentry, in which the chief feature is a substitution of comparatively thin curviform ribs for the heavy trussed roofs then in general use. These ribs are formed of planks in thickness rarely more than three or four feet long, about a foot wide, and one inch thick; their forms, of course, depending on those of the plan and section. They are secured at their feet by a strong wall plate laid horizontally. The joint of each plank is broken in the middle of the contiguous plank. As the whole security of the system depends on the perpendicularity of the ribs, they are kept in their vertical direction by keys which pierce them, pinned or wedged on each side of the rib. The most magnificent specimen of this species of carpentry was in the dome of the Halle aux Bleds at Paris, designed by Legrand and Molenos, now replaced, in consequence of its destruction by fire, with a cast-iron ribbed dome. Not the least merit of De Lorme's invention was that of its requiring but small timbers for very extended spans, independent of its consequent lightness. Specimens of this sort of construction will be found in Kraaft's 'Art de Charpente,' fol. Paris. Quatremere de Quincy, under the article De Lorme, Encyclopedie Methodique, says of this architect's works, that they 'assurent à son nom une gloire peut-être plus réelle, mais à coup sûr plus durable que celle qu'il doit à ses édifices en partie détruits ou dénaturés.'"—P. 164. The notice of him in the "Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique" states, that he died on the 9th of February, 1570.

views with Henrietta Maria of France, subsequently the Queen of Charles the First, must be read with some interest.

In a letter to the Prince, dated 26th February, 1624-5, he says, she is "a lady of as much loveliness and sweetness to deserve your affection as any creature under Heaven can do;" that she is "the sweetest creature in France; and that

"her growth is very little short of her age, and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her mother and the ladies about her with extraordinary discretion and quickness. She dances (the which I am a witness of) as well as ever I saw any creature. They say she sings most sweetly, I am sure she looks so."—P. 287.

In another letter he informed the royal lover that his Highness's reputation

"as the most compleat young prince and person in the world hath begotten in the sweet Princess Madam so infinite an affection to your fame, as she could not contain herself, from a passionate desiring to see your picture, the shadow of that person so honored; and knowing not by which means to compass it, it being worn about my neck; for though others, as the Queen and Princesses, would open it, and consider it, the which ever brought forth admiration from them, yet durst not this poor young lady look any otherwise on it than afar off, whose heart was nearer it than any of the others that did most gaze upon it. But at the last (rather than want that sight, the which she was so impatient of,) she desired the gentlewoman of the house where I am lodged, that had been her servant, to borrow of me the picture in all the secrecy that may be, and to bring it unto her, saying, she could not want that curiosity, as well as others, towards a person of his infinite reputation. As soon as she saw the party that brought it, she retired into her cabinet, calling only her in, where she opened the picture in such haste as showed a true picture of her passion, blushing in the instant at her own guiltiness. She kept it an hour in her hands, and when she returned it she gave it many praises of your person. Sir, this is a business so fit for your secrecy as I know it shall never go further than unto the king your father, my lord Duke of Buckingham, and my lord of Carlisle's knowledge. A tenderness in this is honourable, for I would rather dye a thousand times than it should be published, since I am by this young lady trusted, that is for beauty and goodness an angel."—P. 288.

Kensington thus related the particulars of an audience with which he was honoured with the Queen Mother and the Princess, in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham:

"Here I entreated I might weary her Majesty no further, but take the liberty she had pleased to give me in entertaining Madam with such commandments as the Prince had charged me withal to her. She would needs know what I would say, 'Nay, then, (smiling, quoth I,) your Majesty will impose upon me the like law that they in Spain did upon his Highness.' 'But the case is now different, (said she), for there the prince was in person, here is but his deputy.'

'But a deputy (answered I) that represents his person.' 'Mais pour tout cela (dit elle) qu'est ce que vous direz?' 'Rien (dis je) qui ne soit digne des oreilles d'une si verteuse princesse.' 'Mais qu'est ce?' redoubled she. 'Why, then, Madam, (quoth I), if you will needs know, it shall be much to this effect: that your majesty, having given me the liberty of some freer language than heretofore, I obey the Prince his command in presenting to her his service, not by way of compliment any longer, but out of passion and affection, which both her outward and her inward beauties, the virtues of her mind, so kindled in him as he was resolved to contribute the uttermost he could to the alliance in question, and would think it the greatest happiness in the world if the success thereof might minister occasion of expressing in a better and more effectual manner his devotion to her service; with some little other such like amorous language. 'Allez, allez, il n'y a point de danger en tout cela (smilingly, answered she,) je me fie en vous, je me fie en vous.' Neither did I abuse her trust, for I varied not much from it in delivering it to Madam, save that I amplified it to her a little more, who drank it down with joy, and, with a low courtesie, acknowledged it to the Prince, adding, that she was extremely obliged to his Highness, and would think herself happy in the occasion that should be presented of meriting the place she had in his good Grace's affection."—Pp. 293-4.

Perhaps a more spirited and sensible letter was never written than that sent by Patrick Ruthven to Henry, ninth Percy, Earl of Northumberland, K. G.; and which, from its singular excellence, we have been induced to copy. The writer was probably the Hon. Patrick Ruthven, fifth son of William, fourth Lord Ruthven and Dirleton. He was an eminent physician; and was confined many years in the Tower of London, whence he was released in 1619; but we are not aware of the occasion of this letter to the Earl of Northumberland. His daughter married Vandyke, the well-known painter[1].

"My Lord,

"It may be interpreted discretion sometimes to wink at private wrongs, especially for such a one as myself, that have a long time wrestled with a hard fortune, and whose actions, words, and behaviour are continually subject to the censure of a whole state; yet not to be sensible of public and national disgrace were stupidity and baseness of mind; for no place, nor time, nor state, can excuse any man from performing that duty and obligation wherein nature hath tied him to his country and to himself. This I speak in regard of certain infamous verses lately, by your Lordship's means, dispersed abroad to disgrace my country and myself, and to wrong and stain by me the honour of a worthy and virtuous gentlewoman, whose unspotted and immaculate vertue yourself is so much more bound to

[1] Wood's Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 663. and Nichols' Progresses of James I. vol. i.

admire and uphold, in that having dishonourably assaulted it you could not prevail. But belike, my Lord, you dare do anything but that which is good and just. Think not to bear down these things either by greatness or denial, for the circumstances that prove them are too evident, and the veil wherewith you would shadow them is too transparent. Neither would I have you flatter yourself, as though, like another Giges, you would pass in your courses invisible. If you owe a spight to any of my countrymen, it is a poor revenge to rail upon me in verse; or, if the repulse of your lewd desire at the gentlewoman's hands hath inflamed and exasperated your choler against her, it was never known that to refuse Northumberland's unlawful lust was a crime for a gentlewoman deserving to have her honour called in question. For her part, I doubt not but her own unspotted virtue will easily wipe out any blot which your malice would cast upon it; and for me and my countrymen, know, my good Lord, that such blows as come in rime, are too weak to reach or harm us. I am ashamed, in your Lordship's behalf, for these proceedings, and sorry that the world must now see how long it hath been mistaken in Northumberland's spirit; and yet who will not commend your wisdom in chusing such a safe course to wrong a woman and a prisoner? the one of which cannot, and the other, by nature and quality of the place, may not, right his own wrongs. Wherefore, (setting aside the most honourable Order of the Garter, and protesting that whatsoever is here said is no way intended to the nobility and gentry of England in general, which, I doubt not, but will condemn this your dishonourable dealing, and for which both myself and, I dare truly say, all my countrymen, shall be even as ready to sacrifice our bloods as for our own mother Scotland), I do, not only in regard of our own persons, affirm, that whatsoever in those infamous verses is contained, is utterly false and untrue, and that yourself hath dealt most dishonourably, unworthily, and basely, but this I 'll ever maintain. If these words sound harshly in your Lordship's ear, blame yourself, since yourself, forgetting yourself, hath taught others how to dishonour you; and remember, that though nobility makes a difference of persons, yet injury acknowledgeth none.

"PATRICK RUTHVEN."—Pp. 328-9.

The lovers of the fine arts can scarcely fail to be interested in the following extract from a letter to Sir Henry Wotton, at Venice, to the Duke of Buckingham, dated 12th December, 1622; and which exhibits the favourite in the character of a virtuoso.

"Now touching your Lordship's familiar service, (as I may term it), I have sent the compliment of your bargain upon the best provided and best manned ship that hath been here in a long time, called the Phœnix; and indeed the cause of their long stay here hath been for some such sure vessel as I might trust, about which, since I wrote last to your Lordship, I resolved to fall back to my first choice. So as now the one piece is the work of Titian, wherein the least figure, viz. the child in the virgin's lap playing with a bird, is alone worth the price of your expense for all four, being so round that I know

not whether I shall call it a piece of sculpture or picture, and so lively that a man would be tempted to doubt whether nature or art hath made it. The other is of Palma; and this I call the speaking piece, as your Lordship will say it may well be termed, for, except the damosel brought to David, whom a silent modesty did best become, all the other figures are in discourse and action. They come both distended in their frames, for I durst not hazard them in rowls, the youngest being twenty-five years old, and therefore no longer supple and pliant. With them I have been bold to send a dish of grapes to your noble sister, the Countess of Denbigh, presenting them first to your Lordship's view, that you may be pleased to pass your censure whether Italians can make fruits as well as Flemings, which is the common glory of their pencils."—P. 365.

Wotton adds, that he had also sent

"the choicest melon seeds of all kinds, which his Majesty doth expect, as I had order both from my Lord of Holderness and from Mr. Secretary Calvert"—P. 366.

The second part of the volume relates almost exclusively to the affairs of the Low Countries, during the reign of Elizabeth; but very few passages in those letters are of sufficient value to justify their being here reprinted. Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst's application to secretary Walsingham, in April, 1587, requesting that officers of ability might accompany the troops then about to be sent to Holland, is creditable to his judgment, and evinces what class of persons generally received commissions in the English army.

"And, Sir, I beseech you to send over with the said 1000 as few court captains as may be; but that they may rather be furnished with captains here, such as by their worthiness and long service do merit it, and do rather seek to shine in the field with vertue and valiance against the enemy, than with gold lace and gay garments in court at home, leaving their charge and soldiers here without leading them, and yet can be content to fill their purses with the Queen's pay, without doing the service for the which they are hired, which I assure you is a woefull thing to be suffered."—P. 13.

It is well known to all who are conversant with topographical works, that many of them contain early letters of very considerable importance; but of which the class of society termed "general readers" are in complete ignorance. From these sources we shall occasionally extract such as possess claims to a more extended notice, under the impression that we may gratify numerous individuals, who would never have sought them in their present resting-places, and enable the world at large to form a more just opinion of the learning and research which so many of our local historians have brought to the execution of one of the most laborious and ill-rewarded, but useful, branches of literature.

By every antiquary the "History of Hallamshire" is as highly appreciated for its various other merits as for the valuable original correspondence which Mr. Hunter has introduced; selections from which we shall proceed to lay before our readers. As the period to which they refer relates to part of the time of which the history is illustrated by at least a third of the pages of the "Cabala," and as many of the individuals alluded to in that work form the subject of the following correspondence, a more fitting opportunity could scarcely be found for the purpose.

One section of the "History of Hallamshire" contains seventy-nine letters, all written between 1552 and 1619, and others are interspersed amongst the narrative of the volume. They are for the most part selected from the private correspondence of members of the house of Talbot, and many of them were written during the period in which the Queen of Scots was living in close confinement under the care of the head of that great family. They are therefore either the productions of the most eminent persons of the age, or they contain historical notices of those persons. Some of them are letters of the Queen of Scots herself, there first given to the public; and in proof of the utility of thus calling the attention of our readers to their existence, it is sufficient to state, that we have seen historical treatises on the reigns of Elizabeth and James, published since the appearance of that work, the writers of which were evidently unacquainted with the letters in question; and we have had what even professed to be a life of the Queen of Scots, by one to whom these documents were unknown, and who was also unaware of the new lights which are thrown on several points of the history of the long imprisonment of Mary, in Mr. Hunter's work.

A few of those letters were transcribed from originals in public depositaries at Paris and in London; but most of them were taken from the originals which were in possession of a Mr. Wilson, a country gentleman, who died above fifty years ago, who, we have heard, rescued them from the fire, to which a non-antiquarian steward of a former Duke of Devonshire, at Hardwick, had condemned them.

Each of these documents was addressed to the celebrated Countess of Shrewsbury, who built the house at Hardwick, and who was one of the most remarkable females of Elizabeth's reign. She was successively the wife of Sir William Cavendish, Sir William Saint Loe, and of George Earl of Shrewsbury; and survived her last husband, who died in 1590, seventeen years; but living at the head of a numerous and powerful family, she maintained to the last the great ascendancy she had acquired in the county of Derby.

We have a curious but somewhat doting and foolish letter of Sir William Saint Loe, addressed to this lady, in which he men-

tions an anecdote of Queen Elizabeth, which shows the terms of familiarity on which she lived with those about her. "The Quene, yesterday, her owne seylff, rydeing upon the waye, craved my horse, unto home I gave hym, resevyng openlye for the same manye goodlye wordes." A little while after he fell into her displeasure: "The Quene hath fownde greatt fawt wyth my long absens, sayeng sche wolde talck wyth me farder, and that sche wolde well chyde me. Whereunto I anseryd, thatt when her hyghnes understode the trawth and the cawse sche wold nott be offendyd. Whereunto sche sayed, 'Verye well, very well.' Howbeytt hand of hers dyd I not kysse." Sir William Saint Loe was the captain of the Queen's guard, and was at one period of his life employed in the public service in Ireland. We have a characteristic letter of the Earl of Ormond, written from Dublin, wherein, after expressing his desire to be where the Queen is, he says, "But seing my fortune is to be heare, I wold God wold put in the Quene's head to mak you tread a boge near ous agayn:" and he annexed this postscript, "I pray you let me be hartely commended to your sister, if a man may presume to send commendasions into the privy chamber."

In 1568 Sir William was dead, and his widow had become Countess of Shrewsbury. In that year, also, the Queen of Scots sought refuge in England.

In the month of October the determination had been taken to keep the Queen of Scots in restraint in England; and it must have been a subject of anxious deliberation in Elizabeth's council, to whom such a perilous charge should be entrusted. From one of the letters in this collection it appears, that two inferior persons, Gates and Vaughan, were, about this time, soliciting to have the custody of her. But beside that it was requisite to consult the honour of the Queen, a sovereign princess by birth, the dowager of France, and the presumptive heiress to the English crown, it was also necessary to secure the services of some person in this important trust who had a residence which could receive the Queen, and a suitable train of attendants. Elizabeth perhaps showed her sagacity by selecting the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whom all the qualities met that seemed to be required for the occasion; and who entered fully into the spirit of the motto of his house,

"The Talbot ever true and faithful to the crown."

Two letters occur addressed by the Earl to his Countess, in that critical period of his life when the announcement was made to him of the Queen's intention, the first intimation of which was conveyed to him by the Queen herself. He was with the court at Hampton, and, one morning, finding Elizabeth at leisure in the garden, he gave her thanks for some little kindness she had

lately shown him. Her Majesty expressed esteem for him, and added, "that er it were longe, I shuld well perseve she dyd so trust me as she dyd few." He adds, "She wold not tell me wherein, but dowte it was aboute the custody of the Scotes Quene." In a second letter, written on the thirteenth of December, he merely says, "Now it is sarten the Scotes Quene cumes to Tutburye to my charge; in what ordar I cannott aserten you." We annex, as a trait of the manners of the time, the concluding sentence of one of these letters.

"From Hamtone courte, this Monday, at mydnyght, for it is every nyght so late before I goo to my bedd, being at playe in the Preve Chambar at Premyro, wher I have loste almost a hundereth pounds, and laked my sclepe.

"Your fethefull husbande tyll dethe,

"G. SHREWSBURY."

Having pointed out to the attention of those who are interested in the fate of this illustrious victim, a storehouse of original information respecting her, and respecting those persons who were brought, in this period of her history, into almost daily communication with her, we would gladly have made extensive extracts from the letters which follow, and exhibited in detail the historical analysis which Mr. Hunter has given of the period of her imprisonment[1]. Our limits prevent us, however, from doing more than selecting a very few of the letters either of Mary herself, or of the family to whose care she was committed.

Those of the Queen contain less curious matter than might have been expected from them. They are addressed to her French relatives and connexions, and have been transcribed from the volumes of Royal and Noble Letters preserved in the King of France's library, where they are shown with the utmost liberality. The restraints under which a captive writes, and in the case of Mary they were unusually rigorous, almost precludes any thing like the expression of the real sentiments of their author. Yet in these letters, brief as they are, we have an agreeable picture of that subdued and pensive state of mind

[1] Mr. Hunter, who appears to have paid great attention to the domestic history of the Queen of Scots during her residence in England, has distributed the eighteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days, which intervened between her arrival and her death, thus: he supposes the whole period to be represented by 100. Then would the time spent in Cumberland be - - - 1

At Coventry, Worksop, and on her journeys	2
Fotheringhay - -	2
Bolton - -	3
Chartley - -	3
Winfield - -	4
Buxton - -	4
Chatsworth - -	7
Tutbury - -	12
Sheffield - -	62

into which, after a time, she sunk; and they manifest a holy calmness which it is difficult to reconcile with the supposition that she had the guilt of murder on her conscience. They were all written in her own hand, and of three of them we give translations.

"Aunt,—If you should have ever thought otherwise than that I should be most happy to receive good news of you, and to hear that I continued in your favour, you would have done me great wrong, on account of the honour and respect which I owe you, and will bear you all my life: and I entreat you henceforward to have this opinion of me, and that it will be a great pleasure to me to hear of your well-being, and that of my cousin Mons. de Nemours, and that of your little children my cousins, whom I hold as dear to me as if they were own brothers to my cousins Guise. You may easily judge if poor prisoners are glad not to be forgotten by their former friends and relations, although they are not permitted to write to them on all occasions as they could wish, and even at present that I am pressed to write before the departure of Mons. De la Mothe from London. I will tell you, then, nothing more than that with my own misfortunes I take part in those which you have. Please God to put an end to them, as I shall do to these presents, after having kissed my cousin Nemours' hands and yours, and begged you to show all favour to this bearer for my sake: and I pray God that he give you, my Aunt, a very long and happy life.—From Sheffield, this 12th January.

"Your most obedient and affectionate good niece,

"MARIE.

"To my Aunt, the Duchess of Nemours."

"Aunt,—It is a long while since I recommended myself to your good will, not from not desiring its continuance, but from being so closely watched that fault is found with the size of my packets, and the number of my letters. They say that I write to too many people; that I have no need to have so much intelligence. They make no scruple of opening every thing, and withholding what they please. But in my opinion they are vexed it should be known that I am still in this world. Yet so it is, that as long as I remain in it you shall have power over me, and may reckon on the affection of a poor princess, a captive, and in adversity, as much as of any niece you have in this world; which I entreat you to do, and to communicate to me sometimes good news of yourself and of my uncle Mons. de Nemours, to whom I must beg you to recommend myself here most affectionately, and to all your children my cousins; and having kissed your hands, I pray God to give you, my Aunt, in health, a most happy and long life.—From Sheffield, this 6th of November.

"Your most affectionate and obedient good niece,

"MARIE.

"To my Aunt, Madame de Nemours."

"Mr. D'Humieres,—Since the death of the late king your good master, I could never get intelligence of your situation, till a short

time ago that Ralbay informed me of it, and that you were still in good health, of which your good brother, Mr. de Baieulx, had assured him, who at that time had made so many inquiries about me, that so good an occasion presenting itself by the return of my Chancellor, the President of Tours, I am moved to command him to make you a visit on my part, to carry you this present letter, and to give you to understand that my dower in Touraine being taken from me, I am in return sent away to be your neighbour. This, I think, will not be disagreeable to you, considering the old acquaintance between us, and what I had the honour to be to you with respect to the late king your master, since whose death it seems to me that I have not found friendship or acquaintance in these new courts, except on the part of those who were of the number of his friends, who are almost all dispersed at present. And to cut short, I could not have heard of having any neighbour with whom I should be more content, as the bearer of this will tell you, to whom I beg you to give credit as you would to myself; and wherein he shall have need of your favour and counsel for my service, to assist him therewith, as I have a confidence in you, and that henceforward by his means I shall have news of you, and you of me. And not to do an injury to his ability, I will conclude with my affectionate commendations to you and your lady: praying God, Mr. D'Humieres, to give you, in health, a most long and happy life.—From Sheffield, this 26th May.

" Your best and most assured old friend,

" MARIE."

In one of the letters of Hugh Fitz William, who appears to have been employed by the Countess of Shrewsbury to collect and transmit intelligence at a time when the convenience of modern newspapers was unknown, we have a minute account of circumstances attending the arrest of the Duke of Norfolk. In Murdin's Burghley Papers an ample account may be found of what was done in private[1]: this letter shows how much was suffered to transpire; and what was the impression on the public mind respecting the charges against the Duke.

" After my due and moost humble comendacõns unto yor honorable good L. may it please the same t'understande, that I cãnot lerne the certaynetie of all the causes of th'occasions that the Duke was committed to the tower; but thei say one was for sending mony to relive the Lordes of the Scotishe Quenes syde, as by mony and l're intercepted it may appeare: for the Scotish Quene, as thei say, sent the Duke a l're of her owne hand at good lengthe, requiring him to send ayde to her frendis in Scotland, or ells thei were hable to holde out no longer, wheare upon p^rsently he sent vi^c L in golde, w^t a l're to the Scotishe Quene, an other to the Lordes of Scotland of her syde, and an other to Banister, all his doer in the northe, to conveaye the same, the wch was broughte to a marchant man to convey w^t speede in the name

[1] See " Retrospective Review," N. S. Vol. I. p. 421.

of ——. The marchant aunswered that he wolde receve it heare, and cause it to be payed imediatly there: but that colde not be, but to be conveyed as it was sealed up. The marchant, marveling at the earnestnes of Hicforde, and after he was gonne, feling the waight of the bagge, being very hevy, brooke the seales and opened the bagge, and found the l'res and the golde, wheare w^t being very muche a fearde, came to the court and showed the bagge and the l'res: wheare upon my cosin Skipwithe was sent to the Duke that no man sholde talk w^t him, but in his hearing, and Hicforde his secretary was sent to the tower on Saterday at the night; and on Sonday in the moring was examined by Sr Thomas Smythe and Mr. Doctor Wilson, and his examinations sent to the court; and there upon Sr Raufe Sadler was sent to the Duke, and cam thither by IX of the clocke in the morning and discharged his howseholde, and continued w^t him till he went to the tower; and imediately after Sr Raufe's coming, according to Hicford's confession, thei did searche for their sifer; and he did appointe a wronge place and [they] found it not; but there thei found the Scotishe Quenes l're, wheare upon the Duke was had to the tower. And Hicforde came from the tower to the charter howse, and founde the sifer in the rowfe amongest the tyle stones, which discov^red the hole matter. The laste weeke the Duke sent to the Quene, that if her Matie wolde sende to him my Lord of Burley, he wolde declare the hole matter: and whan he came he wolde nauther say nor writte, but denyed probable thinges. And the same day came into the tower Banister his man, and there was examined, and stowtely denyed matters layed to his charge; in so muche as Hicforde's examinations was sent to the Duke, and Hicforde was broughte face to face before Banister, who was racked on Twysday last; and Barker was going to the racke, and upon his confession was stayed. Yesterday Sr Thomas Wrothe, Mr. Osburne and others was sent to the charter howse to take an inventory of all his goodes; and the saing is that the Duke took up on interest XX^c Li, but thei cañot fynde wheare above VI^c L. hathe bine bestowed of it. His doing is so evident and playne to undermyne o^r moost soverayne lady, that if he scape deathe, yet never imprisonment as longe as she lyvethe: but suerly he will hardly escape that is to be layed to [his] charge.

" Thei say the Quene wilbe at my Lorde of Burlye's howse besides Waltam on Sondaye nexte, weare my Lord of Oxford shall marry Mrs Anne Sicelle his doughter.

" Chippine Vitellers is come in to Flanders agayne out of the Spanishe court: and hathe given him the contie of Holstroughte in the Lowe contryes: and the Duke de Medena Seli is coming by sea w^t a XXX sale, whereof is VIII men of warre.

" Thei say the Turke dothe muche harme bothe by sea and land: and good newes of good conclusion is looked for out of Fraunce by the nexte messenger of the consumation of the mariages: but there is nothing spoken of the Quenes ma^tes mariage.

" He that murdered the Earle of Linaux and he that let th'ennemyes in at the posterne gate be both executed.

" And thus leaving all my matters to determyne of the Almightie God that seethe the wronges that is donne me, who w^t his mightie

power will revenge my cause whan it shall please him, I moost humbly take my leave of yor honorable good L., wishing my Lord and you all helthe w^t th'encrease of honor to Godes pleasure. Scribled at London the XXIth of September 1571. I cañot lerne Banister's confession upon the racke as yet; but he was put to the racke for the denying of moost manifest trothes at the first.

"Your honorable good L. ever to cōmand, during lyfe,

"HUGH FITZ WILLIAM."

In another letter, written in 1570, this valuable correspondent mentions a rumour respecting King James VI. which we do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere. "The Earle of Linaux hathe writen to his wyfe that the King his son [query grandson] hath the printe of a lion on his syde."

The letters of Gilbert Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, who was an indefatigable writer, are among the most entertaining in this collection. The longest exhibits him in no very amiable light. He had married one of the daughters of his mother in law, the Countess of Shrewsbury, and he appears to have intrigued with her against the peace of the old Earl. But the principal value of this letter arises from its throwing a strong light upon the state of the Shrewsbury family, which was at that time distracted by various contending interests; and we are persuaded that the history of the imprisonment of the Scottish Queen can never be properly understood except there is previously an acquaintance with the state of the family under whose surveillance she was placed. That most extraordinary letter published by Murdin[1], by far the most remarkable document respecting the later years of her imprisonment, can only be understood, and the great question of its genuineness determined, by an attentive study of the domestic relations of the Talbot family.

The friendship between the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Shrewsbury appears never to have been interrupted. One of the letters printed by Mr. Hunter is remarkable for the strain of piety, real or affected, which runs through it, and for his insisting on the relationship in which the Dudleys stood to the house of Talbot. Allusions to the same circumstance are found in other letters in this collection, and also in a letter from the Earl published by Mr. Lodge; and yet it must have been necessary to go back to the reign of Henry VI. for a common ancestor, and even from him the Earls had only a demi-sang descent.

We have no room for the letter which contains so curious an account of the assassination of Henry the Third of France, nor, indeed, for more which belong to the reign of Elizabeth. We extract, however, with a pleasure proportionate to its rarity, a passage from one of them, in which the Queen appears acting

[1] See "Retrospective Review," N. S. Vol. I. pp. 424, 5, 6.

an amiable part. During a very severe and dangerous illness of the Countess of Pembroke, who was a Talbot in 1575, the Queen visited her twice in person; and the family attributed her recovery to her joy at being so honoured by the Queen.

"The Quynes Ma^{ty} hath ben here with her twyss; very latt both tymes. The last tyme y^{t} was x of the cloke at nyght or ever her Ma^{ty} whentte hensse, being so great a myste as ther were dyveres of the barges and boottes that wayted of her loste ther wayes, and landed in wrong plases."

A letter relating to a very interesting female of those times, the Lady Arabella Stuart, possesses strong claims to attention. This lady was a granddaughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury; and it is far from improbable that her mother, the young Countess of Lenox, was a victim to the tyrannical disposition of Elizabeth. She seems, however, from this letter, to have been favourably disposed towards Arabella.

"Righte honorable and my verie good Ladie, I have, according to the purporte of yor hono^{ble} letters p^{r}nted yor La$^{p's}$ newe yere's gifte, togeather wth my Ladie Arbella's, to the Queene's Matie; whoe hathe verie graciously accepted thereof, and taken an especiall likeing to that of my La. Arbella's. It pleased her Matie to tell me that whereas in certaine former letters of yor La$^{p's}$, yor desire was that her Matie would have that respecte of my La. Arbella that, she mighte be carefullie bestowed to her Ma$^{tie's}$ good likeing, that according to the contents of those letters, her ma^{tie} tould mee that shee would be carefull of her, and wthall hathe retorned a token to my La. Arbella; wch is not so good as I could wish it, nor so good as her La^{p} deserveth, in respecte of the rarenes of that w^{che} she sente unto her Matie. But I beseeche you, good Maddam, seing it pleased her Matie to saie so much unto mee touching her care of my La. Arbella, that yor La^{p} will vouchsafe mee so muche favo^{r} as to keepe it to yor selfe, not makeing anie other acquainted wth it, but rather repose the truste in mee, for to take my opportunitie for the putting her Matie in mynde thereof, wch I will doe as carefullie as I can. And thus being alwaies bownd to yor La^{p} for yor hono^{ble} kindeness toward mee, I humbly comett yor La^{p} to the safe protection of Almightie God. From Westminstre this XIIIth of Januarie 1600.

"Yo^{r} La^{ps} moste bownden

"Dorothie Stafford.

"To the right honorable my verie good Ladie
the Countesse of Shrewsburie, Dowager."

The letters of the reign of James the First begin with one in which a circumstance is mentioned of which no other notice has presented itself to us, but which we regard as only a rumour of the time. The passage is nevertheless worthy some attention, as a hint for future inquiry.

"Sir Thom Halles [Holles] cam post from London uppon Tuesday last, and yesterday went towards Barwike, wher he doth heare be on

of the Kinge's chamber that his Matie woll be on Satterday nexeste, and ther stay until he hath settled the parts ther aboutes. Also he sayeth that al thinges in the southeren partes procede peaceably; *only my Lord Beauchamp is sayd to make some assemblyes,* which he hopeth will soddenly dissholfe in to smoke, his forse beyng feble to make hede agenst so grayt an unyon."

The pretensions which Lady Jane Grey possessed to the crown were inherited by Lord Beauchamp, a Seymour, and the representative of Lady Katherine Grey, her sister. His son afterwards married the Lady Arabella Stuart.

The northern nobility seem to have been all on the *qui vive* when James was making his progress from Edinburgh to London. The Earl of Cumberland was so troubled with preparing for the King's visit to his "ruinated" castle of Skipton, that he had no leisure to write a short letter, though a projected marriage of his daughter, afterwards the celebrated Anne Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, was the subject on which he was required to put pen to paper. The Earl of Shrewsbury writes in great haste to Sir John Harper, to warn the gentlemen of Derbyshire to be ready to meet the King; and in a postscript gives what may be considered a pretty broad hint. "I will not refuse anie fatt capons and hennes, partridges, or the lyke, yf the Kinge come to me." The King did on this occasion visit the Earl at Worksop. We know not whether we are to attribute it to royal sensibilities, that the Earl did not entertain the new King at his chief house at Sheffield, as curiosity might have prompted him to see the apartments which his mother had so long inhabited.

We have several useful and agreeable notices of occurrences in the early years of the new reign; but it is necessary to bring this article to a conclusion, which we do with two letters, one of Dr. James Montague, afterwards a bishop, relating to the proceedings against the gunpowder conspirators, and the other a deeply affecting letter of Lady Arabella, written after her marriage.

"My most honorable good La.—This bearer, my uncle Lassels, hath promised me to deliver this lettre unto your honor. I think my Lo. Candish acquaynteth you with all the parlament newes. It is a very joyfull matter to see how well the Kinge, his Lords and Comons, doe agree togeether in one this parlament: and all agaynst the papistes. The Kinge offered his meditations to the house, as his Matie called them: the Lords they drue a bill, and the Commons ane other; and these 3 bills wer all on in effect, to have some severe execution uppon the preests and recusants. For the late executions of the traytors I am suer your honor hath hard how they died. Ther was but 2 of the 8 that would freely confesse ther fact to be a sinne agaynst God. It is thought that the Lords shall not be arrayned, but only brought into

the Starre-chamber. Ther are diverse Jesuites and preests lately taken: on specialle man that is the Provinciall of the Jesuites, and hath his hand farre in this action, which they call Garnet or Walley. The Kinge is very glad of his apprehension, for he is the most dangerous man to this state that liveth. His Matie goeth comonly to Hampton Court at the beginninge of the weeke, and tarrieth ther till the latter end of the weeke. I am alwayes with his Matie in these iurneys, which maketh mee that I can not write so often to your honor as I would.

"Thus, with my humble duty to your honor, I take my leave. Court, this 20th of February, 1605.

"Your honor's most faythfull frend,

"JAMES MOUNTAGU.

"To the most honora^ble La. the Countesse
of Shrewsbury, dowager, these."

"S^r,

"Though you be almost a stranger to me, but onely by sight, yet the good opinion I generally heare to be held of your worth, together w^t the great interest you have in my Lo. of Northampton's favour, makes me thus farre presume of your willingnesse to do a poore afflicted gentlewoman that good office (if in no other respect, yet because I am a Christian) as to further me w^t your best indevors to his Lo. that it will please him to helpe me out of this great distresse and misery, and regaine me his ma^ties favour, which is my chiefest desire. Whearin his Lo. may do a deede acceptable to God, and honorable to himselfe; and I shall be infinitely bound to his Lo. and beholden to you, who now, till I receve some comfort from his Ma^ty, rest,

"the most sorrowful creature living,

"ARABELLA SEYMAURE."

The Life and Adventures of Matthew Bishop, of Deddington, in Oxfordshire, containing an Account of several Actions by Sea, Battles and Sieges by Land, in which he was present, from 1701 *to* 1711, *interspersed with many curious Incidents, entertaining Conversations, and judicious Reflections: written by himself. London: Printed for J. Brindley, in New Bond Street; C. Hawkins, in Fleet Street; R. Dodsley, in Pall Mall; and J. Millan, opposite to the Admiralty Office*—1744.

THIS book is a discovery to us, for we had not previously heard of its existence, neither did we know before we read it that autobiography had descended so low as a common sailor, until the spread of literature had in modern times embraced all ranks[1]. But it appears, however, in the reign of Queen Anne,

[1] A serjeant, however, wrote an account of the campaigns of Marlborough, at which he was present.

there existed a character in low life, a common sailor in the first instance, and then a common soldier, who had not only something to say about himself, but who knew how to say it.

Matthew was a perfect original; and in his description of his own exploits has unconsciously given an extremely laughable sketch of the peculiarities of a British sailor: so complete is it at all points, and by its occasional extravagance so relieved from dulness, and also by its occasional cleverness, that we feel certain that had either the creator of Tom Pipes, or the more modern genius for the drawing of a whimsical and warlike character, such as Dugald Dalgetty or Serjeant Bothwell, chanced to have met with it, we should undoubtedly have seen a version of his story in some of their admirable pages.

Matthew Bishop is a brave boaster: his exploits are marvellous: he is the life of all warlike companies, at sea or on land: an universal adviser: every thing that turns out well originates in his brain: he is never melancholy except for want of fighting: all men love, nay, adore him; a common sailor in the ship, or a private soldier in a regiment, he has but to give the word, and it flies through the armament. Having had a better education than ordinary, he deals in lofty language, something in the ancient Pistol style, and but too often refers to the great *Numachia*, in which he fought under the famous Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been like himself a common sailor. The dealers in Thrasonism are not always cowards, and we believe Matthew Bishop to have been the lion he describes himself; for he fills up his description with other traits which complete it in a manner he was unconscious of, but which are in unison with the rest of his story. It is always curious to hear a man's own account of himself: the rake and the spendthrift, the unfeeling and selfish vagabond, the cruel violater of the feelings of humanity, the swindler, thief, and even homicide, have all some fine name for their oddities, with which they deceive themselves, and would attempt to deceive mankind. Matthew Bishop had two sides to his character. In this book he is the jovial companion, the generous friend, the brave soldier, obedient to his superiors, animating his equals, and instructing them in their duty. He pursues his inclinations, but it is because his queen and country call him: he turns a deaf ear to the entreaties of friends and relatives; but then who is a hero without a fixed resolution? Yet it is true that Matthew Bishop left his home to rove, and broke his father's heart, and weakened his mother's intellects by his neglect: he married a wife, and deserted her clandestinely after a few weeks: we are not sure that he did not squander her property as he did his own; and remaining abroad for several years, he returned to find his wife married again. It was, perhaps, rather his misfortune than his crime,

that his reappearance before his unhappy wife while she was in a state of pregnancy caused her sudden death. This is, however, the gloomy side of this piece of autobiography, and we prefer to forget the follies and the vices of the old soldier, and to laugh at his whimsical stories, his rhodomontade, and his racy descriptions of his own humours. A century after his exploits, Matthew Bishop, a hero of the famous taking of Gibraltar, and many other achievements while a sailor, and as a soldier a conqueror at Oudenarde and Malplaquet, and the faithful follower of the great Duke of Marlborough through all his latter victories, shall be again permitted his dearest delight, that of "fighting his battles o'er again."

Matthew Bishop was born at Deddington in Oxfordshire: he afterwards removed to live with a relative at Canterbury. He marks his stay there by a characteristic anecdote of the dry manner of William III. This monarch was passing through Canterbury to go to Holland. "I gathered all the flowers out of our own garden and several more, to adorn the high street as he came along; and with some others ran by the side of his coach from College Yard almost two miles, huzzaing and crying God bless king William! till his majesty put his hand upon the glass, and looking upon us said, *it is enough*." Matthew had already become discontented with home; the "thoughts of the sea ran in his mind," and he determined to take leave of his friends, and seek a birth on board of some ship of war. In February 170$\frac{1}{2}$ he entered as one of the company of the Swift-snow. Soon after this he heard of the death of the king, which filled him with agreeable reflections, for he judged that "we should then have a smart war, and flattered himself with the hope of making his fortune." When war with France was proclaimed, the Swift-snow joined the fleet under Sir George Rook, and sailed to the coast of Spain. Operations were carried on against Cadiz, and when an attack was meditated upon Rota, pioneers were selected from the different ships' companies. Matthew Bishop volunteered his services. In the course of the siege, which was, however, soon raised, he met with an adventure from which he professes to have derived much instruction.

"We went into a house, with a court at the back of it, and we filled the rooms with men, for we were obliged to lie heads and points, that there might be room enough: we got what we could to cover us and keep us from the floor. In searching we accidentally found a room where there were a great many nets and old sails lying upon the ground. Amongst them I found two very good jackets, and underneath I felt something hard tied up close in a linen bag. My comrades saw I had got something of value, for I could not conceal it from them. It contained sixty pieces of eight, and I gave a fellow

that was along with me five to say nothing of it. But instead of concealing, he divulged it. I put some in one pocket and some in another, so that all my pockets had some, and when I had done laid myself down and had a very sound sleep I leave the reader to judge whether my waking was agreeable: I had laid down with my pockets full, but when I arose they were empty. This threw me into a very great passion, especially with him that laid down with me, and him that took my bribe to keep my prize a secret. But when my passion subsided I became very pensive, and seriously reflected on the deceit of mankind. Before this accident I thought I could have confided in and even ventured my life in my companion's hands. But now I resolved to be very cautious whom to trust for the future. As I could not have believed, had I not found it verified by experience, that any man could be so great a rogue; from that time I formed the resolution of never being over and above intimate with any one, but to keep them at a distance. A steady observance of this gained me more friends than ever."

On breaking up from before Cadiz, the English and Dutch fleets pursued the Spaniards and French into Vigo, when Admiral Hopson broke the boom, and he and his brother sailors succeeded in blowing up the enemy; and the sailors sacked the harbour, while the soldiers were similarly occupied in the town. The Swift-snow sailed to Portsmouth to refit, after which, in 1703, she went on a cruise, the valiant Matthew Bishop being still one of her crew. A sail was espied, chase given, English colours hoisted: "Down chests, up hammocks, was the cry," when, unhappily, the enemy proved no enemy, pulled down her French, and showed the true colours of England. "We found it to be the ——— that had orders to call us to join Sir Cloudesley Shovel, for he was out at sea. Then, gentlemen, says I, up chests and down hammocks, although I loved to hear the voice of a cannon, as well as some men do the sound of a bell, and always loved to be in action. They were all in good spirits, and we sailed merrily along to join our admiral."

After anchoring at Tangiers for some time, the fleet proceeded through the straits, and thence to Leghorn: there was then the same complaint of the want of an enemy that has existed in later times.

"We had cruizers out, but no vessels appeared; and we said amongst ourselves, that we had swept the sea clean. We had reason enough to say so, for it was a long while since we had the pleasure of saluting one; as for my part I began to despair of seeing another. I longed to be in action, for my nature was such that without it my spirits fell; but when employed or engaged, it awoke those spirits that were asleep, and instead of being cast down as thousands are, they rose to such a degree as to be equal to any. I thank God my spirits never failed me, especially when there was any thing to be done either by engagement or distress of weather."

XUM

In 1704 the fleet under Sir George Rook possessed itself, by a vigorous stroke, of Gibraltar. The fighting here pleased Matthew Bishop so much, that the officers asked him what made him so merry. He had shortly further cause for joy: the English fleet encountered the French at sea, and a severely contested engagement ensued. Matthew Bishop gives a description of it in his usual style.

"Next day Admiral Leak led the van with his blue flag at the fore-top-mast-head. We were about fifty sail of the line of battle; it was a beautiful line, and would have cheered the heart of any who loved their queen and country to have seen it. And the French were as beautiful. We sailed in the morning till within gun shot, looking at each other. When Admiral Leak got up to their van, Sir George Rooke fired a gun, for every man to be at his post. Then at it we went, loading and firing as quick as possible. We were closely engaged, and for my part I loaded twelve times the eleventh gun, in steering on the starboard quarter. And would have loaded more, had not I been prevented by a cannon ball which cut our powder boy almost in two, and I thought it had taken my arm off: for it took a piece of my shirt sleeve, which caused my arm, in a moment, to swell as big as my thigh. I went down to the doctor and he put a red plaister to it, and would have had me to have staid below; but I said I would go up and see how my comrades sped, and do all I could as long as I had hand or leg to support myself. When I came up I found four of those I had left killed, and another wounded. I said to him that was wounded, I am sorry for your bad success in this quarter of an hour's time. He shook his head, saying, I wish you better success in all your undertakings, for I am a dead man. Then I went to work, and as I could use my right hand, my business was to stop the touchhole whilst the other spunged it.

"I continued in high spirits, having no apprehension of danger; for when I came to be warm at it, it drowned all weak imaginations; and I spirited up those that were faint-hearted when they saw our ship like a slaughter-house and they wallowing in gore blood. Though I have since thought that it made a very shocking appearance, for we were very much shattered, which was visible to all the fleet. Sir Cloudesley sent a lieutenant, who when he beheld us, gave us his voice with a speaking trumpet, for to tow out of the line. Our captain's spirit was too great for that, so he answered, that he would not stir out of the line as long as his ship would swim. Thousands would have been glad of such an opportunity of getting out of danger; but our courage overcame our fear, though we were much damaged: for they shot our main and fore-top-mast by the board; and also splintered our main-mast, our fore-mast, and our boltsprit and mizzen, besides killing a great number of men, which, as I observed before, made our ship like a slaughter-house.

"I leave the reader to judge whether we were much disabled or not; for we belonged to Sir Cloudesley's squadron, and he ordered the Tartar Pink to lie pretty nigh us. By that we found they were in great torture for us; and they expected, every moment, that we should

be swallowed up. I must acknowledge Sir Cloudesley's tenderness was very great, in sending a ship for our safe-guard to take us in in case of the ship's sinking, which every one expected to be our fate. Notwithstanding we were so much disabled, we continued fighting as long as any, which was from ten in the morning till seven at night; when the French thought proper to sheer off for fear we should make a greater slaughter amongst them. They were pretty much shattered, and I believe in the general more than us; which made them sick of the lay. So ended the bravest engagement ever known, since the memory of man. All the officers behaved with gaiety, and their actions were gallant."

Matthew's cheerfulness in action again attracted the attention of his superiors, and as they were "staggering on to Lisbon to repair the horrible condition of the ship," he was accosted by an officer, and asked if he was not the man who was so merry after the taking of Gibraltar. "Yes, sir," said Bishop, "but you are not the gentleman that inquired why I was so." He told him that he was killed in the engagement. "Sir," says Bishop, "I am sensible of it, and very much concerned for him. He was a good officer, much of a gentleman, and knew how to distinguish mankind." By which eulogy Matthew doubtless meant that he had favoured him with a portion of his conversation. Matthew goes on to record the dialogue.

"Cheer up your spirits, and do not let your courage be cast down, replied he; behave well and you will be well used. Sir, said I, as to my courage in regard to my duty it was never dampt, but I am still in concern for so good an officer as he was. Though he is dead, yet, said he, while I live you shall want nothing that I can help you to. I thanked him for his civilities, and he told me, he should always respect me for his sake. Thus we parted, and I was very well pleased to have so much confabulation with one that might be of service to me. We had more conferences than I can remember, and he asked me whether in any shape my spirits failed me in that bloody engagement? My answer was, No, sir, I was so intent on my duty to my queen and country, that it took off all fear or dread that might possibly have hung upon my spirits, for the preservation of my own life, had I not behaved vigorously. I like you, Bishop, said he, because your courage exceeds all I ever saw. As for that, sir, said I, you have seen my behaviour, and I hope to continue in that disposition of mind. I beg of God that it may be durable; for while it continues with me I shall have pleasure, but if it leaves me I shall find nothing but difficulties. This presence of mind made me regarded by mankind, and even the officers liked to converse with me; and the sailors were always glad to be in my company."

The next exploit in which Matthew was concerned was the defending of Gibraltar, to which the Spaniards had laid siege. He again volunteered for the land service, and had abundant opportunities of displaying his contempt of danger; after de-

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scribing the bursting of a bomb within a few inches of him, and his method of treating such cases (he recommends the instantaneously lying down by its side), he says, with great coolness, "I never minded a bomb at all, only to observe its falling, and step out of the way, and fall with my face to the ground, which I would advise you to do if ever they should drop near you." The story of the bomb was of course reserved to amuse the officers with on his return to the ship; they were, he says, continually urging him to discourse of somewhat or other that was agreeable to them, and would often have him to their rooms to converse with them. This indulgence, while it fostered the boldness of Matthew's natural disposition, unfortunately gave him a great turn for advising and managing. A lady of one of the Duke of Ormond's gentlemen happened to be delivered of a boy on board: upon this occasion Matthew thought he had a right to speak; he accordingly went up to the father, and after, doubtless, making his best bow, he said to the gentleman, "Sir, as the Almighty has thought proper that the seas should produce you a son, pray let it be his profession, and you need not fear but his calling will be agreeable to his constitution, his actions will gain him honour and applause, and you may congratulate him on his success." The man, says Bishop, was struck dumb for some time, as well he might; at last "a faint speech came out, to the end that he intended him for a better calling." Matthew smartly retorted that he ought not to despise "that calling which was leading him to a place of safety," whereupon the gentleman took off without a reply. The autobiographer of course sets him down as "a proud stubborn man," and in addition sensibly enough observes,

> "He was offended, and would not accept of any more of my confabulations, neither would he let me see him during our voyage to England. I was very sorry to give any offence by innocent discourse, for I did not mean to offend him in the least, but only to pass time away. If we were confined from talking, we should be very unhappy; but our tongues are at liberty to speak our sentiments, provided we do not apply them rudely: I would have all men to know their distance; and though a man may have the favour of his master's conversation sometimes, yet I would not have him grow upon it, and take offensive liberties."

At Chatham the Swift-snow was condemned, and the men turned over, some on board the Breda, and some to the Ipswich. Matthew was drafted into the Ipswich, much against his inclination; but the captain had heard so high a character of the man, that it was very difficult for him to procure a change in his destination, in which, however, he ultimately succeeded. From the Breda he entered the Fox: business had been dull in the Breda, he hoped for brisker employment in his new ship.

Addressing the officers as usual, "I hope," said he, "we shall meet with something that I may show you my dexterity, and you shall see how your men will exert themselves. *I believe*," said Matthew, "there *were none of your men* at the *great Numachie* (Bishop was then in his glory, when permitted to talk of the great Naumachia), I believe they are most fresh-water sailors, but if I continue amongst them I shall make them salt-water sailors, and they shall not want for instructions (no doubt of that) if they are capable of receiving any; and I will endeavour to make them as bold as lions when they come before the enemy!" A storm soon after overtook them in the bay of Biscay; the sea ran mountains high, and the "fresh-water sailors were in great torture." Matthew says he must "confess it was a surprising tornado; nothing, however, compared with what he had seen in the Mediterranean; and so he told the men, and thereupon took occasion to give them one of his 'long yarns.'" He gives utterance to one maxim of especial force: "a sailor," he avers, "should never be afraid of any thing that the sea can produce!" This kind of fear he esteems as something unnatural, and to be abhorred as alien from a loyal heart. This is in the spirit of Long Tom Coffin, of the Ariel, the hero of Mr. Cooper's novel of the Pilot.

The accomplishment on which Matthew Bishop most prides himself was his skill in alluring men to join the ship's company. While others resorted to the rude measure of pressing by violence, Matthew, solely by his natural eloquence, and a liberal expenditure of his cash, would entice ten times as many to enter as volunteers. But we cannot afford room to recount any of the histories of his exploits: it is sufficient to say, that on his bringing in a great body of fine fellows, his captain exclaimed, "Bishop, thou art the greatest artist that ever was born, for to unite such a body of men as these. I cannot conceive your genius," added he, "for it is miraculous and unconceivable how you should get so many men, and the lieutenant and mate so few!" Bishop took this occasion to beg a favour of the captain, it was nothing less than his discharge: of course this was gall and wormwood to his gallant commander. "Bishop," said the captain, "I cannot part from you so easily as from my liquor, for when that is gone I can get more, but when you are gone I shall never get such another." The fact was, that little was to be done at sea, and Bishop had heard, as all Europe had done, of the exploits of the Duke of Marlborough, and "longed to follow to the field so warlike a lord." He obtained his wish: but in the interval proposed to return home to see his parents, whom he had utterly neglected. He found his father dead; his mother told him he had been the occasion of his death. "And it put him very much out of order to think that he should be kind to

all the world and neglect his dear father." His mother's "tender expressions, and the word father, cut him to the heart: it was then that he found out that he was of two natures, having degenerated from a heart like a lion to a melting heart." All this "torture," as he calls it, did not prevent his leaving home, and walking from Deddington in Oxfordshire, to Chatham in Kent, in two days, and in a day or two after his arrival there, from marrying a person he had a great regard for. His fidelity had been that of a sailor, for during his absence he had taken no thought of his beloved. Immediately on landing his courtship is equally characteristic: he commences his love-making as he would have done an engagement, and no doubt carried the whole affair through with the same vigour and spirit that distinguished all his other conquests. He gives this seaman-like description of the lady's claims to his attachment:

"I married Sarah Dickers, daughter to John Dickers, who was brought up by her grandfather James Jackman; she was a woman that was very well educated, and I had a fortune with her suitable to her education: she had several other good perfections, and her conversation and good nature were amiable, and she had my soul's affection. And I think she was endued with a gift more than any of her sex, which was patience; therefore I thought myself blessed above all mankind in a wife, for there was not a spot nor a blemish in her that I could perceive."

All this time he had never alluded to his intention of going abroad to join the army: and the poor woman conceived that her husband and herself were about to settle upon their little estate, and pass the remainder of their lives together in the mutual enjoyment which had distinguished the few weeks of their union. Nothing was, however, farther from the mind of the adventurous Matthew Bishop: he had determined to enlist, and for this purpose, under the pretence of a visit to a friend for a short time, he set off to execute his plan. Meeting with a serjeant at Oxford recruiting for Webb's regiment, then in Flanders, he joined forces, took the serjeant's business out of his hands, and recruited in his behalf all the way to London, with the success that had marked his career in the sea service. When he joined his regiment, he was quickly distinguished from the awkward recruits that accompanied him: he was a veteran warrior, though no soldier, and seems to have gone by the name of Sir Cloudesley, doubtless from his frequent mention of the name, and his constant allusion to the "great Numachie" in which he fought under his flag. He thus describes the manner in which the adjutant picked him out from his comrades:

"As soon as the officers appeared, the adjutant perceived me, and said to the corporal, why do you suffer that man to be with those awkward dogs? and called me in this manner, 'Sir Cloudesley, come

here.' I obeyed his command, and after he had asked me several questions, which I very readily resolved, he said, I have a notion you can do your exercise. I told him I thought it my duty to be conformable to the will of the corporal, notwithstanding I had some idea of the thing; but to please the ignorant, I came into their measures. With that he desired to see some of my performance. Being a very brisk man, he acted with his cane, and desired I would observe his motions and follow him. After I had so done, he desired I would go through it alone; accordingly I did, and with more life and vigor than before. He finding that, desired the corporal would not let me go out, but when the battalion went. So I took my farewel of accompanying the recruits to exercise any longer. But still I was for bringing them forward as much as possibly I could, for I took them all by turns, and gave them a private lesson unknown to any but myself, and I found that did in some measure improve myself, by giving me the true air that a soldier should have."

When the officers noticed him, he says he used "to give them the economy of his behaviour" in the sea service, "with which they were highly delighted." No doubt that "Sir Cloudesley" and his "great Numachie" were standing jokes in the mess-room. Matthew, however, soon became as great a soldier as he had been a sailor; but we cannot follow him through his campaigns: at the same time it would be wrong not to allow that he recalls to memory the classic names of Marlborough's victories with some interest; that his description of the transactions before his eyes are often vividly told; and, in short, that we at length acquire a sort of sneaking kindness and respect for the vagabond autobiographer. Out of all his military reminiscences, we shall select, as an example, his account of the battle of Malplaquet:

"When we had completed that great work, our general had orders to march with all the expedition imaginable, and I will venture to say that he led on briskly; and the men did not want for encouragement upon the march. We marched all night, and greatest part of the next day, before we came to the ground where we pitched our tents at the sun going down. It was just under one of the French lines where we took up our quarters that night, and in the morning early the general beat. I jumped up and awaked those that were asleep, that they might be ready at the word of command. For my part I was animated to such a degree that my soul was in raptures, thinking that we were going upon some expedition, wherein I might have an opportunity to exert myself; and the men seeing me in such spirits, were enlivened so much that they forgot their long march.

"The world may say it is a very uncommon thing for such an insignificant fellow as I to have such influence over the men. But yet it is certain, my word has fled through the whole regiment in a minute. What gave me this ascendant over them was my making up their deficiencies, and by so doing I had them always at my beck. What could a man of my station desire more? I always thought it a blessing from the Almighty, therefore I threw my life and fortune before him.

He saved my life, but my fortune was divided amongst thousands for my country's good: though now I begin to miss it, hoping they will consider the old soldier and the well-wisher to that employment, and that will compensate for my past service, and render me capable to exert myself against the French at this critical juncture; as we did at the following battle of Malplaquet, or the battle of the wood, which all the world must own was as bold an attempt as ever the world did produce.

"The enemy had the advantage of the wood, which would have rendered them capable of destroying the greatest part of us, had they not been intimidated. When we came near the wood, we threw all our tent polls away, and ran into it as bold as lions. But we were obstructed from being so expeditious as we should, by reason of their artful inventions, by cutting down trees and laying them across, and by tying the boughs together in all places. This they thought would frustrate us, and put us into disorder, and in truth there were but very few places in that station in which we could draw up our men in any form at all; but where we did it was in this manner: sometimes ten deep, then we were obstructed and obliged to halt, then fifteen deep or more, and in this confused manner we went through the wood, but yet all in high spirits, which was something extraordinary after so great fatigue. Our brave Duke of Marlborough, and all the other commanding officers in general, were sensible of the advantageous ground the enemy had at that action. Besides the wood, Mons was in our rear, which obliged us to have a detachment of a hundred men out of every regiment that was at the siege of the citadel of Tournay, in order to block it up. This was a great weakening to us, at the most dangerous attack man can devise, for we were environed round on all sides by our enemies, and were obliged to fight our way through the midst of them, to support our honour and self-preservation. We fought the battle, but I will acknowledge that God gained the victory: for without him we could have done nothing of ourselves. These were my thoughts all the time we were placing ourselves in a form, that we might be in a capacity to receive their warm charge, which was done at the edge or border of the wood. Then we cast our eyes upon a breast-work that was not above half a furlong from the wood, to which Sir Richard Temple, who commanded our brigade, ordered us to advance. I was in the front of the first division, and could perceive the French were well prepared to give us a warm salute. It soon broke us in a terrible manner, though our vacancies were quickly filled up. I was prodigious sorry to see our lieutenant colonel Ramsey shot dead, and expire in a moment. Nay I was obliged to squeeze my right hand man, or I could not have avoided stepping upon him; which I was unwilling to do, though he could not have felt me. When we got clear of the dead and wounded we ran upon them, and returning their fire, even broke them out of the breast-work. Then they retreated to another, but in a confused manner. Then we were commanded to fall off to the right, that the second battalion might draw themselves up in a body, in order to exert themselves as we did before. A Dutch regiment at the same time behaved with a great deal of courage and conduct. The Welsh

fusiliers made our ground good at the breast-work that we had deprived them of. I could perceive upon the right of our battalion, the second battalion of guards fired by platoons, and behaved incomparably well. Neither were the French deficient in their attack, but both sides behaved to admiration; therefore we said one to another, the guards are endeavouring to gain their honour. The reason of that saying was, old soldiers had used to call them Vain's army; because they were always used to fine service, and never to suffer the hardships that others are subject to. But what I disliked them for was, the moment they had gone through their battalion with their platoon firing, they behaved themselves like blackguards, by plundering their own dead, and pulling them about before they were cold or quite dead. So that my bowels yearned for their cruelty. Thus I found they fought for gain; and I am afraid there are too many of that stamp.

"The next attack, we could distinguish that there were some misunderstandings among the French, which rose to great disputes, and all through a froward commander. While they were a jarring, our brave commander, Sir Richard Temple, made up to them, in order to learn the difference that subsisted between them, and by so doing he disranked them; and ended all disputes by a volley of fire-arms, that rendered a great number of them insensible of knowing what had past. Then they returned our volley with great success. I may say it, for my right and left hand man were shot dead, and in falling had almost thrown me down, for I could scarce prevent my falling among the dead men. Then I said to the second rank, come, my boys, make good the front. With that they drew up. Then I said, never fear, we shall have better luck the next throw. But I just saved my word, for my right hand man was shot through the head, and the man that followed me was shot through the groin, and I escaped all, though nothing but the providence of God could protect me. Then our rear man was called up to be a front; but the poor man was struck with a panic, fearing that he should share the same fate as the others did. He endeavoured to half cover himself behind me, but I put my hand behind me and pulled him up, and told him, that I could no ways skreen him, for he was sensible a man behind me was shot. By strong persuasion I prevailed upon him, so that he was not in the least daunted, but stood it out as bold as a lion. We received a great many volleys after that, and one time I remember it wounded my captain and took my left hand man, and almost swept off those that were on my right, so that it left the man that was intimidated and myself alone. Then I said, come, partner, there is nothing like having good courage. So we filled up our ranks in a regular form, and when we had so done, we fired upon them briskly and with great success: for they were repulsed, and almost afraid to face us any more, after our sharp firing, but were glad to retreat, and fall back as fast as they could. Then we cast our eyes to the left, and could perceive a breast-work: I could distinguish that the French were lining it with all the expedition imaginable. Upon that I had some conference with my colonel, and told him that without great care we should be flanked. He was a man of a polite genius, and I could observe that he had a

great deal of conduct to guide his actions, which was a great addition to his profession, especially at that juncture where thousands of lives were depending. After our noble colonel had heard my discourse, he called to Sir Richard Temple, and said that his battalion would be flanked. He replied, no, go on yet, colonel, for there is an absolute necessity for it. We were eager to go on, for we desired to be expeditious in our attack. With that the colonel called to Sir Richard again, and said, if he must go on, he would go on. Then the aid-de-camp came, and said, go on, but the colonel spoke first, and said, wheel to the left of the battalion. Those words we observed, and as swift as thought we ran upon their breast-works with a huzza, and gave them a warm fire, which made them tumble one over another. At the same time, the Welsh fusiliers being upon the right of them, flanked them with a kind salute, which jammed them together in their breast-works. So we did not give them time to plunder their dead, neither did they approve of it, lest we should increase their number of corps. I would not have you think the French were idle, for as our battalion was running upon the breast-works, they fired upon us and killed a great number, though inferior to their own. Then we had orders to wheel to the right. Had we not, the French horse would certainly have fallen upon our rear. This happened at the ground where we first made our attack. But when we faced them, they backed their horses as fast as they could, and we advanced and retreated in the front of them for a considerable time, till they opened to the right and left. Then they advanced forward. With that we fell back a little and made a halt. Our commander, Sir Richard Temple, was very active, and showed a great deal of ingenuity at that juncture. I could perceive it by the orders. Our colonel ordered the drum to beat a march; accordingly they did, though our marching was very slow; but we lifted up our feet as fast as we could, in such a manner that they imagined we were coming bodily upon them. With that the horse would fall back and make a halt, and we did in like manner. This was the method we used advancing and retreating, till such time as their foot thought proper to make off. Then the horse thought fit to make all the haste they could after them, so it was properly a general retreat. Then we were commanded to pursue, which we did, but to no purpose. I remember when we mounted a hill we could perceive they were upon another opposite to us, and sent us a salute by the mouth of three cannon, as an adieu; the first cannon ball grazed in the front but did no damage at all, and the colonel desired we would lie down, for we should have another or two, and we found it as he observed. After three cannons were fired we got up in high spirits, for we were under no apprehensions of having any more: so that did not much obstruct us in making our pursuit; and we soon put the French to the run. But it availed us little, having only occasioned the French to get into garrison sooner than they would have done, had not we pursued them.

"As we found they were determined not to face us any more, we returned to our army, or the ground we gained by our dexterity and artful inventions. It being the close of the day, we all began to think of rest, and having no tents to fix, we were obliged to take up with

such quarters as we could find. We were all dispersed in a short time, some in one place, and some in another. I remember well, after I had pitched upon whom I thought proper to go along with me, I perceived a house at some distance, whither we all agreed to go together, hoping to find it empty. But we found it the reverse, for it was full of miserable objects, that were disabled and wounded in such a manner that I thought them past all recovery. Therefore I said to my companions, I don't think there is a possibility of our having any rest this night. We endeavoured to the utmost of our ability to get out of the noise of the wounded, but found it almost impossible, except we had gone three or four miles distance, for all the hedges and ditches were lined with disabled men. Therefore we returned to an orchard and laid ourselves down in as warm a place as we could find, but the horrible cries and groans of the wounded terrified my soul, so that I was in tortures and fancied I felt their sufferings So I could not lay my eyelids together all that night, for one thought or other that came fresh into my mind, after the agony I was in for my fellow-creatures."

When the changes in the ministry took place, and the war languished, Bishop, with his usual foresight, perceived that nothing more would be done in the fighting line in Europe: instead, therefore, of returning home to his wife, to whom, during his absence of several years, he had only written twice or thrice, he got drafted into a new regiment intended for Canada. He then renews his adventures, partly by sea and partly by land, in America, till accident, rather than design, brings him back to his native shores. We have already intimated the catastrophe that attended his return.

In what condition Bishop was when he wrote this book, we are not informed: he had received no promotion, though he hints, that had he sought or wished it, he might have contrived to have been made an adjutant. Various expressions in the course of the work would lead us to suppose that even in his old age he had an idea of being again employed; and it is not improbable that these memoirs were written with some such view. They are dedicated to the Earl of Stair, at that time Commander-in-Chief.

The Dramatic Works of Thomas Shadwell, Esq. in four Volumes. London, 1720. 12*mo.*

It is so rare for people to form their own opinions, or to examine into the validity of prevailing notions, that we must not be surprised to find that the success of Dryden in ridiculing the pretensions of Shadwell has been continued up to the present day. When his name has been mentioned, the allusion to MacFlecknoe, and to some of the more powerful strokes of a rival's satire, has always carried sufficient weight to stifle the

claims of Shadwell to posthumous fame. Our author had a fair reputation in his day, and it will astonish many to hear that he deserved it. The comedy of the reigns of Charles II. and his immediate successors will find no defenders in us: we grant their general badness, the poor contrivances, and their miserable morality, from which even the wit of Congreve could not redeem them. Nevertheless, in the composition of works upon a wretched plan, an author may exhibit his genius, and show indications of power that deserves to be better employed. Those who are fully impressed with the force and truth of Dryden's satire will be surprised to learn, that Shadwell was an accomplished observer of human nature, that he had a ready power of seizing the ridiculous in the manners of the times, and that he possesses and displays in his writings a very considerable fund of humour. He was moreover a man of sense and information, and in the midst of much indecency, coarseness, and whimsical folly, we find numerous valuable remarks, and many dialogues of pointed, able discussion. Certainly we would recommend the plays of Shadwell to neither indiscriminate perusal nor performance; but we believe that the literary antiquary might pick out much enjoyment from this mass of forgotten comedy, that the modern dramatist might reap many valuable hints, and that he who has a relish for broad humour, and can understand and enjoy the absurdities of character when developed in an exhibition of ancient folly, will do well to spend some leisure time over the plays of Shadwell. As for ourselves, we propose to do nothing more than justice in attempting to put the reputation of this author on its true level, and vindicate his memory from that charge of dulness which hangs over it. In the process we expect to be able to reproduce to the world many points and scenes which, while they throw light on past manners, are capable of affording some present instruction and amusement.

The model of Shadwell, in the composition of his plays, appears to have been the comedies of Jonson: he has applied the same methods to expose the follies of his day that his celebrated predecessor did before him; in some instances, the imitation is even closer: characters such as Sir Humphrey Scattergood, in the Woman Captain, who is a modification of Sir Epicure Mammon, are transferred with an allowance of difference for the changes of manners, and some of the ideas and speeches are also adopted with but slight variation. But though Shadwell may resemble the celebrated Ben in his partiality to pourtray extravagance in character, in the desultoriness of his plots, and in his general method and style, he falls far short of his model in his ability to represent passion and that intensity of feeling which Jonson sometimes infuses into his characters. Thus, though we may justly call Shadwell the

Jonson of his day, we must remember that the days of Charles II. and his brother form very different epochs in our literature from those of Elizabeth and the first James—the force of genius in the two writers preserving somewhat of the same ratio that exists between the times. Shadwell himself, so far from disguising this imitation, was proud of it, and in the following extract from the preface to one of his first plays explains the view he took of Ben Jonson's peculiar style.

"I have endeavoured to represent variety of humours (most of the persons of the play differing in their characters from one another), which was the practice of Ben Jonson, whom I think all dramatic poets ought to imitate, though none are like to come near; he being the only person that appears to me to have made perfect representations of human life. Most other authors that I ever read, either have wild romantic tales, wherein they strain love and honour to that ridiculous height that it becomes burlesque; or in their lower comedies content themselves with one or two humours at most, and those not near so perfect characters as the admirable Jonson always made, who never wrote comedy without seven or eight excellent humours. I never saw one, except that of Falstaff, that was in my judgment comparable to any of Jonson's considerable humours: you will pardon this digression, when I tell you he is the man, of all the world, I most passionately admire for his excellency in dramatic poetry.

"Though I have known some of late so insolent to say, that Ben Jonson wrote his best plays without wit; imagining that all the wit in plays consisted in bringing two persons upon the stage to break jests, and to bob one another, which they call repartee; not considering that there is more wit and invention required in the finding out good humour, and matter proper for it, than in all their smart repartees. For in the writing of a humour, a man is confined not to swerve from the character, and obliged to say nothing but what is proper to it: but in the plays which have been wrote of late, there is no such thing as perfect character, but the two chief persons are most commonly a swearing, drinking, whoring ruffian for a lover, and an impudent, ill-bred tomrig for a mistress; and these are the fine people of the play; and there is that latitude in this, that almost any thing is proper for them to say: but their chief subject is bawdy and profaneness, which they call brisk writing, when the most dissolute of men that relish those things well enough in private, are shocked at them in public: and methinks, if there were nothing but the ill manners of it, it should make poets avoid that indecent way of writing."

It will be seen from this free piece of criticism that the object of Shadwell was the exhibition of character, the selection of peculiar humours, as showing themselves in individuals, and this not, as in modern comedies, where the whole tide of the play tends to the illustration of some maxim, or some passion, or some single prevailing folly, but by mixing up together seven or eight remarkable characters, each displaying his own modes of thinking, acting, and speaking. The art of the dramatist is

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shown in the choice of incidents and the arrangement of the action, in such a manner as to exhibit these several varieties of persons in an easy and natural manner. Shadwell's plan was a very simple one: he abandons all attempt at combination, and represents his characters in a series of dialogues, that, generally speaking, might be shuffled like cards for any connexion they have together: beyond this, that they are carried on by the same parties, and have a kind of internal reference to each other.

From the latter part of the extract, it might have been supposed that Shadwell's plays contained no such faults as are therein censured. It is nevertheless true that they abound in indecency and loose conversation, and that three out of four dialogues turn upon subjects which cannot be even alluded to in the presence of women at the present day, and which are moreover expressed with the utmost latitude, and an unblushing plainness and particularity.

There is reason to believe that the comedies of Shadwell approach to being imitations of the manners of his time. If so, no one can fail to remark the pitch to which immorality had arrived, and at the more extraordinary openness with which it was displayed. The sense of shame appears to have been unknown, for the most naked savage could not court the public gaze with a more unblushing unconsciousness than do the heroes and heroines of all the comedies of this period. Much of fiction, whether worked up for the stage or the closet, turns upon love: the love, however, of the comedies we speak of is the merest sensuality. The best characters can only commend personal charms, and the sole object of their pursuit is possession: if it is to be obtained by importunity, the price is considered cheap; if by marriage, the sacrifice is held to be considerable, but is nevertheless justified by the anticipated delights of sensual intercourse. Neither is any secret made that these are the terms on which love is sought and won: on the contrary, the fullest details of the transaction are dwelt upon with great significance. It is remarkable that the ulterior objects of marriage, the respectability and happiness of domestic life, are not even alluded to; marriage is invariably spoken of as an evil to be sedulously avoided; and in Shadwell we find repeated assertions of its growing infrequency. In proportion as the connubial state is depreciated, the sacredness of the compact is abused. A husband appears to dread the infidelity of his wife, solely because it may expose him to ridicule. The easiness with which lapses of this kind, both before and after marriage, are taken, would throw a rigid moralist into an ecstasy of indignation. The best women, according to the ideas of these dramatists, only value themselves upon their chastity as having it under their own command: the wife uses it as a check upon her husband,

and the maid in order to secure better terms, a finer man, or a finer fortune. The low ebb to which this virtue had fallen is, moreover, proved by the indiscriminate mixture in the society introduced on the stage, of women claiming to be virtuous, and of women openly living upon the price of its abandonment. The exemplary Theodosia, in the Humorists, converses familiarly with Mrs. Frisk, whom the explanatory bill of the dramatis personæ terms "a vain wench of the town, debauched, and kept by Brisk." Lady Vain, in the Sullen Lovers, who is designated by a name in the list of persons which we should not introduce into our pages, except unavoidably in a quotation, mixes on terms of perfect equality with the more correct ladies of the piece. The very scene which Shadwell, in answer to his detractors, himself picks out in his comedies as being one that will "live," represents the means of advice and persuasion used by one Lady Busy to Isabella, the daughter of Lady Cheatly, in order to persuade her to accept the offers of a man of rank who proposed to "keep" her on good terms. This passes in the presence of her mother, and with her sanction. The lover, though backed by Lady Busy, and also by Lady Cheatly, finding the young lady inexorable, who reasons very discreetly upon the affair, at last proposes marriage, and on this condition the bargain is completed. Of the exceeding grossness with which loose conduct is exhibited, the very nature of the subject precludes us from giving instances. It may suffice to mention one scene in which parties are represented on the stage as in bed, and in that situation detected by an injured husband. This occurs in the Volunteers or Stockjobbers. Where parties have come to an understanding, instead of resorting to the modern method in novels of marking the intervening events by asterisks, an *exit* takes place, for purposes avowed with sufficient plainness, and if any doubts were left, subsequent allusions and remarks would clear up any obscurity.

In another branch of morality, honesty, it may be observed, that avowed gamblers and sharpers live in the society of the most upright and accomplished of the gentlemen; who, in truth, if the heroes of Shadwell are to be taken as models, are little better than their companions. Were there no other proofs, it may be said of the gentlemen as well as the ladies, that if they valued either honour or honesty, they would not hold continual and familiar intercourse with those who exist upon the sale of both.

A peculiarity which relates to manners rather than morals is striking enough, and so remarkably in contrast with modern manners as to be worthy of notice. It consists in the facility with which acquaintances are formed, and the absence of the modern necessity of proper introductions. The use of masks appears to

have had much to do with this. Half the acquaintances that are made on the stage, and which it is proposed to end in marriage, are contracted in the street—at sight. Women appear to have gone about with more independence than in later times; and while the mask protected their reputations, it permitted a licence to their manners. We cannot suppose that the same inconsiderateness and want of due inquiry and caution were carried into real life, but there was doubtless much ground for the light way in which marriage is treated. The parson was always at hand, and there were numbers of men who disgraced their sacred calling by their readiness at all hours, in any place or condition, to perform the ceremony. The culpable negligence of the legislature in permitting contracts entered into under such circumstances to be considered valid did actually give rise to great irregularities. If evidence of this were wanting, we might refer to the memoirs of Constantia Philips, which, though somewhat later in time, exhibit the continuance of the same state of things.

The light which the plays of Shadwell throw on the manners and morals of his age would require a much more copious developement than we can afford. It is our purpose to convey some idea of his comedies to the reader by examples, and all further remarks on the accidental topics we have introduced, or might proceed to mention, we must reserve to accompany the passages we intend to extract.

The first play in this collection is the *Sullen Lovers*. It is partly founded on Moliere's Les Fâcheux, or rather on a report of it which Shadwell received, for he did not read the original until after his own was completed. A lady and gentleman unknown to each other are each equally disgusted by the triflers and fools who beset them wherever they go. Their friends conceiving them well calculated for each other, contrive to bring them together, when they mutually discover that each is an exception to the crowd of impertinents. It is in the various follies of these triflers, and in their persevering attempts to gain the attention of the sullen humorists, that the humour of the piece consists. The principal impertinent is one Sir Positive At-all, a foolish knight, who pretends to understand every thing in the world, and will suffer no man to be acquainted with any thing in his company; neither will he allow mention to be made of the most erudite or the most menial occupation without instantly forcing upon all present a number of positive assurances of his excellence in that particular department. A second impertinent is a poet named Ninny, who has a great notion of his poetical powers, and lets no opportunity pass of reading his verses in or out of season. Woodcock is an exceedingly familiar and good-natured person, but an egregious stickfast, abounding in loving phrases, which he cannot

forbear even in the extremity of anger. Huff is an impudent cowardly Hector, who is impertinent enough to be always borrowing money, and whose company is so disagreeable that he generally succeeds in selling his absence for a loan. The most amusing of these characters is undoubtedly the foolish knight: at his expense several scenes pass off with much gaiety. He will be perfectly understood on the perusal of the following scene. It must be premised that Sir Positive's failing being well known, a little conspiracy is entered into for the sake of displaying him. Stanford and Emilia are the two unhappy people, the sullen humorists, who suffer themselves to be afflicted to torture by the presence of a trifler. Carolina and Lovel are the only decent people, and these the humorists tolerate. Lady Vain has the honour of being the mistress of the all-accomplished Sir Positive. The scene opens with the interference of the knight in a quarrel between poet Ninny and Woodcock, who are disparaging each other's pretensions to a lady neither of them is likely to get. They draw, when Woodcock cries, "Have at you, dear heart!" Sir Positive interposes.

"Hold, Woodcock! why should you disparage poet Ninny? he's a man of admirable parts, and as cunning a fellow, between you and I.—Stanford, I believe he's a Jesuit, but I am sure he is a Jansenist.

Wood. He a Jesuit, that understands neither Greek nor Latin?

Sir Posit. Now he talks of that, Stanford, I'll tell thee what a master I am of those languages; I have found out, in the progress of my study, I must confess with some diligence, four and twenty Greek and Latin words for black-puddings and sausages.

Wood. Think to huff me? I could show you a matter of two hundred wounds I got when I was a volunteer aboard the Cambridge, dear heart, would make you swoon to look upon 'em.

Sir Posit. Cambridge!—well, that Cambridge is a good ship; and do you know, Stanford, that I understand a ship better than any thing in the world?

Stanf. Do you speak, madam? you are pleased with this—— [*To Emilia.*

Emil. Methinks you are as troublesome as he.

Sir Posit. You may talk of your Petts and your Deans, I'll build a ship with any of them for 10000 pound.

Emil. What will become of me? for if I should go, they would follow me.

Lov. This is extremely well painted. [*Shows a picture to Carolina.*

Sir Posit. Painted? Why, do you understand painting?

Lov. Not I, sir.

Sir Posit. I do; if you please, leave that to me: 'tis true, Michael Angelo, Titian, Raphael, Tintoret, Julio Romano, and Paulo Veronese, were very pretty hopeful men; but I would you saw a piece of mine—I showed you my Magdalen, Emilia, and I protest I drew that in half an hour.

XUM

Emil. O! what shall I do to get rid of all these tormentors?

Stanf. I cannot but like this woman yet, whate'er's the matter: and yet I am sure she is impertinent [*Aside.*

Sir Posit. Let me see, H. H.—— O dear! Hans Holben: here are strokes, here's mastery; well, no man in England shall deceive me in Hans Holben's hand, take that from me.

L. Vain. [*To Emilia.*] O' my conscience, madam, this gentleman understands every thing in the world.

Car. In good earnest, Lovel, that's very pleasant. Hans Holben! why, 'tis a new sign for my landlord finished but yesterday, that cost him a noble; the painting done by a fellow that paints posts and rails, one Humphrey Hobson, and he calls him Hans Holben.

Rog. Indeed, Mr. Woodcock, fifty miles in a day was well run.

Wood. I' faith was't, dear heart.

Sir Posit. Run! why, why will you pretend to running in my company? you run! why I have run sixty miles in a day by a lady's coach, that I fell in love withal in the streets, just as she was going out of town, Stanford; and yet I vow to thee, I was not breathed at all that time.

Lov. [*To Car.*] There's knight-errantry for you, madam! let any of your romances match me that now.

Wood. [*To L. Vain.*] 'Tis true, madam, Sir Positive and poet Ninny are excellent men, and brave bully-rocks; but they must grant, that neither of 'em understand mathematics but myself.

Sir Posit. Mathematics! why, who's that talks of mathematics? Let 'em alone, let 'em alone: Now you shall see, Stanford.

Wood. Why, 'twas I, dear heart.

Sir Posit. I, dear heart, quotha? I don't think you understand the principles on't; o' my conscience, you are scarce come so far yet as the squaring of the circle, or finding out the longitude. Mathematics! why this is the only thing I value myself upon in the world, cousin Emilia.

Emil. Heaven deliver me!

Stanf. Curse on 'em all!——Well, there must be something more in this woman than I imagine.

Ninny. [*To Emil.*] No man in England plays better upon the cittern than I do—ask George my barber else: madam, he's a great judge.

Sir Posit. Cittern! cittern! Who named a cittern there? who was't? who was't?

Ninny. Now am I afraid to speak to him, he does so snub one: 'Twas I, and please you, Sir Positive.

Sir Posit. You talk of a cittern before me? when I invented the instrument.

Lov. Woodcock, stand up to him in mathematics—to him.

Wood. Say you so? well then, by the Lord Harry, Sir Positive, I do understand mathematics better than you; and I lie over against the Rose-Tavern in Covent-Garden, dear heart.

Sir Posit. I will justify with my sword that you understand nothing at all on't——draw.

Wood. Nay, hold, hold! I have done, bully-rock, if you be so angry; but it 's a hard case you won't give a man leave to understand a little mathematics in your company, dear heart.

Sir Posit. Pox on 't, I have told thee often enough of this; thou wilt still be putting thyself forward to things thou dost not understand.

Emil. This impudence is beyond all example, and there is no possibility of getting from them.

Car. I 'll tell you one thing, cousin, you cannot understand.

Sir Posit. I 'll be hang'd then.

Car. You cannot cheat at dice.

Sir Posit. Ha, ha! why you don't know me sure, you never heard of me.

Lov. Metaphysics.

Sir Posit. Faith, well thought on, Lovel—prithee put me in mind of that presently; if I don't give you that account of metaphysics shall make you stare again, cut my throat. But as I hope to live, Stanford, 'tis a strange thing Carolina should be so near akin to me, and not know me. False dice! I have spent my time very well indeed, if any man outdoes me in that; for your goads, your high fullams, and low fullams, your cater-deuce-ace, and your sise-cater-deuce, your cinque-trey-ace, your barr-cater-trey, your barr-cinque-deuce, your barr-sise-ace, and all that, when I have studied 'em these sixteen years——Cousin Emilia, you know this, don't you?

Emil. Oh horrid! What will become of me?

Stanf. Sure I was mistaken, for this must be a woman of sense; I love her extremely: I would I did not!

Sir Posit. But what was that, Lovel, I desired you to put me in mind of?

Lov. Legerdemain.

Sir Posit. Good, there 'tis now; I had thought I had kept that quality to myself of all things in the world. Sure the devil must help thee, Lovel: how couldst thou come to know that I understood legerdemain else? Why, I 'll perform all tricks of legerdemain with any man in England, let him be what he will, for the cups and balls, Jack-in-a-pulpit, St. Andrew's-cross.

Car. Undoubtedly, Lovel, Cardinal Mazarine was a great statesman.

Sir Posit. Statesman do you say? Cardinal Mazarine a statesman? well, I will say nothing of myself for that: no, I am no statesman: But you may please to remember who was bobb'd at Ostend, ha, ha! What say you, Stanford?

Emil. O heavens! can you contrive no way of escaping?

Stanf. Let 's e'en try what we can do; for we had better be with one another, than with these fools.

Sir Posit. Betwixt you and I, I was the man that managed all this business against him.

L. Vain. Good-lack-a-day, madam, this gentleman has a bottomless understanding.

Ninny. He 's a very rare man, and has great power and imagination.

Wood. As any man in Europe, dear heart.

Sir Posit. This very thing has made me so famous all over Europe, that I may be at this instant chief minister of state in Russia; but the truth on't is, Stanford, I expect that nearer home.

Rog. Jacob Hall 's a most admirable rope-dancer, Mr. Woodcock.

Sir Posit. Honest Roger! how the devil couldst thou find me out in that? Jacob Hall has told thee, has he not? I thought he would have kept that to himself; but I taught him, nay, I taught the Turk himself.

Lov. Hey, from a statesman to a rope-dancer! what a leap was there!

Car. My maid is excellent at pastry.

Sir Posit. Ha! why there 'tis; now, upon my honour, I understand this ten times better than any thing I have spoke of yet! Pastry! why, the devil take me, if I would not be content never to eat pie, but of my own making, as long as I live. I 'll tell you, when I was but four years old, I had so rich a fancy, and made such extraordinary dirt pies, that the most eminent cooks in all London would come and observe me, to steal from me.

L. Vain. I beseech you, madam Emilia, take notice of Sir Positive; he is a prodigy of understanding.

Sir Posit. Ah, madam, 'tis your pleasure to say so; but 'twas this made me skilful in the art of building, which is the only art I am proud of in the world. I 'll tell you, Stanford, I have seventeen models of the city of London of my own making, and the worst of 'em makes London an other-guess London than 'tis like to be; but no man in England has those models of houses that I have.

Stanf. This affliction is beyond all example: why the devil dost thou provoke him to this?

Lov. Were it not a ridiculous thing of me not to please myself?

Stanf. That 's true; but what will become of us in the mean time?

Emil. Heaven knows! this door 's lock'd, and there 's no escaping at the other.

Sir Posit. I 'll tell you, madam, the other day a damned old rat eat me up a dining-room and withdrawing-chamber, worth fifty pound.

Car. A rat eat up a dining-room and withdrawing-room! how could that be?

Emil. O fie! sister, it 's no matter how: why will you ask him?

Sir Posit. Why, I make all my models of houses in paste; I vow to Gad I am ashamed to tell you how much it costs me a year in milk, meal, eggs, and butter.

L. Vain. Dear Sir Positive, I think you understand more than ever Solomon did.

Sir Posit. No, no, madam; alas! not I, I understand little; but I 'll tell you, madam, what was said of me the other day by some great persons that shall be nameless

L. Vain. What was that, sir?

Sir Posit. That I was a man of the most universal knowledge of any man in England; but, without comparison, the best poet in Europe.

Car. Now, Lovel, to your post.

Lov. Navigation.

Sir Posit. Navigation d'ye talk of?
Car. Geography.
Sir Posit. Geography d'ye talk of?
Lov. Astronomy.
Sir Posit. Astronomy d'ye talk of?
Car. Palmistry.
Lov. Physic.
Car. Divinity.
Lov. Surgery.
Car. Arithmetic.
Lov. Logic.
Car. Cookery.
Lov. Magic.

[*Lovel and Carolina speak so fast one after another, that Sir Positive turns himself first to one, then to another, and has not time to speak to them.*

Sir Posit. Hold, hold, hold, hold! Navigation, geography, astronomy, palmistry, physic, divinity, surgery, arithmetic, logic, cookery, and magic: I'll speak to every one of these in their order; if I don't understand 'em every one in perfection, nay, if I don't fence, dance, ride, sing, fight a duel, speak French, command an army, play on the violin, bag-pipe, organ, harp, hautboy, sackbut, and double curtal, speak Spanish, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Dutch, Welsh, and Irish, dance a jig, throw the bar, swear, drink, swagger, whore, quarrel, cuff, break windows, manage affairs of state, hunt, hawk, shoot, angle, play at cat, stool-ball, scotch-hop and trap-ball, preach, dispute, make speeches——[*Coughs.*] Prithee get me a glass of small-beer, Roger.

Stanf. Hell and furies!

Emil. Oh! oh!— [*They run.*

Sir Posit. Nay, hold! I have not told you half; if I don't do all these, and fifty times more, I am the greatest owl, pimp, monkey, jack-a-napes, baboon, rascal, oaf, ignoramus, logger-head, cur-dog, blockhead, buffoon, jack-pudding, tony, or what you will; spit upon me, kick me, cuff me, lug me by the ears, pull me by the nose, tread upon me, and despise me more than the world now values me.

[*Ex. omnes, and he goes out talking as fast as he can.*"

All this is certainly a little extravagant, but we found it exceedingly laughable, and this we presume to be one of the most approved tests of humour. There are other scenes of an amusing description in this play, among which we may instance a dispute between Woodcock and Ninny, each of whom wants to get the other out of the room: both having been hoaxed by an appointment from a lady to whom they pretend, and who has respectively promised to marry each in this particular apartment secretly at the same hour. The two rivals resort to every possible expedient to secure sole possession, and are at last reduced to fight for it. The dialogue is humorously sustained. A country gentleman is also introduced, who, like all the coun-

try gentlemen of these plays, is a coarse and miserly clodpate. This individual abounds in maxims and proverbs, and many of them are ridiculously introduced. The object of his visit to town is to marry one of the ladies of the piece, from which he is deterred by a long account of the French dishes and exquisite cookery which his intended wife is likely to expect.

The action of the *Humorists* chiefly consists of the addresses of several fantastic persons to a lady of beauty and merit, Theodosia, who amuses each of them with hopes, while she really bestows her affection on "a gentleman of wit and honour:" being, however, under the domination of her aunt, she conceals her affection. The principal humorists are Crazy, a wretched coxcomb, eaten up with disease and debt, who still imagines that every woman he sees is desperately in love with him. Drybob is an affected fellow, who is always aiming at fine speeches, and when he has hit upon any fantastic image, takes care that it shall not drop unnoticed. Brisk is an airy, singing, dancing coxcomb, who, mistaking vanity and foppery for breeding, succeeds in making himself supremely ridiculous. Sneak, a young person, who speaks only an incomprehensible jargon, composed of Latin, Greek, and technical terms of logic, is another humorist, who, however, adds nothing to the humour of the play. He is a failure. Much of the amusement of Crazy's character arises from his maladies, which are of a kind not spoken of in these times. Independent of this perversion of good taste, he and his fellow coxcombs afford some sport, and are hit off with spirit by the author. As a specimen of this, we will quote the commencement of the third act, which opens with a duel between Crazy and Drybob.

Enter Crazy and Drybob with their Swords drawn.

Craz. Come, come; have you made your will?

Dryb. Yes, yes; don't you trouble yourself for that: I have it always ready upon these occasions.

Craz. If you have not, your estate, by being unsettled, may come to be divided among the lawyers, after I have killed you.

Dryb. Sweet Mr. Crazy, don't think to fright me; for I am a rhinoceros, if I care any more for you, than I do for a feather of a shuttlecock.

Craz. This will not fright the rogue. [*Aside.*] Under favour, I will run you under the lungs immediately.

Dryb. He shall not out-huff me. [*Aside.*] Look you, sir, I am no man to be frighted, though you look as big as a Dutch trumpeter; and I think that 's well enough said too.

Craz. I am no gentleman, if I do not stick you to the ground the first pass.

Dryb. I am the son of a corn-cutter, if I do not rip up your puddings instantly.—Death! this rogue looks like a very Bussy d'Ambois.

Craz. Come on, sir; have at you——yet, if you will resign Theodosia, I care not if I be contented with a leg or an arm; not that I believe you have an interest, but for form's sake.

Dryb. Resign my mistress! ha! if I should, do you think she would marry a fellow with a face that looked like a squeezed turnip? and I think there 's a satirical bob upon you.

Craz. I must try some other way.

Dryb. Why, you look already as sour as the picture of a stabbed Lucrece.—I shall break the rogue's heart with these bobs.

[*Crazy beats Drybob's sword out of his hand, before he is aware on't.*

Craz. Now, sir, pray quickly.

Dryb. Hold, hold! I cannot pray very well, but I can run as well as most men in the nation; which will serve my turn better at this time—— [*Runs.*

Craz. Are you so nimble? I shall overtake you. 'Slife! this rogue has run his heats at Newmarket, I think.

[*Drybob runs round the stage, and Crazy after him.*

Dryb. This is a lucky opportunity.

[*Crazy lets fall one of the swords. Drybob takes it up and fights. Enter Mrs. Frisk, passing slowly over the stage.*

Craz. Hold, hold! I say; I 'll spare your life two minutes, till I wait upon yon lady.

Dryb. You spare my life! I scorn your words: but I will, in mercy, let you take your leave of her; since 'tis the last time you shall ever see her.

Frisk. Ah! What 's here? a sword drawn! [*Shrieks.*

Craz. Be not afraid, madam Frisk; I am fighting with a simple fellow here, for your honour.

Frisk. For my honour? I was going to Mr. Brisk's lodging: I 'll call him to help you.

Craz. By no means. Dear madam Frisk, let me kiss but this fair hand, and that will inspire me to kill twenty such rascals in an afternoon. But where shall I have the honour to wait upon you by and by?

Frisk. Put up your sword then; I will be at my lodging within a quarter of an hour, and I shall have never a friend with me.

Dryb. What, will you never have done there?

Craz. Madam, I will but run this fellow through the body a little, and I 'll not fail to wait on you.

Dryb. If I fall on now, I shall come off with honour; for she 'll be sure to call somebody to part us. [*Runs at Crazy.*

Frisk. Help, help, Mr. Brisk! Oh! help, help, Mr. Brisk!

Craz. Stand your ground, you coxcomb! do you think I am bound to fight you by the mile?

[*Fight, and Crazy drives Drybob back.*

There is a more complicate plot than usual bound up with the follies of these people, but it is not so good or so original as to deserve particular mention.

The aim of the *Virtuoso* is to ridicule the natural philosophers

of the day, and is conceived much in the spirit of Peter Pindar, when he represents Sir Joseph Bankes as boiling fleas, to ascertain whether they turn, like lobsters, from black to red. This play was written at a time when the study of natural philosophy had come into some vogue, partly by the patronage of Charles II. and the establishment of the Royal Society. It is very possible that pretenders to science would mix themselves up with the able and ingenious men who founded this institution; but although the character of Sir Nicholas Gimcrack affords good scope for ridicule, the chance of evil, arising from the attempt to satirize the professors of science, then almost in its infancy in this country, throws any merit the play may have wholly into the shade. The best character of the piece is one Sir Formal Trifle, a pompous empty fellow, who casts every familiar sentence he utters in a rhetorical mould: he is a fair subject for satire, and well hit off. A third "humour," as Shadwell would call the character, is that of Sir Simon Hearty, who is not easily described—he is a bold, adventurous, good-humoured intriguer, who never succeeds. Having procured a store of cant phrases, he sets up for a wit, and seems to be scarcely more successful in wit than in love. The virtuoso, Gimcrack, is placed in a very absurd light: he is first introduced as learning to swim upon a table, by the aid of a frog for an example, and a master to assist him in the theoretic part. We will quote this scene.

"*Scene opens and discovers Sir Nicholas learning to swim upon a table, Sir Formal and the Swimming Master standing by.*

Sir Form. In earnest, this is very fine: I doubt not, sir, but in a short space of time you will arrive at that curiosity in this watery science, that not a frog breathing will exceed you; though, I confess, it is the most curious of all amphibious animals (in the art, shall I say, or rather nature of swimming?)

Swim. Mast. Ah! well struck, Sir Nicholas; that was admirable, that was as well swam as any man in England can. Observe the frog. Draw up your arms a little nearer, and then thrust 'em out strongly. Gather up your legs a little more. So, very well—incomparable!

Enter Bruce, Longvil, and Lady Gimcrack.

Bruce. Let 's not interrupt them, madam; yet, but observe a little this great curiosity.

Long. 'Tis a noble invention.

L. Gim. 'Tis a thing the college never thought of.

Sir Nich. Let me rest a little to respire. So, it is wonderful, my noble friend, to observe the agility of this pretty animal, which, notwithstanding I impede its motion, by the detention of this filum, or thread, within my teeth, which makes a ligature about its loins; and though by many sudden stops I cause the animal sometimes to sink or immerge, yet with indefatigable activity it rises, and keeps almost its whole body upon the superficies, or surface, of this humid element.

Sir Form. True, noble sir; nor do I doubt but your genius will

make art equal, if not exceed nature; nor will this or any other frog upon the face of the earth out-swim you.

Sir Nich. Nay, I doubt not, sir, in a very little time to become amphibious: a man, by art, may appropriate any element to himself. You know a great many virtuosos that can fly; but I am so much advanced in the art of flying, that I can already out-fly that ponderous animal called a bustard; nor should any greyhound in England catch me in the calmest day before I got upon wing: nay, I doubt not but in a little time to improve the art so far, 'twill be as common to buy a pair of wings to fly to the world in the moon, as to buy a pair of wax boots to ride into Sussex with.

Sir Form. Nay, doubtless, sir, if you proceed in those swift gradations you have hitherto prospered in, there will be no difficulty in the noble enterprise, which is devoutly to be efflagitated by all ingenious persons; since the intelligence with that lunary world would be of infinite advantage to us in the improvement of our politics.

Sir Nich. Right: for the moon being domina humidorum, to wit, the governess of moist bodies, has, no doubt, the superior government of all islands; and its influence is the cause so many of us are delirious and lunatic in this. But having sufficiently refrigerated my lungs by way of respiration, I will return to my swimming.

Swim. Mast. Admirably well struck! rarely swam! he shall swim with any man in Europe.

Sir Form. Truly, I opine it to be a most compendious method, that in a fortnight's prosecution has advanced him to be the best swimmer in Europe. Nay, it were possible to swim with any fish of his inches.

Long. Have you ever tried in the water, sir?

Sir Nich. No, sir; but I swim most exquisitely on land.

Bruce. Do you intend to practise in the water, sir?

Sir Nich. Never, sir; I hate the water; I never come upon the water, sir.

Long. Then there will be no use of swimming.

Sir Nich. I content myself with the speculative part of swimming, I care not for the practice. I seldom bring any thing to use; 'tis not my way. Knowledge is my ultimate end."

From this play we may select a specimen of Shadwell's sprightly dialogue; such as he himself would probably recommend as polished, witty, and to the point. A gentleman, called Bruce, wishes to make himself agreeable to Clarinda, and he thus commences—

"*Enter Bruce and Clarinda.*

Bruce. I have taken more pains to single you out, than ever woodman did for a deer.

Clarin. If the woodman were no better a marksman, the deer would be safe for all his singling. Besides, I am not so tame to stand a shot yet, I thank you.

Bruce. Lovers are quick aimers, and can shoot flying.

Clarin. Not if they fly so fast as I shall from you.

Bruce. Come, I see this way will not do; I 'll try another with you. Ah, madam! change your cruel intentions, or I shall become

the most desolate lover that ever yet, with arms across, sighed to a murmuring grove, or to a purling stream complained.

Savage! I'll wander up and down the woods,
And carve my passion on the barks of trees,
And vent my grief to winds, that, as they fly,
Shall sigh and pity me.

Clarin. How now! What foolish fustian 's this? You talk like an heroic poet.

Bruce. Since the common downright way of speaking sense would not please you, I had a mind to try what the romantic way of whining love could do.

Clarin. No more of this. I had rather hear the talking of gossips at an upsitting or christening; nay, a fanatic sermon; or, which is worse than all, a dull rhyming play, with nothing in 't but lewd heroes huffing against the gods.

Bruce. Why, I 'll try any sort of love to please you, madam: I 'll show you that of a gay coxcomb, with his full plumes strutting and rustling about his mistress, like a turkey-cock, baiting her with brisk airy motion, and fashionable nonsense, thinking to carry her by dint of periwig and garniture, or by chanting some pretty foolish sonnet of Phyllis or Cœlia; or, at best, treating her with nothing but ends of plays, or second-hand jests, which he runs on tick with witty men for, and is never able to pay them again.

Clarin. No; there are too many of these fine sparks you talk of, who perhaps may be very clinquant, slight and bright, and make a very pretty show at first; but the tinsel gentlemen do so tarnish in the wearing, there 's no enduring them.

Bruce. But I am of good metal, madam, and so true, that I shall abide any touchstone, even that of marriage.

Clarin. But it 's an ill bargain, where I must buy my metal first, and touch it afterwards.

Bruce. You shall touch it first, madam; and if you do not like it, I 'll take it again, and no harm done.

Clarin. No; I 'll take care there shall be no harm done. Pray divert this unseasonable discourse of love, for I will never hear on 't more. Farewell. I see my Lady Gimcrack in the garden.

Bruce. Let me but beg to have one treaty more with you this afternoon: if I convince you not of the error of your hard heart, I must submit and be miserable.

Clarin. If you love to hear the same thing again, I will declare it to you an hour hence in the green walk on the other side the wilderness. Farewell."

There is a masquerade in this piece, and a great deal of bad conduct is exhibited on all hands, which, together with some contrivances of a better kind, are not worth raising from their present obscurity.

Epsom Wells is peculiarly a comedy of manners, and of the very worst morals. The Wells were at that time in vogue as a Spa, for those people before whom, at the present day, Brighton and Margate spread their charms. Hither two damsels

of wit, beauty, and talent, and at the same time of reputation, repair alone and unattended on an adventure. Two men of spirit having attracted their attention, they proceed to make a closer examination into their good qualities: assuming the disguise of a mask, they permit themselves to be encountered, a sprightly dialogue is maintained, and an acquaintance, and a sight of the face, promised at a future day. Assignations now begin to fly about, and as it happens that this pair of "men of wit and pleasure" are intriguing with half the women of the Wells, numerous mistakes arise, partly out of the jealousy of women, the blunders of servants, or the vigilance of husbands. The persons of this piece are a goodly crew: first come Raines, Bevil, and Woodly, three men of wit and pleasure: the last having the misfortune to be married, his wife intrigues with both his friends. Then we have Clodpate, a country justice, an immoderate hater of London, discontented in his politics, and altogether a "hearty English coxcomb." Kick and Cuff are a pair of "cheating, sharking, cowardly bullies," for such are the gentle epithets with which their author endows them. Bisket is a quiet, humble, civil cuckold; Fribble is a haberdasher, and a surly cuckold. The names of the ladies, and the description of their characters, we dare not transcribe. Such are the materials of this comedy, dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle, acted at the duke's theatre with applause, and preceded by a prologue addressed to the king and queen, spoken at Whitehall, in which the author, as addressing the queen, says,

> "Though he (the author) has faults, yet, madam, you will save
> The criminal your royal lord forgave;
> And that indulgence he will much prefer
> To all the applauses of the theatre."

If this play treated any decent subject with the same spirit, it would be a clever production; as it is, the specimens of Shadwell's talent to be derived from it, for our purpose, are but few.

The character of Clodpate, who is the Squire Western of Fielding, is, however, worth exhibiting, as far as it may be done in the following dialogue, which has also some claims to notice, as describing manners now extinct.

"*Clod.* O Mr. Woodly, how is it? you drink no waters; but have you had your other morning's draught yet?

Wood. Yes; I never leave off my evening's draught till it become my morning's draught.

Clod. Mr. Raines and Bevil, Gad save ye; how d'ye like the country? Is't not worth a hundred of Sodom yonder? good horses, good dogs, good ale, ha!—

Raines. Good wine, good wit, and fine women, may, I take it, compare with them.

Clod. I find you'll never leave that place of sin and sea-coal: give

me drink, for all that, that breeds no gout; a wholesome plain wench, that will neither bring my body to the surgeons' hands, nor my land to the scriveners: and for wit, there is such a stir amongst you who have it, and who have it not, that we honest country gentlemen begin to think there is no such thing; and have hearty mirth and good old catches amongst us, that do the business every whit as well.

Raines. He 's in the right. The wits are as bad as the divines, and have made such civil wars, that this little nation is almost undone.

Clod. But, Mr. Woodly, how do you like my dapple mare?

Wood. Not comparable to a hackney coach.

Clod. But she shall run with e'er a hackney coach in England, for all that; or e'er a horse in your stable, weight him and inch him.

Wood. I would not keep a running horse, though a running horse would half keep me.

Bev. We are for London to-morrow; shall we have your company?

Clod. Ud's-bud! I go to London! I am almost sick at Epsom, when the wind sits to bring any of the smoke this way; and, by my good will, would not talk with a man that comes from thence, till he hath aired himself a day or two.

Wood. Why? there 's no plague.

Clod. There 's pride, popery, folly, lust, prodigality, cheating knaves, and jilting whores; wine of half a crown a quart, and ale of twelve pence; and what not.

Raines. This is a terrible regiment you have mustered; but neither the priests nor the women will ravish you; nor are you forced to take the wine, as the French are their salt; there are twelve-penny ordinaries.

Clod. Ay, and cards, and false dice, and quarrels, hectors, and reformed officers to borrow a crown, and beat a man that refuses it, or asks for 't again; besides, I 'll sum you up the beastly pleasures of the best of ye.

Wood. What are those?

Clod. Why, to sit up drunk till three o'clock in the morning, rise at twelve, follow damned French fashions, get dressed to go to a damned play, choke yourselves afterwards with dust in Hyde-park, or with sea-coal in the town, flatter and fawn in the drawing-room, keep your wench, and turn away your wife, gods-ooks!

Bev. The rogue is a tart and witty whoreson!

Clod. I was at Sodom at eighteen, I thank 'em; but now I serve my country, and spend upon my tenants what I get amongst them.

Raines. And so, indeed, are no better than their sponge, which they moisten only to squeeze again. But what important service do you do your country?

Clod. 'Sbud! I!—why, I am justice of quorum in Sussex, and this country too, and I make the surveyors mend the highways; I cause rogues to be whipt for breaking fences, or peeling trees, especially if they be my own; I swear constables; and the like.

Bev. But is this all?

Clod. No: I call overseers for the poor to an account, sign rates, am a gamekeeper, and take away guns and greyhounds, bind fellows

to the peace, observe my monthly meeting, am now and then an arbitrator, and license ale-houses, and make people bury in flannel, to encourage the woollen manufacture; which never a justice of peace in England does, but I.

Wood. Look you, what would you have?

Clod. Besides, I am drunk once a week at my lord-lieutenant's; and at my own house spend not scurvy French kick-shaws, but much ale, and beef, and mutton, the manufactures of the country.

Bev. The manufactures of the country! that's well.

Raines. Ay, and, I warrant, by the virtue of that, can bring as many wide-mouthed rogues to bawl and hollow for a knight of the shire, as any man.

Clod. Gods-ooks! can I.

Raines. That men should be such infinite coxcombs to live scurvily to get reputation among thick-skull'd peasants, and be at as great a distance with men of wit and sense, as if they were another sort of animals!

Bev. 'Tis fit such fools should govern and do the drudgery of the world, while reasonable men enjoy it.

Clod. Mr. Woodly, I'll go now and wait upon your cousin Lucia; and if I can get her to marry me, and fill up my pack of dogs, my two great works are over in this world. God b'w'e, gentlemen. Ud's-bud! I had forgot; I have the rarest stand of ale to drink out in the afternoon, with three or four honest country-fellows; you shall be very welcome to it, i'fack; and we'll dust it away.

Bev. We thank you, sir.

Clod. I am now in haste to read the Gazette; this is the day. I am impatient till I see it——Oh, I love Gazettes extremely, and they are the only things I can endure that come from London, they are such pretty penned things; and I do so love to hear of Wisnowisky, Potosky, General Wrangle, and Count Tot, and all those brave fellows ——God save ye. [*Exit.*"

For the sake of illustrating our remark on the unpopularity of marriage, which, though it always has been a favourite subject with writers, pretending to wit, but which certainly never got a worse name than "the ecclesiastical mousetrap," we shall quote a short dialogue between Woodly, the married man, and Raines, the rake.

"Where have you been, Frank?

Wood. I have had two damned unlucky adventures. The first visor masque I pursued, after I had followed her a furlong, and importuned her to show her face, when I thought I had got a prize beyond my hopes, proved an old lady of threescore, with a wrinkled pimpled face, but one eye, and no teeth: but, which was ten times a worse disappointment, the next that I followed proved to be my own wife.

Raines. This was for your good, Frank: Heaven designs to keep you virtuous.

Wood. But I like not virtue that springs from necessity; mine is so noble, I'd have it tried often.

Raines. Well, gentlemen, where shall we waste the latter part of

the day? for I must spend this former part on't with a convenient sort of utensil, called a citizen's wife.

Wood. I must divert this design, and carry you to my cousin, whom you never saw, the prettiest girl in christendom; she has seen you, and likes you extremely.

Raines. Prithee, Woodly, what shall I do with her? I love thee and thy family too well to lie with her, and myself too well to marry her: and I think a man has no excuse for himself that visits a woman without a design of lying with her one way or other.

Wood. Why, Jack, eight thousand pound, and a handsome wench of seventeen, were no ill bargain.

Raines. But here's eight thousand pound, there's liberty, Frank: Would you be content to lie in Ludgate all your lifetime for eight thousand pound?

Wood. No, certainly.

Raines. Marriage is the worst of prisons.

Bev. But by your leave, Raines, though marriage be a prison, yet you may make the rules as large as those of the King's Bench, that extend to the East Indies.

Raines. O hang it! No more of that ecclesiastical mouse-trap.

Wood. Prithee, speak more reverently of the happiest condition of life.

Raines. A married man is not to be believed. You are like the fox in the fable, that had lost his tail, and would have persuaded all others to lose theirs; you are one of the parson's decoy-ducks, to wheedle poor innocent fowls into the net.

Wood. Why shouldst thou think so ill of my wife, to think I am not in earnest?

Raines. No application, Frank. I think thy wife as good a woman as a wife can be.

Wood. She loves me extremely; is tolerable handsome; and, I am sure, virtuous.

Raines. That thou knowest, Ned Bevil. [*Aside.*

Wood. 'Tis true, she values herself a little too much upon her virtue, which makes her sometimes a little troublesome and impertinent."

The principles of the intercourse between men and women are very clearly exhibited in the following piece of courtship on the part of a married man. That a woman should listen to such proposals for a moment, shows a state of laxity which, at the present day, would be considered as the sure forerunner of ruin. Granting the morals of the dialogue to be any thing but excusable, it will be found that Shadwell has not treated the subject without a portion of gaiety.

"*Enter Carolina and Woodly.*

Wood. How can you mistrust a man in so credible a thing?

Caro. As what?

Wood. As that he should love the prettiest, sweetest, dearest creature he ever saw.

Caro. So far from that, I believe he will love all the prettiest, dearest creatures, as he calls 'em, that he ever shall see: but you have paid that tribute already to virtuous madam Woodly, and are married.

Wood. I am so, and there's the less danger in my love; I should else be tempting you to accept me for better for worse, till death us do part, &c. Now, madam, take my heart upon its good behaviour, as much as you have use for, and the rest again, and no hurt done.

Caro. Where there are so many free, why should I venture upon a heart with so manifest a flaw in the title as a married man's?

Wood. 'Faith, there are none without their incumbrances; your fashionable spark has his miss in the playhouse; your lady's eldest son his mother's chambermaid; the country gentleman his tenant's daughter; a handsome young fellow that is to make his fortune some elderly sinner that keeps him fine; so that marriage is the least engagement of all; for that only points out where a man cannot love.

Caro. Since marriage obliges men so little, and women so much, I wonder we endure the cheat on't.

Wood. You're in the right; 'tis worse than 'cross I win, pile you lose;' but there are some left that can love upon the square.

Caro. A woman may be undone upon the square as well as a gamester, if she ventures too much.

Wood. Never, so long as you play for nothing but what you have about you; and, upon my honour, I would engage you no deeper at this time; 'tis a tick and after-reckonings that ruin lovers, as well as gamesters; and, 'gad, if you mistrust me, I am ready to make stakes; and because you're a young beginner, I'll play three to one.

Caro. Not so fast, good sir; you'll make me quit the few good thoughts I had of you, if you persist.

Wood. Persist in loving you I must till death; but the method and ceremonies I leave to you to prescribe. I guessed you would not care for a whining lover.

Caro. Nor do I care for one in your extremity the other way.

Wood. Take your choice; I can make love from the stiff formal way of the year 42, to the gay brisk way of this present day and hour.

Caro. Since I suppose it is for diversion, pray let me see how that is.

Wood. Look you, thus. [*Sings, dances, and combs his peruke.*

Caro. Is this it? why, you don't mind me.

Wood. I mind myself though, and am to make you fall in love with me, after a careless way, by the by.

Caro. When do you begin?

Wood. Begin? Why, I am at it all the while.

[*Sings and dances again.*

Now have at you: these breasts are not hard, to speak on; no, nor this neck white; nor those eyes black. Lord, how you look to-day! That ever a man should love such a creature! What will you give me for a piece, when you're mother of the maids?

Caro. Must I answer you like a lady of the times too?

Wood. Ay, by all means, madam.

Caro. This Mr. Woodly is the strangest man, he would make one die to hear him. I vow—ha, ha, ha!

Wood. Lord! what a set of teeth you show when you laugh! if they were mine, I'd pull 'em out; sure your breath can't be sweet; let me see. [*Offers to kiss her.*

Caro. Well, I vow, you're a pleasant man; but you go too fast.

Wood. For your lover of the last age, I grant you; but the world is well mended since: fair ladies and fortified towns yield upon easier terms now-a-days.—[*Offers to kiss her again.*] Now I see you dare not stand the trial, 'tis e'en so; I'll be hang'd if you ha'n't crooked legs too. [*Offers to lift up her coats.*

Caro. I had rather you would think so, than take the pains to satisfy you; but I vow you'd make one burst, you have such a way with you—ha, ha, ha!

Wood. I hate to live in doubt: you have a pretty face; but an ill breath and crooked legs, 'gad, are insufferable.

Caro. Is this your new way? I have enough on't; no more. Drinking my health in a beer glass, and quarrelling with the man that can't pledge you; scribbling your passion in glass-windows, and wearing of my colours continually, I can better endure."

The *True Widow* is a play to which the vice of swindling on the part of the principal character is added to all the usual iniquities of a lady of the mode. The Lady Cheatly opens a large house and an extensive establishment, employs agents who induce simpletons to deposit money with her for security, and gives out that her two daughters are possessed of large fortunes. By the aid of a convenient person, Lady Busy, she enters into treaty with various gentlemen for the possession of her daughters, either upon condition of marriage or other equitable terms.

The scene between Lady Busy and Isabella has already been mentioned, and since Shadwell himself has pointed it out as an example of that which at least deserved an immortality, it will be well to quote it. It certainly possesses points which in the acting would produce an effect.

"*Enter Isabella and Gartrude.*

L. Busy. Ladies, your servant.

Isab. } Your ladyship's most humble servant.
Gart. }

L. Busy. Mrs. Isabella, I have something to advise you for your good.

Isab. For my good, madam?

L. Busy. Yes, madam; and therefore be pleased to give attention to me.

Isab. Good manners will make me do that.

L. Busy. Why, look you—you are young, I am in years, an ancient woman, and have seen the world, as they say.

Isab. Ancient? your ladyship looks very youthfully.

L. Busy. No, no: you are pleased to compliment: but, as I said, my lady and myself have known the world, as the saying is.

Isab. And you, the flesh and the devil, as the saying is. [*Aside.*

L. Busy. And 'tis fit the young should submit themselves to the gravity and discretion of the old.

Isab. Yes, where they can find it. [*Aside.*

L. Busy. Go to—my lady is a person whose aim is to settle you well in the world——do you conceive me?—and she knows what 's fittest and most convenient for you—and obedience is the best virtue.

Isab. Very well, madam.

L. Busy. Now there is a certain lord, whom my lady has mentioned to you.

Isab. A lord? a beast; and one that would make me as bad as himself.

L. Cheat. Good Mrs. Pert, keep in that foolish instrument, your tongue: a beast! there are a great many like him.

L Busy. Be not so forward: all things have two faces—do not look upon the wrong one:—Go to—you are a fine young lady, and are brought by your lady mother to town, the general mart for beauty. Well—you would be so settled in the world as to have a certain fund whereon you may rely, which in age may secure you from contempt—— good.

Isab. I hope I shall have enough to keep me honest.

L. Busy. Nay, heaven forbid I should persuade you to be dishonest: virtue is a rare thing, a heavenly thing. But, I say still, be mindful of the main. Alas! a woman is a solitary, helpless creature without a man, God knows!—Good—how may this man be had? In marriage, say you?—Very well, if you could get a fine gentleman with money enough; but, alas! those do not marry, they have left it off. The customs of the world change in all ages.

Isab. In ours for the worse.

L. Busy. Very well said; but yet the wisest must obey 'em, as they change: do you conceive, madam?

Isab. Yes, I do conceive you to be doing a very reverend office. [*Aside.*

Gart. Methinks her ladyship speaks a great deal of reason; she 's a fine spoken lady, truly.

L. Busy. Now I say, since custom has so run down wedlock, what remains but that we should make use of the next thing to it? Good —— nay, not but that virtue is a rare thing,—Heaven forbid I should detract from that:—but, I say, the main is to be respected: a good deal of money, there 's the point.

Isab. With little or no reputation, there 's the point.

L. Cheat. Money brings reputation, fool; or at least puts one into that condition, that fellows dare not question it.

L. Busy. Nay, Heaven forbid you should lose that; but, I say, the next thing to marriage is being kind to a noble lord, &c. And if good terms be made, and you be well settled in the world——

Isab. That would be to be settled out of the world; for I should never dare to show my face again.

L. Cheat. There are as good faces as yours, and better, my nimble chaps, that are shown every day in the playhouse, after it, and with the best quality too.

L. Busy. Yes, and in the front boxes:—nay, nay; not but that a good wealthy marriage is beyond it.

Isab. A very comfortable thing, for a gentlewoman, to bring herself into a condition of never conversing with a woman of quality, who has wit and honour, again; but must sort with those tawdry painted things of the town.

Gart. Can't you keep company with my mother and me?

L. Busy. Look you, madam, you are under a great mistake; for do not ladies of wit and honour keep daily company with those things, as you call them? but d'ye conceive me the finest things,—the gayest things,—and some the richest things:—I say no more. I pray conceive me—as long as you are true to one man, madam, you are, in a manner, his lady—I say, in a manner, his lady: 'tis a kind of marriage, and great persons most commonly cohabit longer with mistresses than they used to do with wives.

L. Cheat. My lady says right; 'tis now-a-days more like marriage than marriage itself.

Gart. O sister! do what my lady says; she 's a rare person.

L. Busy. A thousand pound, and three hundred pound per annum —say, we bring him to four hundred pound—good: a great lord that is in the way to prefer you—very good: or may be, may like you so well as to own you—best of all: consider—'tis enough, madam, at once; let her ruminate upon this.

Gart. O Lord! pray, sister, do; why, we shall all be made; prithee do.

Isab. Go you to your Mr. Maggot, that dies, and makes songs for you."

Such proposals as these are defended in another place by a reference to the general licence. When Bellamour in person repeats the offer here made through Lady Busy, Isabella says that she would never see him more, did not the general licence of the time excuse him. The dedication of this play, fitly enough inscribed to Sir Charles Sedley, is dated Feb. 16, 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

The character of Prig in this play is not unhappily conceived: he was in his day that which is now called a blackleg, and the character seems to have been handed down with as little change as there appears to be in life at Newmarket, according to Mr. Prig's description of the pleasures of that celebrated sporting place.

"*Enter Prig and Lady Cheatly.*

Prig. Now, madam, I hope you will be persuaded to despatch this business of wedlock this morning; 'twould be much more convenient for me than to-morrow, because I am going to Newmarket to a cock-match: I have laid fifty pound upon Jack-an-apes, against Tom Prig's Boxen Beak: my dun fights a battle with Tom Whiskin's Duck-wing for fifty pound: 'twill be the best sport in the world. I would fain

marry to-day, and go thither to-morrow: will your ladyship go and see it?

L. Cheat. No: pray, sir, if that be the best sport in the world, see that first, and marry afterwards.

Prig. Newmarket 's a rare place! there a man 's never idle: we make visits to horses, and talk with grooms, riders, and cock-keepers, and saunter in the heath all the forenoon; then we dine, and never talk a word but of dogs, cocks, and horses; then we saunter into the heath again; then to a cock-match; then to a play in a barn; then to supper; and never speak a word but of dogs, cocks, and horses again; then to the groom-porter's, where you may play all night. Oh, 'tis a heavenly life! we are never idle."

The *Lancashire Witches* pretends to a good deal of character. There are several "humours" in it; and the scenes lying in the country, far removed from London, they have some novelty in them. Sir Edward Hartfort is the model of an English gentleman, worthy, hospitable, and rational. His son is a clownish sot, excessively given to field sports. His father insists upon his marrying the lovely daughter of a neighbour; his sole objection to the proposal arises out of his reluctance to spare time to make love. The day of marriage is inconveniently fixed just at the moment when the "powts" are in high season; and as he cannot spare a whole day from his hawks, he starts at five in the morning of his wedding day, considering that if in that particular state of the game he should leave off at ten o'clock for the ceremony, that he shall be making a highly complimentary sacrifice. Sir Jeffery Shacklehead is a simple justice of the peace, pretending to great skill in the detection of witches, an accomplishment on which he highly values himself. His son, Sir Thomas Shacklehead, is a booby, who has been knighted, pert, confident, and ridiculously vain of his knighthood. Tom Shacklehead is his uncle, a poor younger brother, humble, ill-used, and fond of ale-drinking. Tegue O'Divelly is a libidinous Irish priest, whom Shadwell has introduced in two of his plays, the Lancashire Witches, and the Amorous Bigot. Why this monstrous character found favour in the author's eye we cannot discover: we can detect no trace of humour in his composition; excessive grossness and beastly ignorance are his sole ingredients. Besides these persons, who are the "humours," we have two Yorkshire gentlemen, who are attached to the daughters of Sir Edward Hartfort and Sir Jeffery, and who succeed in carrying them off from their ill-assorted lovers, Sir Thomas Shacklehead and young Hartfort. There is, moreover, introduced a great machinery of old women, alias witches, most extravagant compounds of wildness and folly. In his preface Shadwell apologizes for investing his witches with supernatural power, and establishing a real intercourse between them and the devil. He seems to have

dreaded the charge of atheism, should he throw a doubt upon a topic of popular belief, and perhaps he deceived himself into supposing that he could produce an effect by working upon the imagination of his auditors. The attempt is however a total failure. Our quotations from this piece will exhibit some traits of manners now extinct.

The popular notion of what was truly English, or, in other words, truly good, in the character of a country gentleman, may be gathered from the following conversation.

"*Enter Sir Edw. Hartfort, Belfort, and Doubty.*

Doubt. You have extremely delighted us this morning; by your house, gardens, your accommodation, and your way of living, you put me in mind of the renowned Sidney's admirable description of Kalandar.

Sir Edw. Sir, you compliment me too much.

Bell. Methinks you represent to us the golden days of Queen Elizabeth; such, sure, were our gentry then; now they are grown servile apes to foreign customs; they leave off hospitality, for which we were famous all over Europe, and turn their servants to board-wages.

Sir Edw. For my part, I love to have my servants part of my family; the other were, to hire day-labourers to wait upon me: I had rather my friends, kindred, tenants and servants should live well out of me, than coach-makers, tailors, embroiderers and lace-men should. To be pointed at in the streets, and have fools stare at my equipage, is a vanity I have always scorned.

Doubt. You speak like one descended from those noble ancestors that made France tremble, and all the rest of Europe honour 'em.

Sir Edw. I reverence the memory of 'em. But our new-fashioned gentry love the French too well to fight against 'em; they are bred abroad, without knowing any thing of our constitution; and come home tainted with foppery, slavish principles, and the popish religion.

Bell. They bring home arts of building from hot countries, to serve for our cold one; and frugality from those places where they have little meat and small stomachs, to suffice us who have great plenty and lusty appetites.

Doubt. They build houses, with halls in 'em not so big as former porches: beggars were better entertained by their ancestors, than their tenants by them.

Sir Edw. For my part, I think 'twas never good days, but when great tables were kept in large halls, the buttery hatch always open, black jacks, and a good smell of meat and March beer; with dogs' turds and marrow-bones as ornaments in the hall: these were signs of good house-keeping. I hate to see fine Italian buildings, with no meat or drink in 'em.

Bell. I like not their little plates: methinks there's virtue in an English sirloin.

Doubt. Our sparks bring nothing but foreign vices and follies home: 'tis ridiculous to be bred in one country, to learn to live in another.

Sir Edw. While we lived thus (to borrow a coxcombly word) we made a better figure in the world.

Bell. You have a mind that suits your fortune, and can make your own happiness.

Sir Edw. The greatest is the enjoyment of my friends, and such worthy gentlemen as yourselves; and when I cannot have enough of that, I have a library, good horses, and good music.

Doubt. Princes may envy such an English gentleman.

Sir Edw. You are too kind: I am a true Englishman; I love the prince's rights and people's liberties, and will defend them both with the last penny in my purse, and the last drop in my veins; and dare defy the witless plots of papists.

Bell. Spoken like a noble patriot!

Sir Edw. Pardon me, you talk like Englishmen, and you have warmed me: I hope to see the prince and people flourish yet, old as I am, in spite of jesuits: I am sure our constitution is the noblest in the world.

Doubt. Would there were enow such English gentlemen!

Bell. 'Twere to be wished; but our gentry are so much poisoned with foreign vanities, that methinks the genius of England seems sunk into the yeomanry.

Sir Edw. We have, indeed, too many rotten members."

The state of dependence in which younger brothers hung upon their families in the establishments of country squires about the time of the Revolution is perhaps rather too strongly marked in the following dialogue between Thomas Shacklehead, a kind of coarse Will Wimble, and his nephew, the heir apparent: nevertheless instruction is to be had of the state of this class from the passage—

"*Enter Thomas Shacklehead.*

Tom Shac. How now, cousin?

Sir Tim. Cousin! plain cousin! you might have more manners, uncle; 'sflesh, an one gives you an inch, you'll take an ell. I see, familiarity breeds contempt.

Tom Shac. Well, sir Timothy, then; by'r lady, I thought no harm: but I am your uncle, I'll tell a that.

Sir Tim. Yes, my father's younger brother. What a murrain do we keep you for, but to have an eye over our dogs and hawks, to drink ale with the tenants (when they come with rent or presents) in black jacks, at the upper end of a brown shuffle-board table in the hall? to sit at the lower end o' th' board at meals, rise, make a leg, and take away your plate at second course? and you to be thus familiar!

Tom Shac. Pray forgive me, good cousin; sir Timothy, I mean.

Sir Tim. Very well! you will be saucy again, uncle. Uds lud! why was I knighted, but to have my title given me? my father and lady mother can give it me, and such a fellow as you, a mere younger brother, to forget it!

Tom Shac. Nay, nay, haud yee, you mun ta't in good part; I did but forget a bit, good sir Timothy.

Sir Tim. My mother would be in a fine taking about it, an she knew it.

Tom Shac. Nay, pray now do not say ought to my lady, by th' mass, who'll be e'en stark wood, an who hears on't. But look a! look a! here come th' coursers; the hare has played the de'el with us to neight, we han been aw bewitched.

Sir Tim. Ay, so we have, to have the hare vanish in open field before all our faces, and our eyes never off from her.

Tom Shac. Ay, and then awd wife (they caw'n her mother Demdike) to start up i' th' same pleck! i' th' very spot o' grawnt where we losten puss!"

The *Woman Captain* is one of the best of Shadwell's comedies, and the least licentious. Gripe, a notorious miser, starves his family, and locks up his wife. The lady has endured his meanness till her patience is exhausted, and her invention supplied her with a contrivance to extricate herself from hard blows and short commons. Making her escape, and assuming the uniform and appearance of her brother, an officer, at the time expected from abroad, she encounters her husband, hectors and threatens, and at last enlists him for his ill-usage of her sister. Old Gripe at last only gets off by coming into the lady captain's terms, comprised in a certain deed of separate maintenance, which she insists upon his signing. There is much humour in the delineation of the traits of this miserly character, and the scenes in which the lady plays off her disguise are also well supported.

The following scene between Gripe and Richard, his new servant, explains the system on which the old curmudgeon regulated the affairs of his household.

"*Enter Gripe and Richard.*

Gripe. Come, Richard, because thou art but new come, I must instruct thee: thou see'st my whole design is to be rich.

Rich. Yes, and to keep your servants poor.

Gripe. And to that end, I deny and keep my base unruly senses under: for if any one sense get the better of a man, he 'll ne'er be rich.

Rich. I 'm sure I ha'n't pleased one since I came.

Gripe. That 's well: let me have three ribs of mutton boiled in a pipkin for our dinners; go, buy me a lean breast—lean meat is wholesomest.

Rich. If I could light of a sheep that died in a ditch!

Gripe. Ay, that should be cheap—besides, I like a natural death better than murder. To-morrow is holiday—I will have four ribs, and some cabbage.

Rich. This is feasting; but our ordinary diet of oatmeal and water——

Gripe. 'Tis very wholesome and cleansing.

Rich. 'Tis the Scotch diet, very good for mangy hounds: what sauce will you have for your mutton?

Gripe. A pox on sauce! it spoils the natural appetite; yet some onion or garlic you may get: I have some firkin butter and Suffolk cheese; fine lean cheese; 'twill go so far!

Rich. Sir, I have a great inclination to a sheep's head: may I not get one? 'tis cheap.

Gripe. Not so cheap; yet next holiday I will buy one for my family: but ox-livers, and the entrails of beasts, are very nourishing.

Rich. He cannot be content to rob and oppress men with his extortion, but he must rob the dogs of their diet. [*Aside.*]—You have kids and lambs of your own, if it please your worship.

Gripe. It does not please my worship. Sure you have lived with some epicure? no, sell them to luxurious fools, that will die beggars.

Rich. I hear Sir Humphrey Scattergood intends to send a buck.

Gripe. I 'll sell it, then: 'twill cost more the baking than 'tis worth. We kill ourselves in England with filthy pampering.

Rich. I can go a-fowling with my piece, and catch wild-fowl for your worship.

Gripe. By my troth, but your worship shall not; you will spend more in powder and shot than your body 's worth; besides, a water-spaniel with his ravenous gut will eat me out of house and home. Wild-fowl! they are fit for Lucullus or Apicius.

Rich. Sir, we can steal coneys, if it please you.

Gripe. No, sir! I must find you butter. What damned luxurious fellow hast thou lived with?

Rich. Sir, I beseech you, be pleased to let us have some wheat-bread, for I have gotten the griping, and the iliaca passio, with rye and barley-bread.

Gripe. Peace, fool! I am not so prodigal, thank Heaven.

Rich. Must we never have any wine or strong beer?

Gripe. Why, you impudent fellow! would you have us die of fevers? To drink wine shall be treason, and strong-beer felony without clergy: I have wholesome very, very small beer; so clear, so fine, the malt not to be tasted in 't.——The patriarchs drank nothing but water.

Rich. That I deny; ask Lot else.

Gripe. Go, unlock my wife's chamber, and bid her come to me. This damned pampering rogue would ruin me with his gut."

This servant soon afterwards, being sent to Sir Humphrey Scattergood's, takes the earliest opportunity of getting drunk, and filling his pockets after he has satisfied his appetite with victuals. The scene between the man in this state, and his old master, in his usual abstinent condition, is undoubtedly comical.

"*Enter Gripe and Richard.*

Gripe. Where have you been roguing, sirrah, that you did not wait on me home?

Rich. I staid to do a thing I am not used to—fill my belly, enjoy my friends, and be merry.

Gripe. Oh devil!—I think the rogue stinks of strong beer; foh!——

Rich. That 's a lie. 'Tis wine: cry you mercy, sir, is that a stink? Here 's Sir Humphrey's good health—he 's a noble person: will you pledge me, sir?

Gripe. Heaven and earth! the impudent rogue 's drunk!

Rich. I have drank and victualled at Sir Humphrey's for a month's famine I am to endure here.——I am hung round with bottles, and stuffed full of provision. Will you eat a pullet?

Gripe. Oh impudent villain! bring drunkenness into my house?

Rich. Ay, or else I ne'er should have found it here.

Gripe. Audacious villain! thou stayest not in my house!——I will turn thee away presently.

Rich. The best news I have heard these ten days——

Gripe. Sayest thou so, rogue? No, I will have thee whipt soundly. And in the mean time I will beat thee damnably, to tame thy damned unruly senses, thou base, filthy swine!

Rich. Here's twelve go-downs more, upon reputation, to Sir Humphrey's health.

Gripe. I'll health you, rogue! Take that! I'll maul your rogueship!

Rich. 'Twas base to take advantage of my drinking. Stand off, I say; for if you strike once more, take notice, good claret has taken away the relation betwixt us, and I shall grow damnably passionate.

Gripe. Ha! the rogue may kill me in his drink; and, for aught I know, rob me, which is worse. Go, and bid the maid set on the pipkin with the black pudding, for your mistress's supper and mine.

Rich. A pox on pipkins!———I have brought my mistress some crammed chickens, Westphalia bacon, neats' tongues, and something else in my breeches.——I have an honour for my mistress, and should be loth to see her want.

Gripe. Thy back shall be mauled for this at bridewell to-morrow, rogue! dog! son of a whore!——Richard, sell that wine and provision, and I will put the money out for thee. 'Twill come to a pretty sum in a year.

Rich. I scorn usury: do you think I'll be curst, as you are?

Gripe. As I am, rogue!——

Rich. Good words, I say, for I am in an ill humour, and shall be suddenly provoked; but to show I am in perfect charity with you, here's to my mistress's health; I honour her most immaculately.

Gripe. Go, go——out, and sleep, and be sober.

Rich. Well, farewell! I'll not keep such base sober company.

Gripe. To-morrow shall thy carcass suffer, and thy senses be tamed. Here, Mally! where art thou? Come, we will walk, and take the air, that thou mayst get a stomach to thy supper."

The Woman Captain having got old Gripe into her clutches, insists upon his enlisting, and it is a fine stroke of the author to make him waver under the offer of the usual shilling. He had never refused a shilling in his life, and though it is now the price of his liberty, he knows not how to put it by: but the whole scene is very cleverly managed. This is the latter part of it.

" *Serj.* Hear me, good captain. Your recruits are not yet full: he seems to be a lusty old fellow, and can carry arms yet.

Mrs. Gripe. Say you so?

Gripe. What a devil can he say? Arms! that's as bad!

Mrs. Gripe. If you think so, take him to your custody. When he is in Flanders, if I hear not of my sister in a reasonable time, I'll kill him. In the mean while, I'll put him into the van upon all occasions.

Gripe. Sir, sir! Why, captain, noble captain! I am a most hideous coward; I shall run away, and spoil all your men.

Mrs. Gripe. If you do, I will hang you. No resisting; here, take a shilling.

Gripe. I must confess I have a great respect for a shilling, and never could refuse one in my life.

Mrs. Gripe. Enroll his name, and put his coat on.

Gripe. Now, I hope, you'll let me go upon my parole, to furnish myself with necessaries.

Serj. No: we'll furnish you with them.

Mrs. Gripe. Now, sirrah, you are listed; if you run from your colours, I can hang you by law.

Gripe. Heaven! what am I condemned to?

Serj. Here, put on your coat.

Mrs. Gripe. Kill him, if he resist.

Gripe. There is law, and I have friends.

Mrs. Gripe. You lie, sirrah, you have no friends; and for law, I'll make you know that *inter arma silent leges.* Put his man a coat on, and list him. There's a shilling.

Rich. What shall I do? I am a vile coward! I am as much afraid of guns as Indians or wild beasts are. [*Aside.*

Serj. Come, sirrah, put it on. What's your name?

Rich. My name is Richard Grubb.

Mrs. Gripe. Carry them into the court, and teach them the use of their arms: but d'ye hear, serjeant? be not out of my whistle.

Serj. Come! honest comrade Gripe, give me thy hand.

Gripe. Pox on your comradeship! I desire no such base company: did ever I think to be comrade to such a fellow?

Rich. Now must I learn to lie rough, filch linen, steal poultry, lie with a sutler's wife, and be lousy. Now, master, give me your hand; we are comrades too.

Gripe. Rogue! I shall live to remember you. What shall I do? All my writings will be embezzled; I shall be utterly ruined; my mortgages lost, my money concealed.

Rich. Fear, not, sir; you'll live better with eightpence a day than ever you did. I make no doubt but you will save money at the year's end, to put out to use. For my part, I am glad that I shall wear clothes, and eat. [*Exit Mrs. Gripe.*

Gripe. Now, serjeant, your captain is gone in; honest comrade, 'tis in your power to oblige yourself and me very much: I'll give you ten shillings, and your own again, if you will let me escape.

Serj. How the rogue values his liberty! [*Aside.*
No, good sir, get you out. I'll borrow two of Sir Humphrey's muskets, and exercise you.

Gripe. I'll give you eleven.

Serj. No:——go out, I say.

Gripe. Good comrade, I'll give you twelve.
Serj. Get you out.
Gripe. Hold! thirteen.
Serj. No—I'll not be cashiered for you.
Gripe. Cashier me; I'll give you fourteen.
Serj. No, I tell you——
Gripe. Fifteen.
Serj. No.
Gripe. Sixteen.
Serj. Out! I say.
Gripe. Seventeen.
Serj. Out! or I'll send you out.
Gripe. Eighteen.
Serj. Go!
Gripe. Nineteen.
Serj. I'll knock you down.
Gripe. Twenty. Have you no mercy in you?
Serj. The rogue bids for his liberty, as if it were a stock at 12d. gleek."

The *Squire of Alsatia* paints the humours of Whitefriars, that notorious asylum for sharpers and swindlers, which Sir Walter Scott has so well described in his Fortunes of Nigel. It is not improbable that the novelist is, in some measure, indebted to the dramatist for some graphic touches, if not for some of his characters. The Captain Hackum of the play, a blustering cowardly fellow, and the bully of Alsatia, may perhaps have been present to the mind of Sir Walter when he drew his Captain Culpepper. The Squire of Alsatia is the eldest son of a Sir William Belfond, who has been brought up in the country with great rigour and severity by his morose and sordid father, and who seizes the first opportunity of the old man's absence to escape to London, where he falls into the hands of the swindlers and debauchees of the precincts of Whitefriars. These men, chiefly consisting of Cheatly, a rascal, who "inveigles young heirs in tail," and helps them to money "upon great disadvantages;" Shamwell, an heir, originally ruined by Cheatly, and now a decoy-duck for others, living upon the spoil, and so deeply in debt that he dares not stir out of Alsatia; Captain Hackum, formerly a hectoring serjeant with the army in Flanders, when, having run from his colours, he has retreated into Whitefriars for "a very small debt;" here he is dubbed a captain, marries one who lets lodgings, sells cherry-brandy, and carries on another thriving trade. These fellows, with the aid of a money-lender, Scrapeall, "a psalm-singing hypocrite and godly knave," lead the booby Belfond into all manner of wild extravagance and debauchery. When the old baronet arrives in London from Holland, and hears of the follies of young Belfond, who acquires the name of the Squire of Alsatia, he gives the credit of them to

his youngest son, who has long resided in London under the care of his uncle, and breaks out into all kinds of denunciation against the supposed debauchee, who, however, has some peccadilloes of the kind to answer for, himself. As no one is aware that the eldest Belfond is in town, the idea gains ground, and much confusion naturally ensues, which the author has taken pains to aggravate by the introduction of a great variety of incident. As far as the exhibition of swinish folly and the description of infamous manners can be made amusing, we think Shadwell has succeeded. Of a broad kind there are few comedies that possess more humour than the Squire of Alsatia; if the reader will occasionally call to mind our inimitable Liston in some of the situations of Belfond, he will be assisted to a laugh.

We learn from several casual remarks that the word "sharper," now so well established a word in our dictionaries, had its origin about this time. It was considered a newfangled phrase for a rogue. The term "banter," however, appears to have been well established, and the practice in much estimation among the wits of Alsatia, who, like our modern thieves, had a language of their own. Shadwell thought it necessary to prefix to the play a glossary of the cant words he employed in the conversation of his Alsatians. The following scene, in which a country servant of Belfond expostulates with his master on his conduct, supplies a specimen of Mr. Cheatly's accomplishment in the art of bantering.

"*Belf., sen.* Take that, sirrah. I'll teach you to mutter. What! my man become my master?

Lolp. Waunds! Give me ten times more, and send me whome agen at after. What will awd maaster say to this? I mun ne'er see the face of him, I wot.

Sham. Hang him! a rogue! Toss him in a blanket!

Cheat. Let me talk with him a little. Come on, fellow!

Lolp. Talk! Well, what sen ye?

Cheat. [*Bantering.*] Your master being in this matter, to deport his countenance somewhat obliquely, to some principles, which others, but out of a mature gravity, may have weighed, and think too heavy to be undertaken; what does it avail you if you shall precipitate or plunge yourself into affairs, as unsuitable to your physiognomy as they are to your complexion?

Lolp. Hah! what sen yeow? Yeow mistaken me: I am not book-learned: I understand a not.

Cheat. No, 'tis the strangest thing! Why, put the case you are indebted to me 20*l.* upon a *scire facias:* I extend this up to an outlawry, upon affidavit upon the *nisi prius:* I plead to all this matter *non est inventus* upon the pannel; what is there to be done more in this case, as it lies before the Bench, but to award out execution upon the *posse comitatus,* who are presently to issue out a *certiorari?*

Lolp. I understand a little of sizes, nisi prizes, affidavi, sussurari!

XUM

but, by the mass, I cannot tell what to mack of aw this together, not I.

Belf., sen. Ha, ha! puppy! owl! loggerhead! O silly country *put!* here's a *prig* indeed! he'll never find out what 'tis to *cut a sham*, or *banter*. Well, I swear, sir, you do it the best of any man in the world.

Cheat. No, no! I swear, not I.

Belf., sen. I protest you do it incomparably.

Cheat. Nay, now you compliment. Faith! you make me blush.

Lolp. *Sham* and *banter* are heathen Greek to me: But yeow have cut out fine wark for yoursel last night; I went to see the hause yeow had brocken, aw the windows are pood downe. I askt what was the matter, and by the mass they haw learnt your nam too. They saiden Squire Belfond had done it, and ravished a wench; and that they hadden gotten the Lord Chief-Justice warren for you, and wooden bring a pawr of actions against yeow.

Belf., sen. Is this true?

Lolp. Ay, by the mass!

Cheat. No matter: we'll bring you off with a sweet finger; trust me for that.

Belf., sen. Dear friend, I rely upon you for every thing.

Sham. We value not twenty such things of a rush.

Hack. If any of their officers dare invade our privileges, we'll send 'em to hell without *bail* or *mainprize*.

Lolp. But I can tella a wor news than aw this? I ne'er saw flesh alive, and I saw not your father's man Roger come out o' the Temple yate e'en now. Your father's in town, that's certain.

Belf., sen. How! my father, say you? 'Tis impossible.

Cheat. Courage, my heir-in-tail: thy father's a poor sneaking tenant for life; thou shalt live better than he can. And if we do contract a debt upon thy dirty acres in the north, I have designed for you a fine young lady, with a swinging fortune, to redeem all; and 'tis impossible, my lad, to miss her.

Belf., sen. Sir, let me embrace you, and love you: Never man embraced a better friend! *Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur*, as the saying is.

Lolp. Sir, sir! let speak one word with yeow: odd's-flesh! I'll die the death of a dog, an' aw these yeow seen here be not rogues, cheats, and pickpockets.

Belf., sen. Peace, you rascal! Adad, I would not have any of 'em hear for five hundred pounds: you were a dead man.

Lolp. What is the reason they dare not stir out of this privileged place but on Sabbath-days?

Belf., sen. You blockhead, Mr. Cheatly had an alderman's young wife run away with him, is sued for it, and is in fear of a substantial jury of city cuckolds. Shamwell's unnatural father lies in wait for him, to apprehend him, and run him into the country. The brave and valiant gentleman, Captain Hackum, who is as stout as a lion, beat a judge's son t' other day. And now your questions are fully answered, you *put* you.

Cheat. Honest Shamwell, thou art a rare fellow! Thy cousin here is

the wealthiest *caravan* we have met with a long time: the hopefullest *sealer* that ever yet touched wax among us. But we must take off that evil counsellor of his."

The idea of *Bury Fair* is taken from *Les Precieuses Ridicules* of Moliere. The fantastic ladies of the English play are represented as grossly affected lovers of refinement and delicacy: their love of foreign manners, and their ignorance of them, are sufficiently conspicuous, when one of the wits of the piece conceives the idea of dressing up a French hairdresser from London as a foreign count, the Count des Cheveux. The ladies are of course in raptures with the elegance of his manners, the felicity of his expressions, and the nobility of his air. The rogue of a hairdresser is, however, disposed to carry his advantage too far, and they who invested him with his title find some difficulty in exposing him. Besides the entertainment derived from this trick, we have some amusing characters, such as Mr. Oldwit, a gentleman of Bury, who has a very lively recollection of his own celebrity among the wits of the town half a century ago, and whose chief delight it is to talk of his intimacy with "Jack Fletcher, Ben Jonson's son, Jack Cleaveland, and Tom Randolph;" of the time when "he was a judge at Blackfriars, *writ before* Fletcher's works and Cartwright's, taught even Taylor and the best of 'em to speak." Sir Humphrey Noddy is a practical joker of great animal spirits, a professed joker, and a huge admirer of his own parts. The following short scene will make his character better understood. It likewise introduces Mr. Trim, a gentleman of the fantastic school, a Euphuist, and, like the ladies Fantast and her daughter, taken from Moliere's caricature of the frequenters of the Hotel de Rambouillet.

"*Enter Oldwit, Lord Bellamy, Wildish, Sir Humphrey, Count, and Trim.*

Oldw. Come, my Lord Count, my Lord Bellamy, and gentlemen, 'may good digestion wait on appetite, and health on both,' as Macbeth says. Ah! I love those old wits.

Wild. You are a wit in your heart.

Old. Ay, faith, so I am; and I love to be merry at meals. Ah! wit is as necessary as good wine at table.

Sir Hum. Ay, faith, so 'tis. I summon up all my wit at dinner.

Oldw. My lords and gentlemen, we 'll into my smoking-room, and sport about a brimmer; and wit shall fly about like hail-shot. Oh, the wit that I have heard in that room!

Bell. We will wait on you soon; but I have promised the ladies an entertainment, with a little concert of music by my own servants, who are ready now: and I desire you will call the ladies, sir.

Oldw. If your lordship please: but, faith, we had better be a toping.

Sir Hum. Did you ever hear the Thetford music?

Bell. Not I, sir.

Sir Hum. 'Sbud! they are the best music in England. There 's the best shawm and bandore, and a fellow that acts Tom of Bedlam to a miracle! and they sing 'Charon, oh gentle Charon!' and 'Come, my Daphne!' better than Singleton and Clayton did.

Wild. Here 's the pleasure of country conversation, Bellamy: had not a man better be condemned to the galleys than endure it?

Bell. I am of your opinion, Ned; and for that reason never have such company at my house. If I have, 'tis but for once; for country gentlemen, unless you repay their visit, are too proud to see you twice; and I never visit any but such as I like very well.

[*Sir Hum. dumbfounds the Count with a smart rap on the shoulders.*

Count. Morbleu, vat is dat? Monsieur Wildish, did you hittè me?

Wild. Not I, monsieur.

Count. Nor you, my Lore?

Bell. Not I, Monsieur le Count. [*Sir Hum. raps him again.*

Count. Ventre bleu, is dere again! Sire, vat you mean by dat, to strike me between de head and de shouldere?

Trim. My lord, if your honour had given yourself the leisure circumspectly to have made inquisition into any part of the history of my life and breeding, or into the sedate composure and serenity of my mind, you might easily have collected, that I am a person that either never exercised myself in such juvenile and jocular diversions, or at least have totally abandoned them.

Count. Begar, dis be de very great fop, teste bleu. I no understanda him. [*Sir Hum. raps him again.*] Agen? Is de diable. Ah, may foy, is dat merry gentilman. Ha! ha! is very good jest, indeed; but, begar, you hittè me too hard indeed.

Sir Hum. Nothing, nothing at all, my Lord Count, among friends: I can't forbear my jest, i' faith; let 's kiss and be better acquainted.

Count. Vid all mine art. [*Kiss.*] Ha! who shavè your facè? lettè me see: he leavè two, tree, four great stumpè, dat prickè my countenance. Oh fie! dese barbiers English can do noting. If I would takè de trade [*Snaps his fingers*], begar I would starvè dem all.

[*Snaps his fingers again.*

Wild. Sirrah! rogue! remember you are a count still.

Count. Is all one. I sometime takè delight to shavè de nobles of France for my plaisir."

The scene of the *Amorous Bigot* is laid in Spain: it is conducted so much on the principle of the Spanish plays, that we have no doubt Shadwell was indebted for the groundwork of his subject to a Spanish original. It is not deficient in spirit, is full of intrigue, serenades, rencontres; the parents are stern, the sons are fierce, and the ladies are frail.

In the *Scourers* we again arrive in England, and witness English manners, which, at the period of Shadwell's writing, were far from being creditable to either the taste or the talents of the nation. When this play was composed, it was a fashionable amusement with young men to assemble in troops and to

scour the streets. As in later times, the watch was a favourite subject for beating, women were rudely treated, citizens mauled, windows broken, and knockers stolen. As the police appeared wholly inefficient in putting down this horrible nuisance, the dramatists took it up, and endeavoured as far as lay in their power to make it ridiculous. The comedies of the period are full of allusions to this intellectual pastime, and the phrase of a "scourer" always means a dashing young fellow. The scene which follows is opened by a young pretender to scouring, who discusses the merits of Sir William Rant, a man universally allowed to be at the head of the sport. Whachum is a citizen, and cannot hope to rival Sir William, who issues forth from a more fashionable quarter. In the subsequent scene, in which Sir William enters with his companions, the great talents required by a professor of scouring are ably laid down.

"*Enter Whachum, Bluster, and Dingboy.*

Whach. My dear rogues! dear dogs! Bluster and Dingboy! You are the bravest fellows that ever scoured yet.

Blust. Dear Squire Whachum! If ever there was such scouring in High Holborn since 'twas built, may I never taste Nantz brandy more at midnight.

Ding. The nation will ring of us: such exploits! such achievements! Not a window left in all the Inns of Chancery, those hives of attorneys, those suit-breeders, those litigious rogues, the sons of court-hand, copy-paper, and green wax!

Blust. Not a tavern window in all the street has a quarrel in it.

Whach. Then how we scoured the market people, overthrew the butter women, defeated the pippin-merchants, wiped out the milk-scores, pulled off the door-knockers, daubed the gilt signs.

Ding. But, a pox on 't! we were confoundedly beaten by the hellish constable and his *posse* of scoundrel dogs.

Blust. That most damnable, inflexible prig, that bound us over this morning must be tossed in a blanket.

Ding. Slit in the nose, and suffer other operations not very agreeable to him.

Whach. No, let's be brave, but not too brave. I'll pay for the windows and all: my head's broken; but no matter, I'll not be dismayed. Well, never men laughed and roared more. This same flip and punch are rare drinks.

Ding. Nay, I'll hang for 't, if there be a knot of better laughers in England.

Whach. We'll laugh with e'er a gang in England for a thousand pounds. Why laughing's all the joy of a man's life.

Blust. Then we have scoured so magnanimously these three nights, that we were taken for Sir William Rant and his company.

Whach. Sir William? No, no! Oh! Sir William is the finest, completest gentleman that ever wore a head.

Ding. There are others, squire, that shall be nameless.

Whach. Oh no, never talk on 't: there will never be his fellow. Oh!

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had you seen him scour, as I did: oh, so delicately, so like a gentleman! How he cleared the Rose tavern! I was there about law-business, compounding for a bastard, and he and two fine gentlemen came roaring, in the handsomeliest, and the most genteelly turned us all out of the room, and swinged us, and kicked us about. I vow to Gad, 'twould have done your heart good to have seen it.

Blust. I' faith, did he? Ha, ha, ha!

Ding. Brave fellows! Ha, ha, ha!

Whach. Ay, was't not handsome? Ha, ha, ha! And in a minute's time cleared the whole house, broke all the windows, beat the woman at the bar, and swaggered by themselves. Ha, ha, ha!

Blust. Ha, ha, ha!

Ding. Ha, ha, ha!

Whach. Peace, peace! Hold, hold! Here he comes, with his brave friends. Stand by and observe. Look you there: look you there! There's a fine person! There's a complete gentleman!

Enter Sir William Rant, Wildfire, and Tope.

Blust. A good pretty man!

Ding. The man's well enough, but Squire Whachum, I say, for all that.

Whach. Oh fie, fie! Pretty man! Well, he shall be my pattern while I live, an't please Heaven. You shall see him: Oh if you did but hear him swear and curse, you'd be in love with him; he does 'em so like a gentleman; while a company of you here, about the town, pop out your oaths like pellets out of alder-guns. They come so easily, so sweetly from him, even like music from an organ-pipe!

Sir Will. What! do they lay more upon us than we did? Who the devil should these be that scour so, to be taken for us?

Wild. Puh! pox! These must be some scoundrels, that profane our noble actions with vile bungling imitation.

Tope. A man would think we need no imputative wickedness.

Sir Will. These mushroom scourers had best see they do it handsomely, and bring no disgrace upon us, or we may chance to whip some of 'em through the lungs about that business.

Whach. Do you hear, Bluster and Dingboy? Oh! if fate, and my own industry, could ever make me like this dear, this gallant Sir William, I were at the end of my ambition.

Wild. 'Tis a hard thing to scour naturally and handsomely.

Tope. Every puppy, now-a-days, presumes to set up for a drunkard; but there are more good qualities requisite to a drunkard than to a minister of state, or a deep divine. I'll pick up fellows fit for great men every hour in the streets, but a drunkard——

Sir Will. Well said, Jack Tope! thou art in the right: he must be of mien and person not ungraceful, of pleasing speech, sharp must his wit be, and his judgment solid.

Wild. He must be cheerful, easy, and well-tempered.

Tope. He must be well-bred, have seen the world, learned, knowing, and retentive of a secret: he must have truth and courage.

Sir Will. In short, he must be just such a fellow as thou art, if it be possible; while all thy contemporaries have either died, or left off, and grown sober sots, thou still perseverest in generous lewdness.

Whach. Look you there now! Well, all Europe cannot show a knot of finer wits and braver gentlemen.

Ding. Faith, they are pretty smart men.

Blust. The gentlemen, I must confess, are pretty gentlemen: but time shall try. I'll say no more."

The *Volunteers, or Stockjobbers,* was a posthumous play, and represented after the death of the author. It was written at a time when volunteering to join the Duke of Marlborough was common, and when there raged a mania for joint-stock companies, which appears to have rivalled in extravagance the feverish time of the South-Sea adventure, or the excitement, as it is called, of 1825. The following passage might, in truth, have been revived on the last occasion with great aptness.

"*Hack., sen.* Well, have you been inquiring what patents they are soliciting for, and what stocks to dispose of?

1 *Jobber.* Why, in truth, there is one thing liketh me well, it will go all over England.

Mrs Hack. What's that? I am resolved to be in it, husband?

1 *Jobber.* Why, it is a mouse-trap, that will invite all mice in, nay rats too, whether they will or no: a whole share, before the patent, is fifteen pounds; after the patent, they will not take sixty. There is no family in England will be without 'em.

2 *Jobber.* I take it to be a great undertaking: but there is a patent likewise on foot for one's walking under water; a share twenty pounds.

Mrs. Hack. That would have been of great use to carry messages under the ice this last frost, before it would bear.

Hack., sen. Look thee, lamb: between us, it's no matter whether it turns to use or not: the main end, verily, is to turn the penny in the way of stock-jobbing, that's all.

1 *Jobber.* There is likewise one who will undertake to kill all fleas, in all the families in England, provided he hath a patent, and that none may kill a flea but himself.

2 *Jobber.* There is likewise a patent moved for, of bringing some Chinese rope-dancers over, the most exquisite in the world. Considerable men have shares in it; but verily I question whether this be lawful or not.

Hack., sen. Look thee, brother, if it be to a good end, and that we ourselves have no share in the vanity or wicked diversion thereof, by beholding of it, but only use it whereby we may turn the penny, and employ it for edification, always considered that it is like to take, and the said shares will sell well; and then we shall not care whether the aforesaid dancers come over or no.

2 *Jobber.* There is another patent in agitation for flying; a great virtuoso undertakes to out-fly any post-horse five miles an hour: very good for expresses and intelligence."

The characters in the Volunteers are numerous, varied, and well drawn. Major-General Blunt, an old cavalier officer, brave, sensible, and blunt, is well contrasted with Colonel Hackwell,

an old anabaptist colonel of Cromwell's; stout, godly, and bigoted; led and abused by his wife; a depraved hypocrite. Sir Nicholas Dainty and Sir Timothy Kastril are both dandies; but with a difference: Dainty is brave, vain, coxcombical, and successful; Kastril, unfortunately, fails both in love and courage. By a clumsy profession of the same arts for which Sir Nicholas is admired, he gets himself despised. The author has succeeded in giving a highly comic turn to his character, and which pleases the more, inasmuch as it is founded in human nature. Sir Timothy has been beaten more than once in certain rencontres; feeling his heart fail him, he has not made a proper resistance. It occurs to him, that the reputation of these affairs getting abroad will expose him to ill-treatment from every bully; the very fear of being beaten supplies him with courage, and in a fit of desperation he determines to attack some one, to recover his character. Happily he succeeds in the first attempt; the intoxication of success is now added to the desperation of fear, and he determines to try again; in short, he is for fighting every body, and never hears of a quarrel but he instantly puts himself forward; and he by a sudden metamorphosis becomes for a time as foolhardy as he had been cowardly. With a scene which exhibits this change of resolution we must close our extracts from these volumes.

"*Enter Sir Timothy Kastril.*

Sir Tim. If I suffer myself to be beaten, cuffed, and kicked thus any longer, instead of saluting me with their hats, fellows will salute me with fist, foot, and cudgel. I shall be beaten like hemp or stock-fish; I shall grow, in a little time, the common anvil of the town. Well, in short, I dare not endure beating any longer. Let me see. —What a pox! 'tis fifty to one he does not hit my vitals, if he hits me. And if it be but a flesh-wound, that's no great matter.—Ha! I have a pretty long sword.—What a devil! I'll fight, I am resolved: for 'tis better to be killed than to live such a beaten life as I am like to live without it. Where is this rogue, Nickum? I'll watch him till midnight,—if he does not bolt out before.

Enter Nickum.

Nick. These kicks from this damned beau sit very uneasily upon me. He touched my honour to the quick, as Hudibras says. I must resolve to fight him: for if not, after this baffle, I shall not get a debt that's owing me by a bubble in England. I have a challenge ready penned. I fancy, if I come round up with him, he will be modest yet.

Sir Tim. Ha! here the rogue is. What is he muttering to himself?

Nick. It shall go!——Porter, porter!

Enter Porter.

Porter. Who calls porter?

Nick. Here, I: take this note, and carry it as it is directed; and here's sixpence for your pains.

[*Exit Porter.*

Nick. Well, 'tis gone. I must resolve to fight; this confounded beau will tell all the town what men he baffles, as well as what women he lies with.

Sir Tim. There's no more to be said.—I will fight.——Sirrah! rogue! rascal! scoundrel! coward! I'll whip thee through—I'll make thee fuller of holes than e'er pinked sattin was.

Nick. What the devil! Is this coward beau run mad?

Sir Tim. He begins to fear me.—Sirrah, I will mangle thee so, that when I have kill'd thee, they shall not know whether thou art a man or a fish.

Nick. If you long to be beaten again——— [*Draws.*

Sir Tim. Beaten, you dog! Have at your lungs, or some other of your entrails.

[*He runs at Nickum as hard as he can, and disarms him.*

Damn me! beg your life, sirrah!

Nick. I do, I do!

Sir Tim. What a pox is this all? I have no hurt. To make such a business of fighting! Here, sirrah, take your sword, and fight again! Here's a business indeed!

Nick. What! with one that has given me my life?

Sir Tim. Prithee, I gave thy life to thee to fight with it. Gad! I must fight with you, or somebody else. It's an admirable exercise. I intend to use it a-mornings, instead of tennis.

Nick. This is most amazing! What a metamorphosis is this? He is a bloody-minded beau. That I should light on two wrong beaux in an hour! Pox on 'em for me! I'll meddle no more with 'em.

Sir Tim. Will you fight again, sirrah? If you won't, get you about your business:—what have I to do with you? a company of cowardly rascals of you! Now I think on't, you laid on me confoundedly.

[*Struts up and down, and cudgels him.*

Nick. This is the devil in his shape, sure! My sword, sir.

Sir Tim. No, sirrah, you have no occasion for it; you durst not fight. I'll keep it, sirrah—begone!

Nick. What a devil! does he take the plunder o' the field? I see I must fight now. [*Ex. Nickum.*

Sir Tim. Gad take me, this is rare sport! I long to be fighting with somebody else: I must pick a quarrel."

Besides the plays of Shadwell's, of which we have given an account, he wrote Psyche, a kind of mythological drama, which is destitute of merit: he modified the Timon of Athens of Shakspeare, and boasts that he had turned it into a play: he translated, or rather imitated, the L'Avare of Moliere; he claims having made considerable changes in it; and his Miser is undoubtedly a very respectable comedy.

The portion of these volumes which is peculiarly disagreeable to us is the prologues and epilogues, which are almost wholly written by the author. They are very dull, very full of pretension, and excessively abusive and illiberal.

Thomas Shadwell was born at Stanton Hall in Norfolk, a seat

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of his father's, about the year 1640. He was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, and afterwards entered of the Middle Temple, where he studied law for a time, and then visited the continent. At the revolution he was made poet laureate through the influence of a warm friend, the Earl of Dorset. He died December 6, 1692, of an over-dose of opium, to the practice of taking which it is said he was addicted. The play of the Volunteers is dedicated to Queen Anne by his widow, who acknowledges, with gratitude, the support and favour she had received from her Majesty. Dr. John Shadwell, the dramatist's eldest son, afterwards Sir John Shadwell, was physician successively to Queen Anne, George I., and George II. Charles Shadwell, who was either his son or his nephew, it is uncertain which, wrote several plays, which were chiefly acted in Ireland. He died in Dublin in 1726, where he enjoyed a post in the revenue.

The Letters which Johan Ashwell, Priour of Newnham Abbey, sent secretly to the Bishop of Lincolne, wherein the said Priour accuseth George Joye of four Opinions, with the Answere of the said George unto the same Opinions. Printed at Strasburg, A. D. 1527.

THE author of the little work, the name of which is prefixed to this article, was one of the first who stood forward in England to advocate the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures, and to proclaim the sacred right of private judgment. George Joye was a native of Bedfordshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where he graduated A. B. in 1513, and A. M. in 1517; and the same year elected fellow of Peter House. Learning was then at a very low ebb in both the English universities. Cambridge was the seat of ignorance, of bigotry, and superstition[1]. The nurslings of reform, which accident produced or protected within her sacred precincts, for a time were soon blasted by the poisoned breath of persecution; and he who presumed to teach the right of private judgment, and to promulgate the truths and expose the corruptions of the Holy Scriptures, was instantly beset by a set of monkish hornets, who dreaded lest the light of God's eternal word, shed abroad upon the people, should discover to the world the unholy recesses of their nests of indolence, impiety, and iniquity.

The reader will not be surprised that Joye, who advocated the universal diffusion of the Gospel, and who was, as we are told by

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[1] Life of Latimer, prefixed to the fourth edition of his Sermons.

Fuller, " the great friend of Master Tindale," became the object of calumny and persecution. Accused of heresy by the Prior of Newenham, who wrote a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, to which the work above is an answer, he was sent for, to use his own words, " as from the Cardinal Wolsey, by one of his officers, to Cambridge, with letters delivered to the Vice-chancellor, Dr. Edmunds, then Master of Peterhouse, in which letters he was desired to send me up to appeare at Westminster at ix. of the clock, with Bilney and Arthure, for certain erroneous opinions. I saw the Cardinal's sign manual subscribed in great letters, and his seal. I got me horse, when it snowed, and was cold, and came to London, and so to Westminster, not long after my houre, when Bilney and Arthure were in examination. When I knew but those two poor sheep among so many cruel wolves, I was not overhasty to thrust in amongst them, for there was a shrewd many of Bishops, besides the Cardinal, with others of that faction. On the Saturday, a master of mine, William Gascoigne, the Cardinal's treasurer, bade me go to the chamber of presence. I was but a coarse courtyer, never before hearing this term, and I was half ashamed to ask after it, and at last happened upon a door and knocked, and one opened it, and when I looked in, it was the kitchen ! Then the Treasurer tolde me, the Cardinale sent not for me. Then I began to smell their secret conveyance, and how they had counterfeited theyr Lord the Cardinale's letters. And here the Treasurer sent me to the Bishop of Lyncolne; Dr. Raines showed my Lord of me, and said that I must come again in the morning at six of the clock. I did so, and waited at the stair's foot till it was about eight. My Lord came down, and I did my duty to him. He asked me, ' Be you Master Joye ?' ' Yea ! forsooth, my Lord,' quoth I. ' Abide,' quoth he, ' with my Chancellor till I come again.' I desired my Lord to be good Lord to me, and shew me his pleasure, what his Lordship would with me, and he answered me *like a Lord*, and said, I should wait upon his leisure. On the morrow, I met with a scholar of Cambridge, and he tolde me the Bishop of Lincolne had sent his servant busily to enquire, and to seke me. ' What is the matter,' quoth I. ' Mary,' quoth he, ' it is said he would give you a benefice.' ' A benefice !' quoth I, ' yea, a malefice rather, for so reward they men for well-doing.' Then I gote me horse, and rode from my benefice, and left college, and all that I had. And the Bishop of Lincolne laid privy wait for me, to be taken, and my feet bound under an horse's belly to be brought into him."

Suspecting that the Cardinal had no charitable design towards him, he resigned his fellowship, his home, his country, and his friends, and fled to Strasburg, in 1527. " Your letters," as he pathetically writes to his calumniator, " wrought me much

trouble, and drew out of my breast many a deep sigh, and many a salt tear out of mine eyes; they made me suddenly to fly, to forsake my poor living, my college, my learning, my promotion, and all that I had. They drew me out of my native land, whose desire yet holdeth me, for that I would right gladly return, and dare not, being exiled into a strange land, among rude and boisterous people. Your letters caused me not only to forsake my kin and friends, but they slandered me so grievously, that they made them to forsake me, and so to hate me, that yet I cannot come again into their favour, for they abhorred me so sore, after your secret letters had openly defamed me, that they would not suffer me to come into their houses, nor speak with me, nor help me, but fled from me and loathed me, which before both loved me, and were right glad of my company. But if you had known Christ and his word, you would never have done thus unto me, I know it well." Thus exiled from all that earth held dear to him, he trusted not to dissipation of mind, or to length of time, to free him from his afflictions. He knew that even sufferings often make a necessary part in the disposition of things as ordained by Providence; he knew that resignation to the will of that Providence was true magnanimity; he remembered that he was but a pilgrim on the earth, travelling to a better and an eternal world; and if asked where his country lay, he would have pointed, like Anaxagoras, to the heavens. "Expulsed," as he writes in his letter to the Prior, "from my native land, forsaking all my kin and friends, I do daily comfort myself, as God giveth me grace, with this one comfortable saying of my Saviour, 'Blessed are you when men cast rebukes upon you, persecuting you, and report all manner of evil against you, for great is your reward in heaven.' This one sentence is enough to comfort me against all slanders and false reports."

"Men ignorant of the gospel," as he writes in another part of his works, "what comfort and deliverance have they in such anxieties? Verily, none at all. Wherefore, let us embrace the gospel, love and reverence the very true church; let us know the godly not to be called to sluggishness and idleness, but unto the most hard, sharp, and jeopardous battles[1]."

From Strasburg he wrote his "Answer to the Prior of Newenham," in which he exposes the greatest errors of the Roman Catholic church, with a sincerity, a strength of argument, a piety, and command of scriptural illustration that few writers on the abuses of that church have ever equalled. Speaking of the scriptures being withheld from the laity, he says,

"If ye were well acquainted with Christ his gospel, you

[1] Commentary on the Prophecies of Daniel, mentioned post.

should have read there, 'Wo be to you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for you shut up the kingdom of heaven before men!' You say the knowledge of God's word is hard and dark for the lay people; but wo be to you, saith Isaiah, that tell the light to be darkness! You say, that the scripture, in English, would make sedition, and breed errors and heresies among the laymen; but wo be to you, saith Isaiah, that say that thing which is good to be evil! You say the letter slayeth, is unsavoury and bitter for them; but wo be to you, saith Isaiah again, that say that which is sweet to be bitter!"

The "Answer" is divided into four parts; the first of which is entitled, "Of the Keys, and of binding and loosing." In this he discusses, and denies, the superiority of Peter over the other apostles, and maintains that the Pope has no greater power to give absolution for sins than a simple priest. The second part he entitles, "By Faith, without Works, a Man is justified." In the third, he deprecates, with indignation, the celibacy of the clergy, as enjoined by the Roman Catholic church. And in the fourth, he maintains that a layman may hear confessions as well as any priest, and that every confession "pre-supposes a penitent and contrite heart humbled, and unfeignedly confessed before God." He also adds some remarks on pilgrimages, and worshipping of images; which latter practice he discusses at greater length in his subsequent commentary on the prophecies of Daniel.

If it be objected, that from the brevity and quaintness of this inestimable little work, and the vein of playful humour we occasionally find in it, it is not likely to be read with much serious interest or advantage; let the reader remember what Warton has so justly remarked, in his History of English Poetry, that "the short Colloquies of Erasmus, which exposed the superstitious practices of the church of Rome, with so much humour, and in pure christianity, made more protestants than the ten tomes of John Calvin."

About the year 1531, and during his residence at Strasburg, Joye translated the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah into English. He also published, soon after, a translation of the Primer and Psalter, as is mentioned by Sir Thomas More. It would seem that, about the year 1533, he had a design to print the whole Bible, from what Tindale says in his letter to Frith, then confined to the Tower, and soon after crowned with martyrdom[1]. His only object of ambition was, to use the eloquent

[1] He writes, that "George Joye, at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the King, and another to the new Queen, with a letter to N. to deliver them, and to purchase licence, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new Bible, and out of that is the

language of Milton, "that the word of truth, hewn, like the mangled body of Osiris, into a thousand pieces, and scattered to the four winds, should be gathered limb to limb, and moulded with every joint and member into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

Joye's great friend, the pious and amiable Tindale, who is described as "a man without stain or blemish of rancour or malice," and whom Sir Thomas More designates as "the captain of English heretics," resided at this time at Antwerp, where he had taken refuge from the persecution to which he was exposed in England, after he had embraced the reformed religion. He had been originally educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and had afterwards removed to Cambridge. During his residence at Antwerp, "considering in his mind, and conferring also with John Frith, he thought with himself," as Fox remarks, in his Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs, "that no way would be of more advantage than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the *poor people* might read and see the simple, plain word of God." He was an excellent Greek scholar, and accordingly, in 1526, he published a translation of the New Testament, which was the first that had been ever *printed* in the English language.

His first edition was speedily bought up by Tonstal, then Bishop of London, who hoped, by that means, surely to prevent the laity from becoming acquainted with its contents. The result, however, proved far otherwise, as the profits of the sale enabled him to publish forthwith a new and much larger edition; which circumstance is thus quaintly related by Hall, in his Chronicles of England.

"Shortly after, it fortuned one George Constantine to be apprehended, by Sir Thomas More, of suspicion of certain heresies. And this Constantine being with More, Master More said in this wise to Constantine; 'Constantine, I would have thee plain with me in one thing. There is beyond the sea, Tindale, Joye, and many mo; I know they cannot live without help; I pray thee, who be they that thus keep them?' 'My lord,' quoth he, 'will you that I should tell you the truth?—'Yea! I pray thee,' quoth my lord. 'Mary, I will,' quoth Constantine. 'Truly,' quoth he, 'it is the Bishop of London, for he hath bestowed emong us a great deale of money in New Testaments, to burn them; and that hath been and yet is our only succour and comfort.'"

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great seeking for English books, and for an English priest that should print," &c. [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 308.] This, as Mr. Lewis remarks, may perhaps be that fragment which Mr. Wanley (in his Bibl. Lit. p. 40,) said he had, and which seemed to him to be part of an entire Bible, and to be older than Coverdale's, printed in 1535.

In 1534 was published a fourth Dutch edition, the fifth in all of Tindale's translation of the New Testament[1]; such was the eagerness with which it was demanded by all classes of the people. Many elderly persons, as we learn in Strype's Life of Cranmer, learned to read, for the sole purpose of imbibing its divine doctrines and precepts. The first edition consisted of about 1500 copies; in the two editions published in Holland in 1527 there were about 5000 printed. The fourth Dutch edition, a copy of which is in Lord Pembroke's library, was superintended by Joye. He was censured by Tindale for having taken certain liberties with the translation; in answer to which charge, he published his "Apology, if it may be, to satisfy William Tindale."

About the same time a work on the Lord's Supper was published in the Low Countries, which Bale, in his Centuries, mentions in the list of Joye's works; and to him Sir Thomas More, in his "Answer to the poison'd Book called the Supper of the Lord," attributes it. Sir Thomas More complains severely that the "nameless heretic," as he styles him, "would, if he could, convey from the blessed sacrament Christ's own blessed flesh and blood, and leave us nothing therein but a memorial only of bare bread and wine."

In 1535, Joye published "A compendious Sum of the very Christian Religion," in which he treats briefly of the scriptural character of God, the creation of man, original sin, the promise of Christ, of faith, of the Holy Spirit, of charity, of justification, of sanctification, and of a future life. Sir Thomas More, in the preface to his "Confutation of Tindale's Answer," mentions this. In the same "Confutation" he complains indignantly, that, by the influence of such heretics as Tindale, Joye, and others, the philological studies of the young were almost superseded by the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and remarks, that "after the Psalter, children *were wont* to go to their Donate and their accidence, *but now they go straight to Scripture!* And thereby have we, as a Donate, the book of the 'Pathway to Scripture,' and for an accidence we have 'The whole Sum of Scripture' in a little book."

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[1] The earliest version of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, in England, of which we have any account, is a translation of the Psalms into the Saxon language, by Adhelm, Bishop of Sherborn, about the year 706. Egbert, Bishop Lindisfern, who died A. D. 721, made a Saxon version of the four Gospels, and in a few years after the venerable Bede translated the entire Bible into that language. The first English translation of the Bible extant is supposed by Archbishop Usher to have been made about the year 1290. About the year 1380, the entire Bible was translated from the Latin Vulgate, from which also, in 1582, the English New Testament printed at Rheims was translated. After Tindale's translation, first published in 1526, had gone through very many editions, the whole Bible was translated by Miles Coverdale, which was the first printed English translation of the Bible. [See Lewis's History, &c., and Horne's Crit. Introduct.]

The writings of Melancthon, to whose piety and virtues his greatest enemies have borne abundant testimony, and from whom, Mosheim remarks, "the cause of true christianity derived more effectual support than from any of the other writers of the age, from his judgment, his meekness, and his humanity," seem to have been a favourite study with Joye, as we find him, in 1542, writing a commentary on the prophecies of Daniel, which is, in great part, extracted from Melancthon, whose letter of dedication to Prince Maurice of Saxony he has translated, and prefixed to the work. In this work, he has enlarged, with further scriptural proofs, on the cardinal doctrine of salvation by faith alone, and has exposed with singular felicity and fairness the doctrines and practices of the church of Rome.

Sir Thomas More, in his "Answer to the poison'd Book which some nameless Heretic has named the Supper of the Lord," bears testimony to the reputation for learning and talent which Joye had in England; and we find him on several occasions quoting the classic authors of antiquity, for whom his acquaintance with the writings of Melancthon would alone, no doubt, have given him a relish.

To conclude this hasty sketch of the labours of one, of whom the reader will probably wish to know more, "George Joye was," to use the words of Fuller, in his Worthies of England, "the great friend of Master Tindale, and therefore perfectly hated by Wolsey, Fisher, and Sir Thomas More. The particulars of his sufferings would justly advance him into the reputation of a confessor. Notwithstanding many machinations against his life, he found his coffin, where he fetched his cradle, buried in his own country, the last year of King Edward VI.[1]"

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[1] The reader who wishes to see a list of the numerous works published by Joye, both in England and on the continent, is referred to Bale's Scriptorum Illustrium, Mag. Brit. Catalogus, Cent. ix. p. 721, and to Tanner's Biblioth. Brit. Hibern. fol. 1749.

JOHN GOWER, THE POET.

EVERY one who is acquainted with the writings of this poet is probably aware that the materials for his personal history are extremely scanty and unsatisfactory; that it has never been ascertained from what family he sprung; and that we are in complete ignorance about his descendants.

The desire of complimenting a noble house, seems to have induced the author of the "Illustrations of the Life and Writings of Gower" to adopt the opinion of those writers who have considered that he was a member of the family of Gower of Yorkshire, not only without evidence, but in direct opposition to the little which has been hitherto adduced. However slightly the following notices may be considered to relate to the poet himself, there can be no question that they refer to his family, and establish that, though the Marquess of Stafford "is the head of the illustrious house of Gower," it is of a house which derives no part of that lustre from "the moral Gower." Nearly the whole of the facts which we are about to state have escaped the biographers of that writer; and even if the opinion be thought erroneous, that part of them, and particularly the deed which will be inserted, refer to the poet, it cannot be denied that they throw much light upon a point which has never been properly investigated.

The will of the poet proves that he possessed the manors of Southwell, in the county of Nottingham, and Multon in Suffolk[1]: we find

[1] As his Will is one of the very few documents relating to him which are extant, and as it will be occasionally referred to in this article, a copy of it is here given:

"IN DEI NOMINE AMEN, Ego Johannes Gower compos mentis, et in fide catholica ad misericordiam divinam domini nostri Jesu Christi ex toto me commendans, condo testamentum meum sub hac forma. In primis lego animam meam Deo creatori

from his tomb that his arms were Argent on a chevron Azure, three leopards' faces Or; his crest, on a chapeau a talbot passant; and there

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meo, et corpus ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Canonicorum beate Marie de Overes in loco ad hoc specialiter deputato: Et lego Priori dicte ecclesie qui pro tempore fuerit quadraginta solidos. Item lego Subpriori viginti solidos. Item lego cuilibet Canonico sacerdoti Deo ibidem servienti xiij^{s} et iiij^{d}. ceteris verò Canonicis ibidem noviciis lego cuilibet eorum sex solidos et viij^{d}. ut omnes et singuli exequias sepulture mee devocius colant, orantes pro me. Item lego cuilibet valetto infra portas dicti Prioratus Priori et Conventui servienti duos solidos, et cuilibet garcioni xij^{d}. Item lego ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene xl. solidos ad luminaria et ornamenta dicte ecclesie. Item lego sacerdoti ibidem paroch. x. solidos, ut oret et orari faciat pro me. Item lego magistro clerico ibidem iij^{s}. Item lego subclerico ij^{s}. Item lego iiij ecclesiis paroch. in Southwerk, viz. sancte Margarete, sancti Georgii, sancti Olaui, et sancte Marie Magdalene iuxta Bermundesey, cuilibet earum singillatim xiij^{s}. et iiij^{d}. ad ornamenta et luminaria ut supra: Et cuilibet sacerdoti paroch. sive rectori in cura ibidem pro tempore residenti et ecclesie servienti sex^{s}. et octo^{d}. ut orent et orari pro me in suis parochiis faciant et procurent. Item lego magistro Hospitalis sancti Thome martiris in Southewerk xl^{s}. et cuilibet sacerdoti qui est de gremio dicti Hospitalis in eodem servienti vj^{s}. et viij^{d}. ut orent ibidem pro me. Item lego cuilibet sorori professe in dicto Hospitali iij^{s}. et iiij^{d}. et cuilibet earum ancille infirmos custodienti xx^{d}. Item lego cuilibet infirmo infra dictum Hospitale languenti xij^{d}. Item lego singulis Hospitalibus subscriptis, viz. sancti Thome Elsingspitell, Bedlem extra Byschopus-gat, scint Mary spitell juxta Westm. cuilibet sorori ubi sunt sorores in dictis Hospitalibus professe una cum ancillis et languentibus ibidem, ut percipiant singillatim modo ut supra. Item lego cuilibet domuum leprosorum in suburbiis London. decem^{s}. ad distribuendum inter eosdem, ut orent pro me. Item lego Priori de Elsingspitell xl^{s}. et cuilibet Canonico sacerdot, ibidem professo sex^{s}. et viij^{d}. ut orent pro me. Item lego ad servicium altaris in Capella sancti Johannis Baptiste in qua corpus meum sepeliendum est, viz. duo vestimenta de panno serico cum toto eorum apparatu, quorum unum est de *Bleu Bandkyn* mixtum de colore albo, et aliud vestimentum est de albo serico. Item lego ad servicium dicti altaris unum missale grande et novum eciam et unum calicem novum, unde voluntas mea est quòd dicta vestimenta una cum missale et calice maneant imperpetuum tantummodo ad servicium dicti altaris, et non alibi. Item lego Priori et Conventui quendam magnum librum sumptibus meis noviter compositum, qui *Martilogium* dicitur, sic quòd in eodem specialem memoriam scriptam secundum eorum promissa cotidie habere debeo. Item lego Agneti uxori mee c^{li}. legalis monete. Item lego eidem iii ciphos, unum cooperculum, duo salaria, et xij cocliaria de argento. Item lego eidem omnes lectos meos et cistas una cum apparatu aule, panetre, coquine, et eorum vasis et omnibus utensiliis quibuscunque. Item lego eidem unum calicem et unum vestimentum pro altare quod est infra oratorium hospicii mei. Item volo quòd, si dicta Agnes uxor mea diucius me vivat, tunc ipsa libere et pacifice, immediate post mortem meam, percipiat omnes redditus michi debitos de firmis Maneriorum meorum tam de Southwell in Comitatu Nott. quam de Multon in Com. Suff. prout in quodam scripto inde confecto sub sigillo meo necnon sub sigillis aliorum plenius constari poterit. Huius autem Testamenti facio et constituo executores meos, viz. Agnetem uxorem meam, dominum Arnaldum Savage militem, dominum Rogerum Armigerum, dominum Willelmum Denne canonicum Capelle domini Regis, et Johannem Burton clericum. Dat. infra Prioratum beate Marie de Overes in Sutwerke in festo Assumpcionis beate Marie a^{o}. dñi millesimo cccc^{mo}. octavo.

"Tenore presencium nos Thomas, etc. Notum facimus universis quod vicesimo quarto die mens. Octobris anno dñi millesimo cccc^{mo}. octavo in Manerio nostro de Lamhith probatum fuit coram nobis Testamentum supra scriptum pro eo etc. cuius pretextu etc. Administracioque omnium bonorum dictum testamentum concern. vbicunque etc. dilecte in Christo filie Agneti uxori sue exec. in eodem Testamento nominate commissa extitit et per eandem admissa in debita forma iuris. Reservata nobis potestate, etc. In cuius rei etc. Dat. die, loco, mense, et anno supradictis et nostre translacionis terciodec. anno.

"Noverint universi per presentes etc. quod nos Thomas etc. de fidelitate dilecte in Christo filie Agnetis relicte et executricis testamenti et bonorum administratricis Jo-

are grounds for concluding that he was born some time before the year 1340, whilst it is certain that he died in 1408.

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hannis Gower nuper defuncti, cuius testamentum per nos nuper de prerogativa nostre Cant. ecclesie pro eo quod idem defunctus nonnulla bona optinuit in diversis dioc. nostre Cant. provinc. dum vivebat et tempore mortis sue tunc extitit approbatum, et administracio bonorum eiusdem dicte Agneti commissa de et super administracione, etc. confidentes ipsam ab ulteriori etc. In cuius rei etc. Dat. in Manerio nro de Lamhith vij^mo. die mensis Novemb. A°. dñi millesimo cccc^mo. octavo, etc."

The following inscription on his tomb, together with the account of it, will be found in Blore's "Sepulchral Antiquities of Great Britain," where the monument is erroneously said to be in *St. John's Chapel*, in the north side of St. Mary Overy's, commonly called St. Saviour's, Church in Southwark; but St. John's Chapel is now used as the vestry-room.

"The monument of John Gower is in the Chapel of St. John, in the north aile of the nave of St. Mary Overy's, commonly called St. Saviour's, Church in Southwark. It is entirely of stone, and consists of a canopy of three arches with bouquet [crocketed] pediments, parted by finials, and at the back of each pediment three niches, of which there are also seven in front of the altar tomb. Berthelet, in the introduction to his edition of the 'Confessio Amantis,' 1532, gives the following description of the three barbarous representations of Charity, Mercy, and Pity, which are now nearly obliterated, but which were painted against the wall within the three upper arches. 'Beside on the wall where he lieth, there be peinted three virgins, with crownes on their heades, one of the whiche is written Charitie, and she holdeth this diuise in hir honde.

En top qui est fitz de dieu le pere
Saube soit que gist souz cest piere.

"'The second is written Mercie, which holdeth in hir hande this diuise:

O bon Jesu fait ta mercie
A lalme, dont le corpe gist icy.

"'The thyrde of them is written Pitee, which holdeth in hir hande this diuise followynge:

Pour ta Pite Jesu regarde
Et met cest alme en saube garde.'

"On the top of the altar tomb is the effigy of the poet, his head reclining on three volumes, representing his three great works, and inscribed with their respective titles. The hair falls in a large curl on his shoulders, and is crowned with a chaplet of four roses, originally, as Leland tells us, intermixed with ivy, 'in token (says Berthelet) that he, in his life daies, flourished fresshely in literature and science.' It is inscribed, ihi merci. A long robe, closely buttoned down the front, extends from the neck to the feet, which are entirely covered. A collar of SS., from which is suspended a small swan, chained, the badge of Henry the Fourth, hangs from his neck; his feet rest upon a lion, and above, within a pannel of the side of the canopy, a shield is suspended, charged with his arms, Argent on a chevron Azure, three leopards' heads, Or; crest, on a cap of maintenance, a talbot sciant [passant]. Under the figure of Mercy are these lines,

Armigeri scutum nihil a modo fert tibi tutum;
Reddidit immolutum morti generale tributum;
Spiritus erutum se gaudeat esse solutum
Est ubi virtutum regnum sine labe statutum.

"On the ledge of the tomb was an inscription, now entirely gone:

Hic jacet J. Gower, arm.
Angl. porta celeberrimus ac
Huic sacro edificio benefac. insignis
Virit temporibus. Ed. III. et R. II.

"Adjoining the monument there hung originally a table granting 1500 days of

These facts justify the belief that he was the John Gower, who, in 1373, executed a deed to which the same arms and crest are affixed, relating to lands in Suffolk, scarcely fifteen miles from the manor which the poet undoubtedly possessed: of that document the following is a copy.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Joh'nes Gower dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi D'no Joh'ni de Kobham Militi Wil'mo de Weston' Rog'o de Asshebournhame Thome de Brokhell' et D'no Thome de Preston' Rectori ecclesie de Tunstall totum Manerium meum de Kent Well' in comitatu Suffolchie habendum et tenendum totum predictum Manerium cum omnibus suis pertinenciis prefatis D'no Joh'ni de Kobham, Will'mo, Rog'o Thome et Thome et heredibus suis et suis assignatis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et de jure consueto inperpetuum Et ego predictus Joh'nes Gower, et heredes mei totum Manerium predictum cum omnibus suis pertinenciis prefatis D'no Joh'ni de Kobham Will'mo Rog'o Thome et Thome et heredibus suis et suis assignatis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Will'mo Topclive, Jacobo de Pecham, Ricardo Blore, Will'mo Symme, Stephano Norton[1], et aliis multis. Dat' apud Otteford die Jovis in festo s'ci Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post Conquestum quadragesimo septimo[1]."—*Cartæ Antiquæ in Mus. Brit.* 50. I. 14.

The seal attached to it is represented by the annexed engraving.

Another presumption of the identity of the possessor of Kentwell with the poet, arises from the fact that the former selected a Sir John Cobham to be one of his feoffees[2], and that the latter appointed a Sir Arnold Savage to be one of his executors, between which families there was about that time an alliance[3]. The families of Savage and Denne were seated in Kent, and as the poet appointed members of each his executors, it is probable that he was connected with that county.

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pardon, 'ab ecclesia rite concessos,' and for all those who devoutly prayed for his soul." According to a MS. of Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, the arms of Gower formerly stood in the highest south window of the body of the church near the roof.

In the *Biographia Britannica* it is said, that Agnes the poet's wife is buried under the same tomb; but it does not appear upon what authority.

[1] Thursday, 29th of Sept. 1373.

[2] It will also be seen that the possessor of Kentwell was likewise a feoffee of Sir John Cobham's manor of Aldyngton in Kent.

[3] Reginald Cobham of Rundal in Kent, grandson of Sir John Cobham, who died in the 36 Edw. III., and nephew of Sir John Cobham of Hever, married Elizabeth, or Isabel, daughter of Sir Arnold Savage, and died in the 7th Hen. IV. She remarried William Clifford. The Sir Arnold Savage, who was appointed one of the poet Gower's executors, was probably the Sir Arnold Savage who was born in 1358 (Esch. 49 Edw. III.) and who married Joan, daughter of ——— Echingham, and died in 1410; and it is likely that the above-mentioned Sir John Cobham of Hever was the feoffee of Kentwell, in 1373.

If this be conceded, his identity with the lord of Kentwell is rendered more likely, since the above deed was dated "at Orford," and some of the feoffees besides Cobham resided in Kent.

Of the family of Gower of Suffolk, the following particulars have been discovered.

On the 25th June, 7 Edw. III. 1333, David de Strabolgi, Earl of Atholl, granted to Sir Robert Gower, knight, the manor of Kentwell, with the appurtenances in Suffolk, to him and his heirs and assigns[1]; on the 4th March, 13 Edw. III. 1339, the king confirmed to Sir Robert that manor in fee[2]; and in the 23 Edw. III. 1349, the custody of the said manor, "quod fuit Roberti Gower def'" was granted to Katherine, Countess of Atholl, until his heir became of age, she paying twenty marks per annum[3]. Sir Robert Gower[4] left two daughters, Katherine and Joan, and from the inquisition on the death of the former in the 40th Edw. III. 1366, it appears that her sister Joan was her heir, who was then the wife of William Neve of Wyting, and twenty-three years of age[5]. Katherine is said to have died seised of lands in Radwater in Essex, and of half the manor of Kentwell, and Kentwell-hall, in Suffolk[6].

There can be little doubt that it was this Sir Robert Gower who was buried in the church of Brabourne, near Ashford, in Kent, where his effigy was placed, holding a shield before him, charged with the same bearings as were used by the poet[7]. Philipot has given a drawing of it[7], and both he and Weever[8] state that the epitaph was

Hic jacet erpertus sub marmore miles opertus
Gower Robertus animi sis Christe misertus.

Philipot says, "This I found in brasse one a very faire monument, raysed in an arche over the north side the quire."

By letters patent dated at Westminster on the 5th December, 40 Edw. III. 1366, a special pardon was granted to William Neve, and

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[1] In the Harleian MS. 299, f. 183, a copy of the charter of the 13 Edw. III. is given, which recites the grant of the Earl of Atholl at length. The following notice of the former grant occurs in the *Rotulorum Originalium*, vol. ii. p. 100. "A°. 9 Edw. III. David de Strabolgi comes Atholl' dimisit Roberto Gower manerium de Kentwell cum p'tinent' in com' Suff' quod de R. tenetur in capite tenend' eidem Roberto ad totam vitam suam maner' est," &c.

[2] *Calend. Rot. Patent.* p. 134, and Harl. MS. 299, f. 183.

[3] *Rot. Orig.* vol. ii. p. 201.

[4] If, as is probable, the subjoined record related to this individual, his wife was Margaret, the third sister and co-heiress of Sir John de Mowbray. "A°. 10 Edw. III. Exemplificatio relaxationis Margaretæ uxoris Roberti Gower ac tertiæ sororis et unius hæredum Johannis de Moubray Mil' Domini de Toures in Vymen' in Franc' fact' Mariæ de Sancto Paulo Comitissæ Pembr' in feodo de toto jure suo in dicto dominio de Toures."—*Calend. Rot. Patent.* p. 125.

[5] MS. note of the Escheat 40 Edw. III., No. 13, where it is said, that Robert Gower, her father, died in the 32 Edw. III., but this is probably an error for the 23rd; since the record above cited states that he was dead in that year.

[6] *Calendarium Inquis. Post Mortem*, vol. ii. p. 274.

[7] Harleian MSS. 3917. See also the MS. marked *Philpot's Kent*, No. 25, f. 118, in the College of Arms.

[8] *Funeral Monuments*, p. 270.

Johanna his wife, sister and heiress of Katherine, daughter of Robert Gower, deceased, which Katherine held the moiety of the manor of Kentwell hall, in Suffolk, and the moiety of 4*l.* rent, in Radwynter, in Essex, "in dominico suo ut de feodo de nobis in capite per servicium militare," for having entered on that property on her sister's decease without process in the king's court, performing homage, &c.; in consequence of which the lands had been seized into the king's hands, and the said William Neve and Joan were restored to the same upon the payment of 100 shillings fine[1].

Neve must have died within less than two years of that time, for on Wednesday next after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the 42 Edw. III., 28th June, 1368, Thomas Syward, pewterer, and citizen of London, and Joan his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Gower, knight, granted the manor of Kentwell in Suffolk, with the appurtenances, to JOHN GOWER[2].

The earliest notice which has been discovered of a John Gower, or Gour, who could possibly have been the poet[3], is in the 38 Edw.

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[1] Original patent, preserved among the Ancient Charters in the British Museum, marked 43 E. 1. The annexed notices occur in the *Rotulorum Originalium*, relative to the possession of Kentwell by Neve and his wife.

40 Edw. III. "P'cept' est Roger de Wolfreton esc' R. in com Suff' et Essex' q'd accepta securitate etc. Et Will'o Neve de Wyting et Johanne ux' ejus soror' et hered' Katerinæ fil. Rob' Gower def' demedietate manerii de Kentewelleshalle cum p'tin' in com' Suff' et demedietate quatuor librar' redditus cum p'tin' in Radwinter in d'co com' Essex ad d'c'm manerium p'tinen' q' de R' tenent' in capite p' s'vicium militare plen' scis' h're fac salvo, &c."—Vol. ii. p. 288.

40 Edw. III. "Wills Neve de Wetyngge et Johanne ux' ejus soror et heres Katerine fil. Roberti Gower def' dant centum solidos p' ingrediendo &c. medietatem man' de Kentwelhall et medietate quatuor libratar' redditus cum p'tin' in Radwynter, q' etc."—Ibid. vol. ii. p. 291.

[2] Ancient Charter, marked 56 G. 42. The document is dated at Melford, and was witnessed by Sir Thomas Murieux and Sir Thomas Cornerde, Knights, and Henry Englysse, John Bataill, John Rougheved "et aliis," but the seal has not been preserved. The deed marked 56 G. 41, is a letter of attorney relating to the same conveyance. A°. 42 Edw. III. "Joh'es Gower dat sex decim marcas p' lic' adquir' etc. manerium de Kentwell etc. fine lic."—*Rot. Orig.* vol. ii. p. 301.

[3] A family of Gower seems to have been then resident in Dorsetshire; for, by a writ tested on the 8th June, 30 Edw. III. 1356, a John Gower was one of the merchants summoned from that county to advise with the King's council.—*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. ii. p. 457. In Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, Digest, p. 641, a Walter Gower is stated to have been a citizen of Salisbury in 1301. The name also then existed in Cambridgeshire.—*Ibid.* A will of an Adam Gower, of Bristol, was proved in Doctors' Commons in 1493.—*Doggett.* This is perhaps a proper place for introducing the few other notices of the name, unconnected with Yorkshire, which have been discovered in the searches for this investigation. In the 21 Edw. I. 1292-3, a John Gower held lands in the town of Drusselan, in Wales.—*Rot. Orig.* vol. i. p. 83. Henry le Gower, Bishop of St. David's, held lands in South Wales, which he charged with the support of two chaplains to pray for his soul, in 6 Edw. III. 1332.—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 75. Caxton, it must be remembered, says the poet was a native of Wales. In the Cotton MS. Julius C.VII. f. 152, is a notice of a deed, but no date is mentioned, to which a Sir Ralph Spigurnell, Sir John de Byshopston, and *John Gower* were parties, and to which their arms were appended by a string: 1st, three bars, with two crests; 2nd, a chevron between three talbots; 3rd, per chevron three cinquefoils. An original deed of a John Gour, who styled himself "Lord of Pudeleston" in Herefordshire, and dated at Pudeleston on Tuesday next after the feast of Saint Nicolas, 46 Edw. III. 1372, by which he quit-claimed to Richard de Billebury, chaplain, all his right to certain lands, is now in the possession of Mr. W. H. Black, of New North-street, Red Lion-square.

III., 1364, when the abbot of Reading granted to a person of those names, in tail general, certain lands and tenements in Jugington, Leominster, which the king confirmed[1]; but it is most likely that he was a different person.

As has been just stated, in 1373, a John Gower, who bore the same arms as the poet, and as Sir Robert Gower who was buried at Brabourne, purchased the manor of Kentwell, in Suffolk, of the heir of Sir Robert Gower; and before offering any further observations, all which has been found of persons bearing the name of the poet, about the period in which he lived, will be inserted.

In the 39th Edw. III., 1365, William, the son of Sir William Septuames, knight, granted to John Gower and his heirs ten pounds rent out of the manor of Wygebergh, in Essex, and released to the said John and his heirs the manor of Aldyngton, in Kent[2].

In June, 43 Edw. III., 1369, a fine was levied between John Gower on the one part, and John Spenythorn, and Joan his wife, on the other part, by which the said John, and Joan Spenythorn, gave up all right to the manor of Kentwell, excepting a rent of 10*l.*, and for which Gower gave them 200 marks of silver[3]; and Thomas Brockhull, in the 7 Ric. II., 1377-8, released to Sir John Frebody, rector of Bocton Aluph, and John Gower, divers lands, &c. in the parish of Bouhersmersh, and elsewhere, in the marsh of Romney in Kent[4]. To prove that the John Gower, who was a feoffee of the manor of Aldyngton in the 38th Edw. III., was the same person as the owner of Kentwell, in the 47th Edw. III., it is only necessary to observe that in the year last mentioned, John Cobham, and others, are said to have held both those manors[5].

From the extracts which have been given it is manifest that the John Gower who acquired the manor of Kentwell was living at the same time with the poet; that they must have been of nearly the same age; that they bore precisely the same arms; that they were both connected with Suffolk, and probably with Kent; and that most of the

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[1] *Calend. Rot. Patent.* p. 178. In the Reading Chartulary, Cottonian MS. Domitianus iii. are two charters of a John Gour about that period. "Carta indenture facta Joh'i Gour de tribus partibus unius mesuag. unius carucat' terre in *Yvynton*."—f. 234. "Carta Joh'is Gour ut patet inferius." "Dat' in hospicio meo apud Radyng xxvi° die Aprilis Anno r' r' Edwardi tercii post conquestum tricesimo. Hijs test. Joh'e de Stratfeld, Th' de Suldeford, Joh' Maurden, et aliis."—f. 235.

[2] *Clause Rolls*, abstracted in the Harleian MS. 1176, fol. 16. By an inquisition held before John Cobham of Kent, and others, to inquire into the estate of William, son and heir of Sir William Septuans. Knt. deceased, at Canterbury, on Tuesday next before the feast of St. George, 40 Edw. 1366, it was found that John Gower was a feoffee of the manor of Aldyngton, in Kent, in the 38th Edw. III., 1364.—*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. ii. p. 292. The following entry also occurs in the *Calendarium Inquisitiones post Mortem*, vol. ii. p. 273. "A°. 39 Edw. III. Johannes Gower, Aldyngton maner' mediet' ut de castro Roffens' Kanc:" and in the *Rotulorum Originalium*, vol. ii. p. 286, "Joh'es Gower dat quinquaginta et tres solidos p' lic' adquirend' &c. medietatem manerii de Aldyngton juxta Berghstede cum p'tin' &c. Kanc."—Grossi Fines, 39 Edw. III.

[3] Ancient Charters, 50. I. 13.

[4] Hasted's Kent, ed. 1790, vol. iii. p. 425.

[5] *Calend. Inquis. post Mortem*, vol. ii. p. 331.

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persons whom they appointed to fulfil certain trusts belonged to the latter county.

These facts establish, that if the possessor of Kentwell and the poet were not identical, they were of the same family; and it is right to inquire in what way they could have been related. That they were not father and son is almost certain, from the dates which have been referred to; nor is it likely that they were brothers, for though instances of two sons bearing the same baptismal name sometimes occur, they are but rare. It is possible that they may have been first cousins; but some slight difference would, in that case, probably have been found in their arms. Another argument in favour of their identity arises from the circumstance of there being no other John Gower mentioned in the various records of the reign of Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., which have been consulted, with the exceptions of the merchant of Dorsetshire, the lord of Pudeleston, and the person connected with Reading, the two latter of whom wrote their names Gour, than the individual who held the manor of Kentwell; and if the poet had not been the same person, it is difficult to believe that he would not once be mentioned as having been concerned in some official or legal proceeding, during the long period of sixty years.

Against their identity may be urged, that the poet does not mention the manor of Kentwell in his will, or once allude to any church in Kent or Suffolk, or even to the one in which his supposed relation, Sir Robert Gower, was buried. To the first it may be answered, that it is unquestionable that he does not speak of all his property in his will; that the notice of Southwell and Multon merely arose from their having been assigned for the provision of his widow; and that the omission of any charitable bequest to the church near the manor of Kentwell is not more extraordinary than that the churches of Southwell and Multon should not have been remembered.

Very few words will be sufficient to set aside the claim which Mr. Todd and other writers have advanced on the part of the Gowers of Stitenham, in Yorkshire, to the honour of being of the poet's family. The solitary document adduced by that learned gentleman in favour of the hypothesis, is a deed of a Robert de Ranclif, of Stitenham, granting to John his son, and Emma his wife, and the heirs of their bodies, certain messuages and lands in Stitenham, after the decease of Christian his wife, dated at Stitenham, on Wednesday next after Easter, 19th April, 1346, and witnessed by a John Gower; which deed is indorsed "in the hand writing" according to Mr. Todd, "of *at least* a century later,

"1346, Joh'es Gower, wittnes only. Sr John Gower the Poet[1]."

It does not appear whether the remark, that, "at the date of this deed, in 1346, Gower was upwards of twenty years of age," is founded upon evidence afforded by his writings, or upon any other proof; but it must not be forgotten that if he was twenty-one in 1346, he must have been eighty-three at his decease, an age to which few men attain. It is true, that about the year 1400 he de-

[1] Illustrations, p. 92.

scribes himself "senex et cæcus," but no other circumstance, that we are aware of, supports the idea that he was so very aged at his death. Conceding, however, that the poet was born as early as 1325, it is infinitely more probable, that the John Gower who was a witness to the deed of 1346, was a member of a family which was then resident in the very county[1] in which it was dated, than that it should have been a man who held lands in Kent and Suffolk.

The strongest evidence against the opinion that the poet was of the Yorkshire family of Gower yet remains to be adduced—the entire difference of their arms. The one having borne Argent on a chevron Azure three leopards' heads Or; and for their crest, on a chapeau, a talbot passant; and the other Barry, Argent, and Gules a cross patee flore Sable; and as their crest, a wolf passant, Argent, collared, and chained, Or. To contend that individuals, living in the reign of Edward the Third, were related, who bore arms so radically distinct, would be absolute nonsense, "unlesse," as Thynne justly observed on this very question, "you canne prove, that beinge of one howse they altered their armes uppon some juste occasione, as that some of the howse maryinge one heyre did leave his owne armes, and bare the armes of his mother." Mr. Todd has cited Leland, Bale, Pitts, and Holinshed, in favour of the opinion, that "the poet was a Gower of Stitenham," but he has omitted to notice the assertion of Weever, who, speaking of Sir Robert Gower who was interred at Brabourne, expressly says, "From this familie John Gower the poet was descended[2]." Mr. Todd's authorities stand wholly unsupported by proofs, but Weever's remark derives no slight corroboration from Sir Robert and the poet having borne the same arms. Thus the statements of Mr. Todd's witnesses are not only without similar proof to that possessed by Weever, but, before their testimony can be useful, they must satisfactorily explain why they are destitute of it; and establish that it is more probable that two men, in the fourteenth century, were of the same family, whose arms were as different as black and white, than that there should be a near relationship between two, whose arms were precisely the same?

Against such facts it would be a waste of words to argue; and we shall briefly insert all that is known of a family of Gower, with which it is probable the poet was connected, from the time of his death until its extinction in the male line. He does not mention any child in his will, whence Mr. Todd has made this solemn deduction, "Yet Gower, as represented to us in that document, was of too pious and considerate a temper to omit the notice of offspring, if, at the time when he bequeathed his considerable property, the endearing name of father belonged to him." Such an omission certainly renders it unlikely that he had issue; but it is not conclusive. It is manifest from the probate, that he had other property than is spoken of in his will, and if he had only one son, or if he had female issue only, he or they would have succeeded to it; hence it was not requisite that he should have specially provided for them by legacies. It is also remarkable

[1] In the 9 Hen. V. 1421 (and 14 Hen. VI. 1435-6), a Walter Gower is expressly described "*of Stitenham.*"—Collins' Peerage, ed. 1779, vol. v. p. 139.

[2] *Funeral Monuments*, p. 270.

XUM

that he does not leave any other bequests than to priests, hospitals, and for other pious or charitable purposes, excepting to Agnes his wife. His will certainly proves that he was possessed of considerable property, and the omission of any title after his name tends to establish that he was not a knight, a point on which some comments have been made[1], notwithstanding that in the inscription which is said to have been placed on the ledge of his tomb, he is called an "Esquire."

Although the degree of relationship which existed between the poet and Sir Robert Gower cannot be determined, they must have been nearly connected in blood; and a reasonable opinion is, that the former was his nephew. That he was not Sir Robert's son is proved by his daughters being his heirs, as well as from the one sister having been found heir to the other. The dates render it very improbable that they were brothers, for allowing that the poet was born in 1326, there would be at least a difference of twelve years in their ages, and which supposes that Sir Robert was only twenty-one when he obtained the grant of Kentwell from the Earl of Atholl, in 1335, though the presumption is that he was then much older.

Sufficient evidence that Gower was "well born," is to be found in the fact that he used coat armour; and it is further supported by the proofs which have been here adduced, that the same arms were borne by a knight of his name in the early part of the reign of Edward the Third; a period when the assumption of armorial ensigns, without ample authority, would have been punished with considerable severity. Every effort to obtain information with respect to the manor of Southwell, which the poet says in his will he possessed, has wholly failed, for it has not been discovered how or when he acquired it; nor can its descent be traced from that time.

To the preceding observations, notices will be added of such persons of the name of Gower as have been considered descendants of the poet[2], or who, from local circumstances, may be thought to have been related to him.

A John Gower was vicar of the church St. Stephen, alias Hackington, in Kent, and died there on the 27th December, 1457[3], and it may have been the same person who, by the title of "John Gower, Clerk, of the parish of St. Dunstan's near Canterbury, was a feoffee of the lands of William Spycer in Hackington, on the 9th September, 20 Hen. VI., 1442[4]."

In the 33 Hen. VI. 1454, Thomas Gower, of Clapham in Surrey, Esquire, was bound for his son Richard, and the other bondsman was John Gower, of the same place, Esquire[5]. The said Thomas

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[1] *Biographia Britannica.* [2] *Ibid.* article GOWER.

[3] Hasted's Kent, ed. 1790, vol. iii. p. 601. Weever has given a copy of the inscription on his tomb:

"Hic jacet Dominus Johannes
Gower nuper Vicarius istius
Ecclesie qui obijt Decemb' xxvii
M.CCCC.LVII. cujus anime," &c.—P.260.

[4] Ancient Charters, 80. D. 43.

[5] MS. collections of the late Francis Townsend, Esq., Windsor Herald, apparently from the Clause Rolls, 33 Hen. VI. m. 27 do. This John Gower was probably the brother of Thomas, and uncle of Richard. He could not have been the John Gower, of Clapham, Esq., who was killed at the battle of Tewksbury, and will be hereafter spoken of; for

made his will on the 11th of July, 1458, by which he ordered his body to be buried in the church of the Holy Trinity of Clapham in Surrey. He bequeathed to his wife Joan his tenement in Southwark called the Falcon, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, near the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, with remainder after her death to his sons Richard and John. To his eldest son Richard he gave his house in Clapham; to his son John his lands in Chingford in Essex; and he was also possessed of lands in South Lambeth. He directed that, notwithstanding these bequests, all the rents and profits of his estates, during the life of his wife, should be divided into three parts between her and his said sons. If his sons died without issue, he devised all his property to William Passele and Isabel Passele, children of John Passele and Lodovice Passele, his daughter deceased; and if the said William and Isabel died issueless, he directed that all his lands should be sold to support three chaplains: one at Clapham; one at St. Peter's, under the tower of London; and one at the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark aforesaid. The residue of his effects, whether in England or in parts beyond the sea, he gave to his wife and two sons, they to distribute the same for the health of his soul, and constituted his wife the principal, and his sons his other executors. He died in the same year, as his will was proved by his executors, on the 24th of December, 1458[1].

John Gower, of Clapham, Esquire, who by one writer is said to have been the poet's grandson[2], was a zealous adherent to the Lancastrian interest, and for his services to Henry the Sixth, was attainted of high treason in the 4 Edw. IV., 1464[3], when his lands in Surrey and Essex[4], in which county he possessed Shyngilforth-hall, and 280 acres of land and 50 of meadow[5], were granted to Thomas Garnet, Esquire, by letters patent, dated the 26th Sept. 6 Edw. IV., 1466[6], and he was slain at the battle of Tewksbury, 4th May, 1471[7].

The petition of Anne Pympe, in the 1 Hen. VII., 1485, for the reversal of the said John Gower's attainder, contains much information on the pedigree of that family[8]. She describes herself as "Anne

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that person is proved by the petition of Ann Pympe, in 1485, which will be again noticed, to have been the son of Thomas Gower, the testator in 1458, and brother of Richard, who was bound to a trade in 1454. It is therefore certain, that in 1454 there was a John Gower living at Clapham, in Surrey. A William Gower was one of the "Squiers of attendaunce" on King Henry VI. in the 33rd year of his reign, A° 1454-5. *Ordinance of his Household*, p. *17.

[1] Record in Doctors' Commons, marked 14, Stockton.

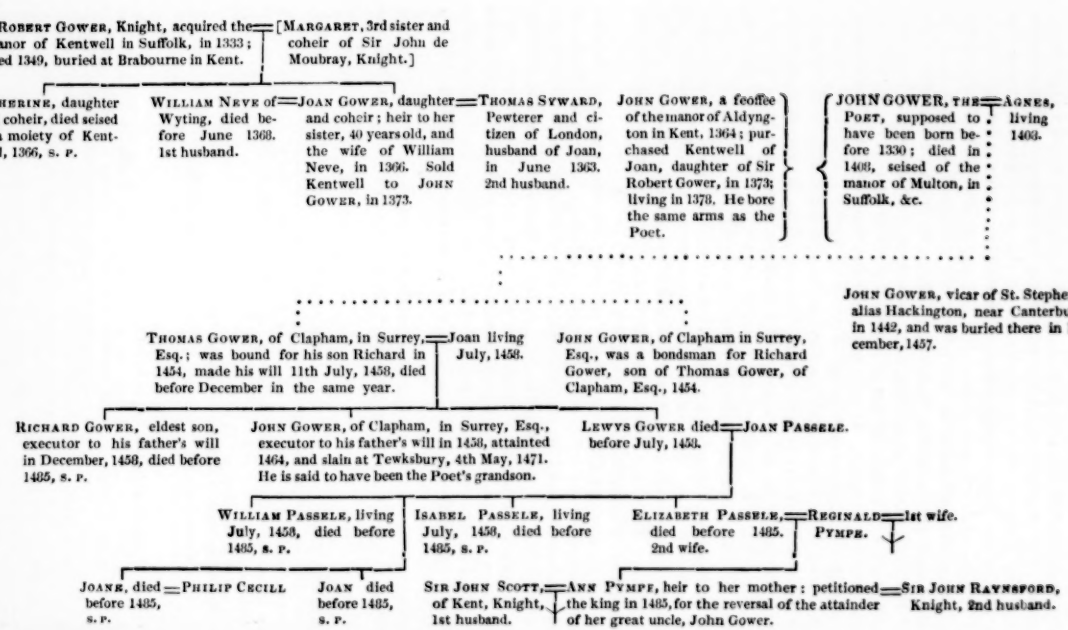
[2] "A very ingenious and indefatigable writer," cited in the *Biographia Britannica*, article GOWER; but a comparison of dates renders it much more likely that, if descended from the poet, he was his *great*-grandson.

[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. v. pp. 511-12.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 589. [5] *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 85. [6] *Ibid.* p. 309.

[7] MS. in the College of Arms, marked Philpot's Δ, whence it appears that John Pashley and Lewis Gower had issue besides Elizabeth who married Reginald Pympe, a son William, two daughters who were both called Joan, and one of whom was the wife of Philip Cecill, and a daughter Isabel. As the daughter of the said Elizabeth Pympe calls herself the heiress of John Gower, neither of the other children of John Passele and Lewis Gower could have left issue that survived until the year 1485.

[8] The subjoined genealogical table of such branches of the family of Gower of Suffolk, Kent, Essex, and Surrey, as are spoken of in the text, may be useful.


Sir Robert Gower, Knight, acquired the manor of Kentwell in Suffolk, in 1333; died 1349, buried at Brabourne in Kent.
[Margaret, 3rd sister and coheir of Sir John de Moubray, Knight.]
Katherine, daughter and coheir, died seised of a moiety of Kentwell, 1366, s. p.
William Neve of Wyting, died before June 1368. 1st husband.
Joan Gower, daughter and coheir; heir to her sister, 40 years old, and the wife of William Neve, in 1366. Sold Kentwell to John Gower, in 1373.
Thomas Syward, Pewterer and citizen of London, husband of Joan, in June 1363. 2nd husband.
John Gower, a feoffee of the manor of Aldyngton in Kent, 1364; purchased Kentwell of Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Gower, in 1373; living in 1378. He bore the same arms as the Poet.
John Gower, the Poet, supposed to have been born before 1330; died in 1408, seised of the manor of Multon, in Suffolk, &c.
Agnes, living 1403.
John Gower, vicar of St. Stephen's, alias Hackington, near Canterbury, in 1442, and was buried there in December, 1457.
Thomas Gower, of Clapham, in Surrey, Esq.; was bound for his son Richard in 1454, made his will 11th July, 1458, died before December in the same year.
Joan living July, 1458.
John Gower, of Clapham in Surrey, Esq., was a bondsman for Richard Gower, son of Thomas Gower, of Clapham, Esq., 1454.
Richard Gower, eldest son, executor to his father's will in December, 1458, died before 1485, s. p.
John Gower, of Clapham, in Surrey, Esq., executor to his father's will in 1458, attainted 1464, and slain at Tewksbury, 4th May, 1471. He is said to have been the Poet's grandson.
Lewys Gower died before July, 1458.
Joan Passele.
William Passele, living July, 1458, died before 1485, s. p.
Isabel Passele, living July, 1458, died before 1485, s. p.
Elizabeth Passele, died before 1485. 2nd wife.
Reginald Pympe.
1st wife.
Joane, died before 1485, s. p.
Philip Cecill
Joan died before 1485, s. p.
Sir John Scott, of Kent, Knight, 1st husband.
Ann Pympe, heir to her mother: petitioned the king in 1485, for the reversal of the attainder of her great uncle, John Gower.
Sir John Ravnsford, Knight, 2nd husband.

Pympe, daughter of Reginald Pympe, and of Elizabeth late his wife, cousin and heir of John Gower, late of Clapham in Surrey, Esquire, now dead; that is to say, daughter of the said Elizabeth, daughter of Lowys, sister of the same John," who she states lost all his lands and goods for supporting Henry the Sixth, at Palm Sunday Field, and afterwards, attending the late Prince of Wales at Tewksbury Field, was taken and slain[1]. From her petition, which was successful, and the will of Thomas Gower, in 1458, it is manifest that the said John and Richard Gower, and William and Isabel Paselse, all died without issue before 1485, and that the petitioner, Anne Pympe, became the heiress of the families of Passele and Gower of Clapham. She was heir to her mother, and married first Sir John Scott of Kent, and was ancestrix of the ancient family name. Her second husband was Sir John Raynsford[2]. There is only presumptive evidence in favour of the Gowers of Clapham being descended from the family of the poet, namely, the circumstance of Thomas Gower having lands in Southwark, and appointing, on a certain contingency, a priest in one of the hospitals to which the poet was a benefactor. It is deserving of remark, that the families of Passele, Pympe, and Scott, all belonged to Kent, and two of them, Passele and Scott, are interred in Braborne Church, where Sir Robert Gower lies. The probability arising from these facts would, however, be entirely negatived, if the arms assigned to the name of Gower, in the quarterings of Scott, could be proved to have been those of Thomas or John Gower of Clapham; for Philpot in one place described them as, Gules a fesse Ermine, between six cross crosslets fitchy Argent, and in another, in the same page, as Gules, a fess Ermine[3]; a variation which admits of the inference that he was by no means sure of what they really were. The original will of Thomas Gower, in 1458, is not preserved, and no means exist of ascertaining what coat he actually used.

The following, Mr. Todd says[3], occurs in some manuscripts of the "Confessio Amantis," but it has been here copied, with the title assigned to it, from one of the Cottonian MSS.[4], which appears to have been the common-place book, if the expression may be allowed, of some priest about the reign of Edward the Fourth.

"Epitaphium sive dictum Johannis Gower
Armigeri, et per ipsum compositum.

"Henrici quarti primus regni fuit Annus
Quo michi defecit visus ad acta mea.
Omnia tempus habens finem natura ministras,

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[1] MS. in the College of Arms, marked Philpot's Δ, where it is said that John Pashley and Lewis Gower had issue besides Elizabeth, who married Reginald Pympe, a son William, two daughters who were both called Joan and one of whom was the wife of Philip Cecill, and a daughter Isabel. As the daughter of the said Elizabeth Pympe calls herself the heiress of John Gower, neither of the other children of John Passele and Lewis Gower could have left issue that survived until the year 1485.

[2] Philpot's Δ, before cited.

[3] Illustrations, p. 100.

[4] Julius, F. vii. f. 167.

Quem virtute sua frangere nemo potest.
Ultra posse nichil quamvis michi velle remansit;
Amplius ut scribam non michi posse manet.
Dum potui, scripsi; sed nunc quia cruda senectus
Turbavit sensus scripta relinquo scolis.
Scribat qui veniet post me discrecior alter,
Amodo namque manus et mea penna silent.
Hoc tamen in fine verborum queso meorum,
Prospera quod statuat regna futura Deus.

" Electus Christi pie rex Henrice fuisti;
Qui bene venisti, cum propria regna petisti:
Tu mala vicisti que bonis bona restituisti,
Et populo tristi nova gaudia contribuisti.
Est michi spes lata, quod adhuc parte revocata,
Succedent fata veteri probitate beata,
Et tibi nam grata gracia sponte data."

As so very little is known of the personal history of the poet, it may be thought desirable that the following extracts from his writings, in which he alludes to himself, should be here given at length.

The first occurs in some copies of his "Vox Clamantis" in the British Museum [1].

"Nota hic in fine, qualiter a principio illius Cronice que Vox Clamantis dicitur, una cum sequenti cronica que bipartita est; tam de tempore regis Ricardi secundi, usque in ipsius deposicionem, quam de coronacione Illustrissimi domini Regis Henrici quarti, usque in annum Regni sui secundum. Ego licet indignus inter alios scribentes scriptor a diu solicitus, precipue super hiis que medio tempore in Anglia contingebant, secundum varias rerum accidencias, varia carmina que ad legendum necessaria sunt, sub compendio breviter conscripsi. Et nunc quia tam gravitate senectutis quam aliarum infirmitatum multipliciter depressus, ulterius de cronicis scribere discrete non sufficio: excusacionem meam necessariam, prout patet consequenter, declarare intendo.

" Henrici regis annus fuit ille secundus,
Scribere dum cesso, sum quia cecus ego.
Ultra posse nichil, quamvis michi velle ministrat:
Amplius ut scribam, non meus actus habet.
Scribere dum potui studiosus plurima scripsi:
Pars tenet hec mundum, pars tenet illa deum.
Vana tamen mundi, mundo scribenda reliqui:
Scriboque finali carmine, *vado mori.*
Scribat, qui veniet post me discrecior alter:
Ammodo namque, manus et mea penna silent.
Sic quia nil manibus potero conferre valoris:
Est michi de precibus ferre laboris onus.

[1] Cottonian MSS. Tiberius, A. iv. f. 175, &c.

Deprecor ergo meis lacrimis, vivens ego cecus,
Prospera, quod statuas regna futura, Deus:
Daque michi sanctum lumen habere tuum. Amen."

To the preceding remarks two facts can fortunately be added, which unquestionably related to the poet, and which are now printed for the first time.

On the 6th August, 6 Ric. II., 1382, an indenture was made between John Gower, on the one part, and Thomas Blakelake, parson of the church of Saint Nicholas at Feltwell, John Sybile, Edmund Lukynghethe, and John Warmington, of the other part, by which the said John Gower granted to the aforesaid Thomas, John, Edmund, and John, and their heirs and assigns, the manors of Feltwell in Norfolk and Multon in Suffolk, they paying, during the life of John Gower, the sum of 40*l.* annually to him or his assigns in the conventual church at Westminster [1]. Thus it is evident, that the poet was possessed of the manor of Feltwell in Norfolk, as he is identified as the granter, by his mentioning the manor of Multon, of which he is proved by his will to have been seised.

The other notice is more curious: in the 17th Ric. II., 1393-4, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry the Fourth, is recorded to have presented "un esquier John Gower" with a collar [2], and which, there can be little doubt, was bestowed on him in consequence of his having then become one of that prince's retainers. It is well known, that the poet is represented with a collar on his tomb, to which a swan is appended; but as the latter is believed not to have been assumed by Henry the Fourth until after the demise of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, in 1397, the swan must have been given to Gower at a subsequent period.

But this article must not be concluded without an observation being made, in which Mr. Todd is interested. Even if what has been here stated of the family of Gower prove nothing else, it will perhaps convince that gentleman that "the proud tradition in the Marquess of Stafford's family[3]" has been founded upon error; and that, however much "ingenuity may be puzzled to excuse the neglect" of Mr. Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments," which he charges Mr. Ellis, Mr. Ritson, and Mr. Godwin with having evinced[4]; it is still more difficult to explain or to justify "the neglect," which the author of the "Illustrations of the *Life* and Writings of *Gower*" has himself displayed, in not discovering some, at least, of the particulars here collected.

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[1] Enrolled in Chancery 29 February, 7 Ric. II. 1384. Rot. Claus. 7 Ric. II. m. 17. From information obligingly communicated by Henry Petrie, Esq.

[2] From a Record in the Duchy of Lancaster Office; for a notice of which we are indebted to George Frederick Beltz, Esq. Lancaster Herald.

[3] "Illustrations," p. xxi.

[4] Ibid. p. xiii.

XUM

THE PEERAGE BILL IN 1719.

THE extraordinary and, in a constitutional point of view, perhaps dangerous increase, which has taken place in the Peerage of this country since the year 1760[1], may bring to the recollection of most persons the attempt which was made in the reign of George the First to restrain the exercise of that branch of the royal prerogative; but as little is known on the subject, some attention has been bestowed on the proceedings which then took place, and on the various works that appeared on the question. The results of these researches are submitted in the following pages. A few remarks on the nature of the danger which is to be apprehended from such frequent creations of peers, and some suggestions of what appears to be the most feasible mode of preventing it, will not, perhaps, be deemed misplaced.

To the common objection, that it is always in the power of the crown to carry any measure through the upper house, by a sudden infusion of the necessary number of new peers, it is sufficient to answer, that no real evil has been produced in this manner. The objection, however, to creations, similar to some which have recently taken place, is prospective rather than immediate, and arises from the probability that the inheritors of the dignity will not be possessed of sufficient fortune to support it; that they may consequently degenerate into the mere creatures of the crown; and that, if they derive their means of existence from the minister, they will repay their benefactor by a servile devotion to his wishes.

We are very far from contending, that wealth should be an indispensable qualification in a man who, by splendid services, had really merited the honours of the peerage, and still less do we wish that the influence of money in this country should increase; but no peer ought to be created who does not possess an income of at least 3000*l.* per annum, and upon each of whose descendants, to whom the title is limited, that revenue is indefeasibly entailed. That merit ought to be the only path to honours, is a truism as ge-

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[1] His present majesty has added sixty-four members to the upper house. In this number, individuals who have been raised to the peerage, or in whose favour an abeyance has been terminated, as well as peers of Scotland and Ireland, who have obtained English baronies, are of course included. No notice, however, is taken of the Scotch peerages which have been restored, of the creations of peers of Ireland, of claims which have been admitted to English peerages, or of elevations of English peers to higher honours. His late majesty is said to have created 239 English peers in about fifty-three years, i. e. from 1760 to 1814, or on the average something more than four per annum. The average number since 1814, the year in which the Prince Regent first *created* an English peer, has been as nearly as possible the same.

nerally admitted as it is continually neglected; but if family connexions, the royal favour, or parliamentary influence, are passports to the upper house of parliament, the individuals so selected should be possessed of a sufficient annual revenue; and a bill might be introduced for the settlement of the estates of peers upon the inheritors of the title to prevent their ever being mortgaged or alienated. In cases of important public services, and services of an *extraordinary* nature alone should be so rewarded, the revenue in question might be granted by the country, and attached to the dignity. The evils of an impoverished peerage would be thus avoided, and the number of creations be much less numerous, since those who received the honour from interest would be obliged to possess the means of supporting it; and it but rarely happens that a man can perform services to his country, which ought to justify its being charged with such a burthen; whilst, by rendering it necessary that the grant should be anterior to the creation, an opportunity would be afforded to parliament to canvass the grounds upon which it was claimed, and as much control on the royal prerogative as is consistent with the dignity of the crown and the spirit of the constitution would thus be given to the legislature. No valid reason can be assigned why services should now be rewarded with the peerage, which, in earlier periods of our history, were deemed to be sufficiently recompensed by the expression of the sovereign's applause, especially as the individuals by whom they are performed are generally well paid by the government; or why every country esquire of a good fortune, who happens to have sat in the house of commons for a few sessions, should deem he has so materially benefited his country as to be entitled to a peerage.

Two other modes exist by which the evils that may arise from the increase of peers might be avoided. The one by creating individuals peers *for life only:* the other by attaching a seat in the upper house, and perhaps with the title and other privileges of a baron, to certain high offices: for example, to the chancellor, to one or two of the chief-justices, and to some of the ministers of the crown; by which measure the state would derive all the advantage of their talents in the house of lords, without the entail of future evils on, or expense to, the country.

The peerage, however, is not the only dignity which has been extravagantly extended. The increase of baronets has been still greater; and this title is now conferred, not merely on the favourites of royalty, but even on those of powerful noblemen. It is true, that a few persons have received the dignity in reward of civil or military services; but they bear no proportion to those upon whom it has been bestowed

" For some gracious service unexpressed:"

and it may be added, wholly unknown even by the grantees themselves. The title of "Baronet" has consequently become so lessened in value, that it creates surprise when a man who has really deserved a distinction condescends to accept it; and as we have seen individuals, to whom it has descended, reduced to a state of pitiable poverty, the next generation may probably witness them the keepers of shops. Hereditary dignities ought therefore to be bestowed with the utmost caution, and never but upon persons who can (and, as has been contended with respect to the peerage, they should be obliged to do so by legislative enactment) entail sufficient property upon their descendants to preserve their respectability.

In the present state of society in England, men are ambitious in an unprecedented degree of personal honours; and from the contempt in which knighthood is held, nothing short of an hereditary dignity is deemed worthy of acceptance: hence the increase of peers and of baronets, and hence a corresponding decrease of the respect of the world to both dignities. It is perhaps worthy of consideration, whether if a new object of ambition was formed by the institution of an order of knighthood for civil services, and a most rigid system of refusal of hereditary titles was adopted, the effect would not be far preferable[1].

It is, however, time to return from the digression into which we have been led, but which is perhaps sufficiently relevant to the subject of this paper to justify its occurrence.

In 1718, the Duke of Somerset, master of the horse, called the attention of the house of lords to the great increase of the peerage since the union with Scotland, and insisted on the necessity of some measure to fix the same, both to preserve the dignity of the peerage, and to prevent the inconvenience arising from the creation of a great number of peers; an expedient which had been resorted to in the preceding reign, for the purpose of securing a majority in favour of a treaty of peace then

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[1] It is an extraordinary fact, and which we believe has been hitherto unnoticed, that though almost every other country of Europe is to a greater or less extent a *military* country, the *civil* part of the community, and more particularly men of science, literature, and eminent artists, are admitted into the various orders of knighthood; whilst in England, a country avowedly *not* a *military* country, *military* or *naval* officers *alone* receive personal distinctions. But the manner in which literary men are excluded from honours of every kind in England excites the astonishment of foreigners, and tends very powerfully to cause the disrespect in which they are held in society; for, as has been most justly observed, "a gentleman in England would much rather be announced as a stock-broker or sugar-baker, than a literary man, a character which would lead him to be shunned as a person of low occupation, vulgar manners, and dangerous society." Surgeons, musicians, oculists, physicians, painters, and lawyers, are knighted and made baronets; but Sir Walter Scott is the solitary example of a distinction of honour having been conferred upon an author; and it is far from certain that he received it solely in consequence of his literary merits.

negotiating with the French court[1], but the real motives were supposed to be the opposition of the Prince of Wales to the administration, and that the bill was intended to be a restraint upon him on his accession to the throne. The course pursued to effect the object appears, by the journals of the house of lords[2], as follows:

On the 28th of February, 1718, it was moved in the house, "that a day be appointed for the house to be in a committee, to take into consideration the present state of the peerage of Great Britain;" and a committee was accordingly appointed, to meet on the 2nd of March following, and the lords to be summoned;

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[1] On the 2nd of January, 1711, twelve new peers, who had been created, were introduced into the House of Lords; an act so dangerous on the part of a minister, as to be justified only by the most absolute necessity. These peers were,

James Compton, eldest son of the Earl of Northampton, summoned as Lord Compton.
Charles Bruce, eldest son of the Earl of Ailesbury, summoned as Lord Bruce.
Thomas Viscount Windsor in Ireland, created Baron Montjoy.
Henry Paget, Esquire, created Baron Burton.
Sir Thomas Mansel, Bart., created Baron Mansel.
Sir Thomas Willoughby, Bart., created Baron Middleton.
Sir Thomas Trevor, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, created Baron Trevor.
George Granville, Esquire, created Baron Lansdowne.
Samuel Masham, Esquire, created Baron Masham.
Thomas Foley, Esquire, created Baron Foley.
Allen Bathurst, Esquire, created Baron Bathurst.
George Hay, Esquire, created Baron Hay.

Their introduction took place without opposition; but in 1715, when Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer, was impeached of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors, the xvith article charged him with endeavouring to subvert "the ancient established constitution of parliaments, the great and only security of the prerogative of the Crown, and of the rights, liberties, and properties of the people;" that whilst the House of Lords was under adjournment, he, assuming an arbitrary direction and control in her Majesty's counsels, in order to obtain "such future resolution of that house of Parliament on the important subject of the negotiations of peace, as might shelter and promote his secret proceedings," did advise her Majesty "to create *twelve* peers of this realm and lords of Parliament, and, pursuant to his destructive counsels, letters patent did forthwith pass, and writs issued, whereby *twelve* peers were made and created, and did likewise advise her Majesty immediately to call and summon them to Parliament;" whereby the said Earl "did most highly abuse the influence he then had with her Majesty, and prevailed on her to exercise in the most unprecedented and dangerous manner that valuable and undoubted prerogative which the wisdom of the laws and constitution of this kingdom hath intrusted with the crown, for rewarding signal virtue and distinguished merit" (*Lords' Journals*, Vol. xx. 110.) The Earl to the said article of impeachment answered, that by the laws and constitution of the realm it was the undoubted right and prerogative of the Sovereign, who is the fountain of honour, to create peers of this realm, as well in time of parliament as when there is no parliament sitting or in being; that the exercise of this prerogative was declared in the preamble of all patents of honour, to proceed *ex mero motu*, as an act of grace and favour; that such acts are not done by and with the advice of the privy council, but flow entirely from the beneficent and gracious disposition of the Sovereign; that he had not, as high treasurer or privy counsellor, any knowledge of the same, but had her Majesty acquainted him with her gracious intention, he should have approved her choice (*Lords' Journals*, xx. 212.) He was acquitted, and the impeachment dismissed. 1st July, 1717.

[2] Lords' Journals, vol. xxi. p. 83.

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when, upon the order of the day being read, for the house to resolve itself into a committee, the Earl of Stanhope[1] delivered the following message from the King under his royal sign manual:[2]

"GEORGE R.

"His Majesty, being informed that the house of peers have under consideration the state of the peerage of Great Britain, is graciously pleased to acquaint this house, that he has so much at heart the settling the peerage of the whole kingdom upon such a foundation as may secure the freedom and constitution of parliament in all future ages, that he is willing that his prerogative stand not in the way of so great and necessary a work."

For which gracious message an address of thanks was returned. The Earl of Nottingham, however, appears to have expressed his opinion, that it was unusual for the King to take notice of any thing depending in parliament. The message was referred to a committee of the whole house, which was ordered to sit on the following day, and the lords to be summoned. The committee met on the 3rd, the Earl of Clarendon being in the chair, and again on the 4th of March: in the committee, the Earl of Sunderland urged the necessity of limiting the peerage, and demonstrated the advantage which, in his view, attended the Duke of Somerset's proposition, which was opposed by Earl Cowper as a violation of the treaty of union, and unjust to the peers of Scotland. The Dukes of Buckingham, Newcastle, Roxburgh, and Montrose, the Marquis of Annandale, the Earls Stanhope, Cholmondeley, Powlett, and Ilay, and the Bishop of Gloucester spoke in favour of the measure. On the latter day, the committee came to certain resolutions by a majority of 83 *against* 30, which were, on the 5th, reported by the Earl of Clarendon to the house.

"1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that, in lieu of the sixteen elective peers to sit in this house on the part of Scotland, twenty-five peers, to be declared by his majesty, shall have hereditary seats in parliament, and be the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland.

"2. That such twenty-five peers shall be declared before the next session of parliament.

"3. That nine of the said twenty-five may be appointed by his Majesty, to have immediate right to such hereditary seat in parliament, subject to the qualifications requisite by the laws now in being.

"4. That none of the remaining sixteen to be declared by his Majesty, or their heirs, shall become sitting peers of the parliament

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[1] Previously Viscount Stanhope of Mahon, but he was advanced to the dignity of Earl Stanhope on the 14th of April preceding.

[2] Ibid. p. 84.

of Great Britain, until after the determination of this present parliament, except such as are of the number of the sixteen peers now sitting in parliament on the part of the peerage of Scotland, and their heirs.

" 5. That as any of the twenty-five of the peers of Scotland to be declared by his Majesty, and their heirs, shall fail, some one or other of the peers of Scotland shall be appointed by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, to succeed to every such peer so failing; and every peer so appointed shall have hereditary seat in parliament, and shall be one of the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland in the parliament of Great Britain; and so, *toties quoties*, as often as any such failure shall happen.

" 6. That the hereditary right of sitting in parliament, which shall accrue to the twenty-five peers of Scotland to be declared by his Majesty, shall be so limited as not to descend to females.

" 7. That the number of peers of Great Britain, on the part of England, shall not be enlarged, without precedent right, beyond six above what they are at present: but as any of the said present peers, or such six new peers, in case they be created, shall fail, their numbers may be supplied by new creations of commoners of Great Britain [born within the kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions thereunto belonging, or born of British parents]; and so, *toties quoties*, as often as such failure shall happen.

" 8. That no person be, at any time, created by writ, nor any peerage granted by patent, for any larger estate than for the grantee and the heirs male of his body.

" 9. That there be not any restraint upon the crown from creating any of the princes of the blood peers of Great Britain, with right to sit in parliament; [nor from promoting any peer having seat in parliament to any higher rank or degree of dignity.]

" 10. That whenever those lords now sitting in parliament, whose sons have been called by writ, shall die; then it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create a peer, to supply the number so lessened.

" 11. That every creation of a peer hereafter to be made, contrary to these resolutions, shall be null and void to all intents and purposes."

The said resolutions were read by the clerk, and afterwards paragraph by paragraph; and, with the amendments to the seventh and ninth of the said resolutions, were agreed to by the house. It was then ordered, that the judges should prepare and bring in a bill pursuant to the beforementioned resolutions.

On the 14th of March, the judges, in pursuance of the order of the house, brought in a bill, intituled, " An Act for settling the Peerage of Great Britain," which was read a first time, a second time, and committed on the 16th; on which day a petition of James Earl of Abercorn, John Earl of Dundonald, and Henry Lucius, Viscount Falkland, was presented and read, praying to be heard by their counsel against such part of the bill as con-

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cerned the peers of Scotland; and upon a motion, to refer the same to the committee to whom the bill stood committed, and that the petitioners might be heard by their counsel as desired, the same was objected to, and, after debate, was resolved in the negative; the petition, however, was ordered to lie on the table. The house sat in a committee upon this bill on the 18th, 19th, 24th, and 26th, when they agreed to a report. On the 6th of April, 1719, the Earl of Clarendon reported to the house the amendments made by the committee, which being twice read with amendments were severally agreed to, and an amendment being then made to the bill by the house, it was ordered to be engrossed. Whilst the bill stood committed, petitions of several peers of Great Britain, who, at the time of the union, were peers of Scotland, and others, were presented to the house, praying to be heard by counsel against such part of the bill as concerned the peers of Scotland, which were ordered to lie on the table. On the 9th of April, the bill was ordered to be read a third time on the 14th, and a petition was presented on the same day from Lord Cranstoun, praying to be heard by counsel against the bill, which was ordered to lie on the table[1]. On the 14th of April, it was ordered to be read on that day fortnight; the effect of which order was, that the bill dropped for that session. Earl Stanhope observed upon the occasion, that the bill having made a great noise, raised strange apprehensions, and the design, so misunderstood, was likely to meet with great opposition in the other house, he therefore thought it advisable to let the matter lie still till a more fit opportunity.

Three days afterwards the parliament was prorogued by the King in person, in whose speech upon the occasion was the following passage in reference to the bill in question.

"I have always looked upon the glory of a Sovereign and the liberty of the subject as inseparable, and think it is the peculiar happiness of a British King to reign over a free people. As the civil rights, therefore, and privileges of all my subjects, and especially of my two houses of parliament, do justly claim my most tender concern; if any provision, designed to perpetuate these blessings to your posterity, remains imperfect for want of time, during this session, maturely to discuss and settle matters of so great importance, I promise myself you will take the first opportunity to render my wishes for your happiness complete and effectual, and to strengthen the Union, which is of so much consequence to the welfare of this kingdom."

This measure in its progress was warmly supported by the ministry. The Earl of Oxford was prominent amongst the opponents, viewing it as an attempt to deprive the crown of

[1] Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vii. 594.

the most valuable branch of its prerogative. Indeed it appears not a little singular, that the Monarch should have so readily assented to such a restraint, or sanction for a moment a proceeding so calculated to degrade the crown in public estimation. But it may be presumed, that George the First, being a foreigner, was but ill acquainted with the value of the part of his prerogative which he was so ready to relinquish, and of which his illustrious successors have made such unprecedented use. The real advantage and policy of the measure does not appear to have been so much considered in the object as to obtain a triumph for party feeling. That it was a party question there can be little doubt, and was conducted with much of the asperity which so frequently characterizes political differences. So warm was the debate after the delivery of the King's message, that the house felt it necessary, in consequence of words that fell from the Earl of Sunderland and Orford, to call upon these noble lords for an assurance that the matter should proceed no further[1]. The proposition, as it affected the peers of Scotland, was looked upon as a flagrant violation of the articles of the Union so recently agreed upon, and called forth, as might be expected, considerable opposition from that body. The Scotch peers were not the only parties who felt aggrieved. Many wealthy members of the house of commons naturally felt discontented on seeing the door of the house of lords closed upon them, and they eagerly joined in the cry against such a change, declaring it to be an infringement of the most fundamental principles of the constitution.

It was known that the abandonment of the bill was but for a short time. During the recess, therefore, the matter was discussed by the advocates and opponents of the ministry. Amongst the writers, who resorted to the press in support of it, were the Earl of Peterborough, Lord Molesworth, and Mr. Secretary Addison[2]; and, on the other side, Sir Richard Steele, Mr.,

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[1] Lords' Journals, xxi. 84.

[2] Johnson, in his Life of Addison, referring to the misunderstanding which this subject occasioned between Steele and the poet, observes:—

"That in (1718-19) a controversy was agitated with great vehemence between those friends of long continuance, Addison and Steele. It may be asked, in the language of Homer, what power or what cause should set them at variance. The subject of their dispute was of great importance. The Earl of Sunderland proposed an act called the Peerage Bill; by which the number of peers should be fixed, and the king restrained from any new creation of nobility, unless when an old family should be extinct. To this the lords would naturally agree; and the king, who was yet little acquainted with his own prerogative, and, as is now well known, almost indifferent to the possessions of the crown, had been persuaded to consent. The only difficulty was found among the commons, who were not likely to approve the perpetual exclusion of themselves and their posterity. The bill therefore was eagerly opposed, and among others by Sir Robert Walpole, whose speech was published.

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afterwards Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, K. G., were the most distinguished.

The next session of parliament was opened by the king in person, on the 23rd of November following, and in the royal speech allusion was again made to the subject in the following passage,

"If the necessities of my government have sometimes engaged your duty and affections to trust me with powers, of which you have always, with good reason, been jealous; the whole world must acknowledge they have been so used, as to justify the confidence you have reposed in me: and as I can truly affirm, that no prince was ever more zealous to increase his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper methods to establish, and transmit to your posterity, the freedom of our happy constitution, and particularly to secure that part which is most liable to abuse. I value myself upon being the first who hath given you an opportunity to do it; and I must recommend it to you to complete those measures which remained imperfect the last session."

Thus sanctioned by the crown, the curtailment of the royal prerogative became one of the first subjects brought under consideration, by a renewal of the Peerage Bill; for on the 25th the Duke of Somerset presented to the house a bill entitled "An Act for settling the Peerage of Great Britain," which was read a first time, being opposed by Earl Cowper, and supported by the Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Sunderland. It was read a second time on the 26th, and ordered to be committed, after debate, to a committee of the whole house on the next day, a motion for the committee to meet on the 28th having been negatived. The committee accordingly met, and having made

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"The lords might think their dignity diminished by improper advancements, and particularly by the introduction of twelve new peers at once, to produce a majority of tories, as was done in the last reign; an act of authority violent enough, yet certainly legal, and by no means to be compared with that contempt of national right with which, some time afterwards, by the instigation of whiggism, the commons, chosen by the people for three years, chose themselves for seven. But, whatever might be the disposition of the lords, the people had no wish to increase their power. The tendency of the bill, as Steele observed in a letter to the Earl of Oxford, was to introduce an aristocracy; for a majority in the house of lords, so limited, would have been despotic and irresistible.

"To prevent this subversion of the ancient establishment, Steele, whose pen readily seconded his political passions, endeavoured to alarm the nation by a pamphlet called *The Plebeian*. To this an answer was published by Addison, under the title of *The Old Whig*, in which it is not discovered that Steele was then known to be the advocate for the commons. Steele replied by a second *Plebeian;* and, whether by ignorance or by courtesy, confined himself to his question, without any personal notice of his opponent. Nothing hitherto was committed against the laws of friendship, or proprieties of decency; but controvertists cannot long retain their kindness for each other. The Old Whig answered the Plebeian, and could not forbear some contempt of 'little Dicky, whose trade it was to write pamphlets.' Dicky, however, did not lose his settled veneration for his friend; but contented himself with quoting some lines of Cato, which were at once detection and reproof. The bill was laid aside during that session; and Addison died before the next, in which it was rejected."

several amendments, the Earl of Clarendon, the chairman, was directed to report the same to the house, which was done on the 28th: they were, with an amendment to one part, agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

The Judges were desired to attend on the 30th, and the lords to be summoned; on which day the Bill was read a third time, passed, and sent to the commons for their concurrence by the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer[1].

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[1] Mr. Coxe, in his Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, gives the following account of the renewal of the bill.

"The unpopularity of the measure, and the ferment it had excited in the nation, were the motives which induced Sunderland to withdraw the Peerage Bill, at the moment of certain success in the house of lords. In vain the pen of Addison had been employed in defending the bill, in a paper called 'The Old Whig,' against Steele, who attacked it in a pamphlet entitled 'The Plebeian,' and whose arguments had greater weight with the public. Walpole also published a pamphlet on the same side of the question, 'The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House, in relation to a Project for restraining and limiting the Power of the Crown in the future Creation of Peers.' In this publication he explained the nature of the bill, and exposed the views of those who introduced it, with a perspicuity of argument, and simplicity of style, adapted to all capacities, and calculated to make a general impression.

"The minister, however, did not relinquish his darling bill. During the interval between the prorogation and meeting of parliament, he exerted every effort to engage a majority in its favour. Bribes were profusely lavished, promises and threats were alternately employed, in every shape which his sanguine and overbearing temper could suggest. He affected to declare, that it was the king's desire, and not the act of the ministry; he did not attempt to conceal that it was levelled against the future government of the Prince of Wales, whom he represented as capable of 'doing mad things' when he came to the throne. He declared that the necessary consequence of its rejection would be the ruin of the whigs, and the introduction of the tories into the confidence and favour of the king; expressed his surprise that any person who styled himself a whig should oppose it; and exerted himself in the business with so much heat and violence, that in endeavouring to persuade Middleton, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who refused to support the measure in the British house of commons, the blood gushed from his nose.

"These efforts were attended with such success, that at a meeting held by the leaders of the whigs in opposition, at Devonshire house, Walpole found the whole body lukewarm, irresolute, or desponding: several of the peers secretly favoured a bill which would increase their importance; others declared, that as whigs it would be a manifest inconsistency to object to a measure tending to prevent the repetition of an abuse of prerogative against which they had repeatedly inveighed; those who were sincerely averse to it were unwilling to exert themselves in hopeless resistance, and it was the prevailing opinion that the bill should be permitted to pass without opposition. Walpole alone dissented, and reprobated, in the strongest terms, this resolution as dastardly and impolitic. He maintained that it was the only point on which they could harass administration with any prospect of success; that he would place it in such a light as to excite indignation in every independent commoner; that he saw a spirit rising against it among the whigs, and particularly among the country gentlemen, who were otherwise not averse to support government. He said, that he had overheard a member of the house of commons, a country gentleman, who possessed an estate of not more than 800*l.* a year, declare to another, with great warmth, that although he had no chance of being made a peer himself, yet he would never consent to the injustice of giving a perpetual exclusion to his family. He was convinced, he added, that the same sentiment would have a strong effect upon the whole body of country gentlemen; and concluded his animated remonstrances by declaring, that if deserted by his party, he himself would singly stand forth and oppose it. This declaration, urged with uncommon vehemence, occasioned much

In the house of commons the bill was read a first time on the 1st of December, and on a motion for the second reading on that day sevennight the house divided, when it was carried by 203 to 158. On the 8th the second reading took place, and upon Lord William Paulet's motion for its committal a warm debate ensued. The speakers in support of the motion were, Sir Charles Hotham, Col. Moreton, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Craggs, Mr. Plummer, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Aislabie, Sergt. Pengelly, and Mr. Hungerford. Amongst the opponents were Sir Richard Steele, Mr. Pitt, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Horatio Walpole, Mr. Wykes, Sir John Packington, Mr. Methuen, Mr. Herne, Mr. Tuffnell, Mr. Robert Walpole, and Mr. John Smith[1].

The address of Sir Richard Steele was long and powerful in opposition to the measure against which he had before so skilfully used his pen in "the Plebeian," contending that the effect of the bill would be to establish an aristocracy. He was strongly supported by Mr. Robert Walpole, whose animated opposition to the bill was enforced by a brilliant display of eloquence. By an allusion happily imagined, as Belsham in his History of England observes, he compared the two houses of parliament to the temples of Fame and Virtue, "where, amongst the Romans, the wisest people on earth, the former was placed behind the latter, to denote that fame was no otherwise attainable than by virtue;" and contended, that, by the passing of this bill into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family; a policy very different from that glorious and enlightened nation who made it their pride to hold out to the world illustrious examples of merited elevation:

"Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam."

Mr. Speaker Onslow, in his remarks on Sir Robert Walpole's conduct, alluding to this address, says, "he bore down every thing before him, even against very able performances by many very considerable persons who spoke on the other side of the question." There is no doubt but that it had considerable influence with the house, and tended materially to the rejection of the scheme. The result being declared, there appeared for the committal of the bill 177, against it 269, so that it was negatived by a majority of 92. It was then resolved that the bill be rejected.

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altercation, and many persuasions were made to deter him from adopting a measure which appeared chimerical and absurd; but when they found that he persisted, the whole party gradually came over to his opinion, and agreed that an opposition should be made to it in the house of commons."

[1] Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vii.

The following catalogue of pamphlets which appeared on the occasion will show the interest and feeling evinced: they contain almost the whole of the arguments adduced on either side.

Against the Bill.

THE PLEBEIAN.—(To be continued weekly.)—No. I. Considerations upon the Reports relating to the Peerage.

Quisquis erat vitæ scribam color.—*Horat.*

By a Member of the House of Commons.

London: Printed for S. Popping, at the Black Raven in Pater-Noster-Row. 1719, 4to. pp. 16.

No. II. Considerations upon the Reports relating to the Peerage continued, and Remarks upon the Pamphlets that have been writ for the supposed Bill.

Quis enim jam non intelligat artes
Patricias?———— 4to. pp. 18.

No. III. Farther Considerations upon the Reports relating to the Peerage.—4to. pp. 10.

No. IV. Considerations upon the Reports about the Peerage continued, in particular with Relation to the Scots Nobility. With Remarks on the Patrician, No. II., and the Old Whig, No. II.

——— Quorum melior sententia menti.
—— Pelago Danaum insidias, suspectaque dona
Præcipitare jubent.—*Virg.* 4to. pp. 20.

These four numbers passed through six editions, and were subsequently printed in 8vo. They were from the pen of Sir Richard Steele.

THE THOUGHTS of a Member of the Lower House in relation to a Project for restraining and limiting the Power of the Crown in the future Creation of Peers.

Si violandum est jus, regnandi causa violandum.

Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.

Devil's Speech in Milton's Paradise Lost.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1719, 8vo. pp. 18.

This tract was written by Robert (afterwards) Sir Robert Walpole.

FARTHER REASONS against the PEERAGE BILL.

He therefore wisely cast about
All ways he could, t' insure his throat.

Hud. Cant. 2. Part 3.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1719, 8vo. pp. 23.

A LETTER to the EARL of O———D concerning the Bill of Peerage.

Rarus enim ferme Sensus communis in illa
Fortuna.—*Juv.*

By Sir R———d S———le.

London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. 1719, 8vo. pp. 32.

This was from Sir Richard Steele to the Earl of Oxford. At p. 5. he says, "I transgressed, my lord, against you when you could make twelve peers in a day: I ask your pardon when you are a private nobleman."

A DISCOURSE upon HONOUR and PEERAGE, in a Letter from an Elector Peer of Scotland to a Member of the House of Commons.

Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ
Intaminatis fulget honoribus.—*Hor*

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1719, 4to. pp. 20.

The MODERATOR'S REASONS against the PEERAGE BILL examined and answered.

London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. 1719, 4to. pp. 12.

AN EXACT LIST of the MEMBERS of the HOUSE of COMMONS who voted for and against the Peerage Bill.

London: Printed for E. Jones in the Strand. 1720, 8vo. pp. 24.

For the Bill.

INQUIRY into the MANNER OF CREATING PEERS.

——Antiquam exquirite Matrem.—*Virg.*

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1719[1], 8vo. pp. 74.

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[1] The author of this tract was Richard West, Esquire, Barrister at Law, one of the King's counsel in 1717, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1725, who died 3rd December, 1726. It was Mr. West's object to show the manner in which the prerogative of the crown was anciently exercised in the creation of peers. After a few observations upon the feudal system, the subject is considered under three heads.

1. As to the barons existing from the Conquest until the latter end of the reign of Henry III., during which period he states baronies to be of a feudal nature, and held by tenure, when appearance in parliament was considered as a service annexed, and incident to the possession of their lands.

2. From the 49th of Henry III. (when the issuing of writs of summons to Parliament, and a sitting under it, changed the former usage, and constituted a peerage so vested in the possessor as to descend to the heirs general of his body,) until the 11th year of the reign of Richard the Second.

3. From the 11th of Richard the Second, when the first creation by letters patent took place, to the 1st of Henry VII., beyond which period the observations and researches of the writer are not extended.

In this treatise, the author doubts the power of the crown to exercise its prerogative in the creation of peers without the consent of Parliament; a great proportion of patents

SOME CONSIDERATIONS, humbly offered, relating to the Peerage of Great Britain. By a Gentleman.

Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes.—*Hor. Ep. ad August.*

London: Printed for Bez. Creake, at the Bible, in Jermyn-street; A. Dodd, at Temple Bar; and J. Harrison, at the Royal Exchange, 1719, 8vo. pp. 35.

This appeared first in the St. James's Post, on the 18th March, 1719.

CONSIDERATIONS concerning the Nature and Consequences of the Bill now depending in Parliament, relating to the Peerage of Great Britain; in a Letter from one Member of the House of Commons to another.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane, 1719, 8vo. pp. 28.

THE OLD WHIG, Numb. I. On the State of the Peerage, with Remarks upon the Plebeian.

—— Quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultrò.—*Virg.*

London: Printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane, and A. Dodd, at the Peacock, without Temple Bar, 1719, 4to. pp. 24.

Numb. II.

——— Eja!
Quid statis? Nolunt. Atqui licet esse beatis.
Quid causæ est, meritò quin illis Jupiter ambas
Iratus buccas inflet; neque se fore posthac
Tam facilem dicat?—*Hor.*

These were written by Mr. Secretary Addison in support of the bill. They passed through several editions, the third in 8vo. 1720, pp. 36.

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having, as he contends, been passed in parliament, an inference drawn from the concluding words, "de datâ prædictâ authoritate parliamenti." It must, however, be borne in mind, that the object of the publication was connected with the party feeling of the day, and was evidently intended to support the view of the administration in their endeavour to carry the Peerage Bill. In 1724, long after the question had subsided, some animadversions upon this Inquiry (attributed to George St. Amand, of the Inner Temple) appeared, wherein Mr. West is accused of plagiarism in various instances, and his inferences respecting the consent of parliament are refuted by an example of the case of Viscount Beaumont's patent, "dated at Westminster 12 Martii, in the 23d of the King," where the warrant is expressed, "per breve de privato sigillo et de datâ prædictâ authoritate parliamenti; which last words diverse patents (of that age, and some that follow) have in the expression of their warrants, by reason of the statute of 18 Hen. VI. cap. 1, by which it is enacted, that letters patents should be dated the same day wherein the warrant for them is received, as to this day from that time and act the law hath continued."

Mr. West's work, however, displays both a knowledge of the subject, and considerable research. The style is clear and concise, and, as a constitutional essay, maintains a fair reputation. It passed through three editions in the same year.

A LETTER from a Member of the House of Commons to a Gentleman without doors, relating to the Bill of Peerage, lately brought into the House of Lords: together with two Speeches for and against the Bill, supposed to be spoke in the House of Commons.

Si quid novisti rectiùs istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.—*Hor.*

London: Printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane, 1719, 4to. pp. 36.

This Pamphlet was from the pen of Robert Viscount Molesworth (so created 1716), sometime Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Denmark in the reign of King William.

THE PATRICIAN, No. I. (to be continued weekly), being Considerations on the Peerage, in Answer to the PLEBEIAN.

—— That sins against his reason
Calls saucy loud sedition public zeal,
And mutiny the dictates of his spirit.—*Otw. Orph.*

By one who is neither a Knight, nor a Member of the House of Commons.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane, and A. Dodd, 4to. pp. 12.

No. II. Being Considerations on the Peerage continued, &c., in Answer to th PLEBEIAN.

—— But the vile vulgar, ever discontent,
Their growing fears in secret murmurs vent,
Still prone to change, though still the slaves of state,
And sure the monarch whom they have, to hate;
Madly they make new Lords.—*Pope's Theb.* 4to. pp. 12.

THE MODERATOR, Numb. I. to be continued occasionally.

The Arguments for and against such a Bill as is talked of, for regulating the Peerage, fairly stated; with some Reflections upon the whole. By a Member of Parliament.

——Medio tutissimus.——

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick-Lane, 1719, 4to. pp. 19.

The writer of this tract appears to have wished that the King's prerogative should remain untouched, and suggests that, if the object of the bill was to prevent the creation of peers for the purpose of obtaining votes to carry, on an emergency, any particular measure, a better remedy would be a bill, declaring that no lord should vote in the upper house within two or three years after his becoming a member of it. By this means, a minister would not be induced to recommend the creation of peers with improper motives. The writer concludes his observations by stating that, on the debate in the house of lords, the noble lord, generally said to be the first minister, several times declared, that the only thing he aimed at, was "to hinder a

number of peers from being flung into that house at once to do particular jobs," in which case a bill, of the nature he recommends, would answer that purpose, in preference to the one proposed; and that neither his lordship nor any of the ministers would give the least occasion for so obvious a reflection as, "that he who will not be contented with what is necessary to attain the end he PROFESSES to aim at, does in reality want something he is AFRAID to NAME. (p. 19.)

THE MODERATORS' REASONS against the PEERAGE BILL examined and answered.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane. 1719, 4to. pp. 21.

REMARKS on a PAMPHLET entitled The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House, &c. [See Tracts against the Bill.]

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, &c. 1719, 8vo. pp. 39.

Written by Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, and first Earl of Monmouth, and passed through three editions.

AN ACCOUNT of the Conduct of the Ministers with relation to the Peerage Bill, in a Letter to a Friend in the Country.

Sero sapiunt Phryges.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, &c. 1719, 8vo. pp. 19.

In the preface, the author says he has added a paper which was published last year, with an intention to moderate the unreasonable vehemence of the persons who opposed a design they had never coolly considered. It is entitled "The Moderator in the present Controversy relating to the Peerage Bill," and occurs at p. 12. of this tract.

The writer terms the dispute "a pamphlet scuffle."

CONSIDERATIONS on the Peerage Bill, addressed to the Whigs, &c.

By a Member of the Lower House.

Piscator ictus sapit.

London: Sold by J. Roberts, &c. 8vo. 1719, pp. 23.

THE CONSTITUTION explained in Relation to the Independency of the House of Lords, with Reasons for strengthening that Branch of the Legislature most liable to Abuse, and an Answer to all the Objections made to the now revived Peerage Bill.

Cunctas nationes, aut populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt; delecta ex his et constituta Republicæ forma laudari facilius, quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.—*Tacit.*

Humbly inscribed to the Honourable House of Commons.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, &c. 8vo. 1719, pp. 71.

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THE COMPLICATED QUESTION divided upon the Bill now depending in Parliament, relating to the Peerage.

Written by Mr. Asgill.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, &c. 1719, 8vo. pp. 18.

A SUPPLEMENT to the Papers, writ in Defence of the Peerage Bill.

Magna est veritas et prævalebit.

London: Printed and Sold by W. Boreham, at the Angel in Pater-Noster-Row. 1719, 8vo. pp. 35.

After the rejection of the Bill the two following Pamphlets appeared.

THE FIRST and HUMBLE ADDRESS of the Tories and Whigs concerning the intended Bill of Peerage.

London: Printed for J. W. and Sold by T. Warner, at the Black Boy, Pater-Noster-Row. 1719, pp. 13.

The writer, under this address, congratulates the crown on the defeat of an attempt to destroy its prerogative.

THE LIMITATION of the Peerage the Security of the Liberties of the People of England.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, and A. Dodd. 8vo. 1720, pp. 30.

This writer advocates the principle of the bill.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

THE first of the following letters cannot fail of being read with unusual interest, since it is, we believe, the only memorial of the kind which is extant of the well known AMYE ROBSERT, the unfortunate wife of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. The date of the year is not mentioned, nor are its contents remarkable, excepting that they describe the fair writer to be in sorrow for the departure of her lord, and exhibit both of them in an amiable light; he, as being extremely solicitous that some poor men should be paid money that was due to them, and she, as willing to make a pecuniary sacrifice in order that his wishes might be immediately fulfilled. It is not a little singular that it was necessary to sell some wool for the purpose of raising the money required, and which tends to fix the time in which the letter was written to an early period of Dudley's fortunes. This letter is preceded in the MS. where it is preserved, by one signed "R. Duddeley," dated "from Hays, this Friday morning Sent Magdylin's daye," and directed to his "vearrie frinde John Flowerdew, Esquier, w' speed," thanking him for the trouble he had taken in his affairs respecting Flicham and Sydisterne. As in the 6th of Elizabeth, 1563, Dudley was created Baron

Denbigh and Earl of Leicester, his letter must have been written before that year; and it is most probable that Lady Dudley's was written about that time. A remarkable letter, relative to the suspicious manner in which she died, will be found in Haynes's Burghley Papers[1]. Mr. Flowerdew, to whom both the letters in question are addressed, was of Hethersett, in Norfolk: by Katherine, daughter of William Sheres, of Ashwelthorpe, in that county, he had issue seven sons; of whom Edward, the fourth son, was made a serjeant-at-law in September, 1580, and appointed a Baron of the Exchequer 23rd October, 1584[2].

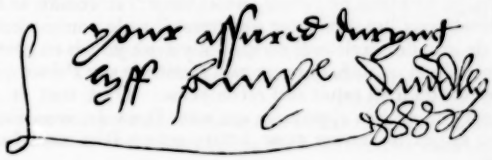
[From the Harleian MS. 4712. Original.]

"TO MY VEARY FRYND MR. FLOWERDWE THE ELLDER, GEWE THIS.

"M^r. Flowardue, I undarstand by Gruse y^t you sent him in remembreance of y^t you spake to me of, consarnyng ye goyng of sertayne shepe at Systorne, and althow I forgot to mowe my lorde therof before his departyng, he beyng sore trubeled w^t wayty affares, and I not beyng all to gether in quyit for his soden departyng, yet not w^t standyng, knowing your acostomid fryndshype towardes my Lordchip and me, I nether may nor can deney you y^t requeste, in my lordes absence, of myne owne awtoryte, ye and y^t war a gretar matter, as if any good occasyon may serve you, so trye me descyring you furdar y^t you wyll mak salle of ye wolle so sone as ys possyble, althowe you sell y^t for vj^s the stone, or as you wolde sell for your sealf, for my lorde so e^rnystly requered me at his departyng to se thosse pore men satysfyed as thowe y^t had bene a matter dependyng uppon lyff, wherfore I force not to sustayne a lyttell losse therby to satysfy my lordes desyer, and so to send y^t mony to Grysses house to London, by Brydwell, to whom my lorde hath gewen order for ye pamente therof, and thus I ende allwayes trobelyng you, wyssyng y^t occasyon may serve me to requyte you; untyll y^t tyme I most pay you w^t thankes, and so to God I leve you. Frome Mr Heydes this vij of Awguste.

"Your assured duryng lyffe,

"AMYE DUDLEY."



The following letter from Monsieur de Saint Sauveur to Sir Thomas Parry, the English ambassador at the French court,

[1] See Retrospective Review, N. S. v. 1. p. 229. and p. 227.

[2] Vincent's Norfolk in the College of Arms, and Chronica Juridicialia.

who, it may be inferred, was then in England, is deserving of attention, from its containing an account of the last moments of Marshal Biron, written in the evening of the day on which he was executed. The historians of France have dwelt with unusual prolixity on the subject, and their details are fully corroborated by St. Sauveur's description of the prisoner's outrageous behaviour on the scaffold; but he states one or two facts which, it is presumed, they do not record.

[From the Harleian MS. 4713. Original.]

"A MONSIEUR MONSIEUR PARRÉ, CHEVALIER, AMBASSADEUR RESIDENT POUR SA MAIESTÉ PRES DU ROY DE FRANCE.

"Monsieur,—Nous nous attendons tous les jours en bonne devotion, donnant le meilleur ordre que nous pouvons pour tenir toutes choses prestes a votre arrivee. Il n'y a point d'autres nouvelles pardeça que la mort du Marechal de Biron, qu'il a reçeue aujourdhuy dans la Bastille sur les cinq heures du soir, bien envis, estant comme tout furieux, sans vouloir autrement ouir ceux qui estoyent destines pour le consoler, auxquels comme il l'admonnestoyent de se preparer, il dit, 'despeschez vous, Messieurs. Voilla,' en leur monstrant le bourreau, 'ce meschant qui m'atend;' et comme il fut sur l'eschaufaut, et que le bourreau s'approcha pour l'accommoder, il luy dit, 'retire toy et ne m'atouche point, car,' dit il au ceux qui estoyent presens, 's'il approche de moy il me mettra en furie et je vous estrangleray tous:' et comme il se vouloit bander luy mesme par diverses fois, il regarder s'il pouroit se saisir de l'espee du bourreau; en fin estant a genoux, il demanda s'il y avoit point de misericorde et retira son bandeau; puis tout a coup demanda quel enfant avoit fait sa sœur qui estoit grosse; puis, remettant derechef son bandeau, demanda a un nomme Grenier qu'il le consolast et qu'il n'en pouvoit plus. Mais le bourreau le previnst en luy trenchant la teste; tout aussy tost partit un poste pour aller en porter la nouvelle au Roy qui est a Saint Germain. Lorsque le Chancellier et le premier President arriverent a la Bastille vers luy il leur dist, 'et bien vous m'apportez la mort;' a quoy le Chancellier faisant le sourd demanda son ordre, 'prenez la,' dit il, 'la voila, je voudrois ne l'avoir jamais veue;' et comme le President s'avanceast pour luy prononcer son arrest il ne le voulust jamais ouir, faisant de grandes exclamations qu'il n'y avoit jamais eu gentilhomme en France de sa qualité, qui eust tant merite de son Prince qu'il avoit, et toutesfois qu'il en estoit mal recompense. C'est tout ce qui pour le present j'en ay peu apprendre qui soit digne de vous escrire, qui me donn esujet de fermer ceste lettre, priant Dieu tout bon et tout puissant,

"Monsieur,
"qu'il vous doint un tresheureux passage,
"vostre treshumble et tresobeissant,
"DE SAINT SAUVEUR.

"De Paris ce Mercredy au soir dernier jour de Juillet, 1602."

The annexed letter from Theobald Lord Brittas, in Ireland, derives its value from the recent proceedings in the House of Lords relative to the freedom of arrest possessed by Peers of that country in England. It would seem from it that the privilege was claimed as early as the reign of Charles the First; but we are not aware what measures were adopted in consequence of his Lordship's complaint. It is most likely that as Parliament was not then sitting, the "Honorable Lords" to whom he says his petition was addressed were the Lords of the Privy Council.

Lord Brittas was the second son of Lord Castleconnell: he was created Lord Burke, Baron of Brittas, in the county of Limerick, on the 17th February, 15th James I., 1617-8. He married Margaret, daughter of Richard, second Earl of Clanrickard, and widow of Richard Burke of Derramacloghne, in Galway, Esq., but no other particulars of him have been ascertained. In this letter he represents himself to have been in a state of great penury. The title was forfeited by the attainder of the last Baron in 1691.

[From the Harleian MS. 4712. Original.]

"TO THE MOSTE HONORABLE LORD THOMAS EARLE OF ARUNDELL, HIGH MARCHIALL OF ENGLAND, ET CÆT., AT ARUNDELL HOWSE.

"Most Honorable Lord,—I have ben heere in London these foure yeares next sommer, and although I have obtayned the King's Maties letters to my Lord Deputie of Irland to dispatche me busines, yet I was heetherto putt of with me greate charges and losses runninge into scores and pauninge of me cloathes frome me backe for want of moneys comminge out of Irland for my relif, and latly after a greate sicknes of halfe a yeare, I was shamefully arrested in the streats, goinge to White Halle, be one Herris, for a prætendets debte, of fourtine yeares (which is payd longe a goe, as appeared be acquietance) and sent to the gate Howse, where I am for the præsent. I peticioned, therefore, to me most Honble Lords to see me righted in this me distresse, and doe hope to be conforted and relived. Thus craving your Honnour's humble pardon for this my importunitie, I rest,

"Most Honourable Lord,
"your Honnour's humble servaunt,
"THEOBALD BRYTTAS.

"I humbly crave your Honnours favor to have me peticion reed, for I longe to be out of these troubles, beinge soe weacke after me longe sicknes.

"From the gate Howse, this ii of March, 1634."

Notwithstanding the subjoined amusing letter contains an allusion to a variety of circumstances which it was thought would enable the writer to be identified, we have failed in doing so. From the notice of the mission of Sir Albert Morton,

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of the creation of some peers, and of the appearance of the pamphlet entitled "Vox Populi," it is certain that it was written towards the end of 1620. A few notes will afford all the illustrations which its contents require.

[From the Harleian MS. 4712. Original.]

"TO MY WORTHY FREND, MR. ANTHONY KNYVETT, ATT .

"Cosine,—I thanke you much for your kind letter, the messinger of so much good newes. I desier to requitt you, though it must be in another nature, and though I have not usualy aplied my self to intelligence, yatt havinge heard and by experience found howe wellcome newes is from London, though some times in the conclusion all prove not currant, as it may be my case, I will impart such as I have. First, you must know ther is a booke caled Voxe Populy [1], much inquired after hear, and I dout not eare this hath come to your hands. Next, which should have bin first placed, as that which all trew harted Englissh harts are much effected with, the continewance of that ile success of the king and queen in Bohemia, who have certainly, as it is nowe tould, lost Prauge, themselves both safe, and all the reste of the countrey firme yet to them: the kinge is gon to the kinge of Hungary, and they both prepare forces presently after the truce is concluded, which is but till the 12th of January, hopinge againe to recover the towne; and our kinge is sending Sr Albert Morton to the princes of the union, upon the same busines, but what his message is I know not. If ever my sonne will seek for his honor, lett him nowe come, for hear is multitudes of Lords a makinge, Vicount Mandevile, Lo. Thresorer [2]; Vicount Dunbar, which was S^r^ Ha. Counstable [3]; Vicount Faukland, which was Sr Harry Care [4]; these two last of Scotland. Of Irland divers; the deputy a Vicount [5]; and one Mr. Fitzwilliams a barron of Ingland [6], Mr C . . . . Villers a Vicount [7], and Sr Will. Filding

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[1] "Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne, translated according to the Spanish coppie, which may serve to forewarn both England and the United Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences. Imprinted in the yeare 1620." 4to. not paged, pp. 26. It relates to the proposed match with Prince Charles. A second part appeared in 1624, addressed to the King and Queen of Bohemia, and Maurice Prince of Orange, signed T. S. 4to. pp. 60. Both are in the Museum, and have been reprinted, we believe, in the Harleian Miscellany. The allusion to it in this letter proves the sensation which its appearance created.

[2] Sir Henry Montagu, who, on the 3rd of December, 1620, was appointed Lord Treasurer, and was created Baron Montagu of Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville on the 19th of the same month.

[3] Sir Henry Constable was created Viscount of Dunbar, in Scotland, 14th Nov. 1620.

[4] Sir Henry Carey was created Viscount of Falkland, in Scotland, 10th Nov. 1620.

[5] Sir Oliver St. John, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, was created Viscount Grandison, in Ireland, on the 3rd January, 1620-1.

[6] William Fitzwilliam was created Lord Fitzwilliam, Baron of Lifford, in Ireland, 1st December, 1620.

[7] Probably Sir Christopher Villiers, afterwards Earl of Anglesea; but he was not created a Peer of England until 1623, and was never an Irish Peer.

a Barron [1]; I heard also Sr Edward Barrett should be controler. Mr. Gibb and his bride were royally feasted at the La. Eliza Hattons, where Mr. Ed. Knyvett was a guest: all this delivered to Mrs. Knyvett will, I hope, excuse me for writing to her at this time, for eyther the carriers come vrey late to London on the Monday nights, or els ther was a fault that the letters came late to my hands, for I had no time to write till Tewesday morning. I am very glad to hear of hir cominge to London, but I fear we shall not have so much of hir company as if she had lien in her ould lodginge, which my lady nowe hath given possession of to Sir Francis Leigh; she writs me word of her poor lookes, which I cannot pitty, beinge assured hir self is glad of it, and I hope shall receive much comfort by the causer of it. I need not tell you of my Lord and La. health, because you have another intelligencer that presented your service to both, but not with so much speed but that I had prevented hime. Cosine, I earnestly desire you to deliver my best wishes to Mr[s] Knyvett, and tell hir I should but laugh to se hir puke in the chimny corner, so little should I upon this good occasion pitty hir. I am ambicious of my sonn's honor, which I wish were now conferred upon hime, that he might not come after so many newe creations [2]: to your self, much riches, with a good ould wife, and a speedy retourne; for Mr. Farrar is so dull at Gleeke, that he cannot be quickened up, though I do my best to play your part in your absence. Your dear ould Will was well on Sunday att the chappell. Thus, after many folish lines, it is nowe time to conclude, and rest

" your lovinge frend,

" ELIZA HAMPDEN."

The following is written on a separate piece of paper:

" Cosin—I pray you kiss your Mrs. hands and deliver hir this piece of paper, so shall you much oblige me, if you please lett her know I had the happiness this night to entertain Mrs. Howard and my lady of Somersett's litle lady [3] in my La. garden, and to present them with the fruits of my Lord's chery tree. If matter of greater moment had hapned since your departure, you should have participated of it. I will troble you no further, but with my best wishes remaine

" your ever faithfull frend,

" ELIZA HAMPDEN."

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[1] Sir William Fielding was created Baron and Viscount Fielding, in England, on the 30th December, 1620.

[2] Judging from the names of the individuals who attained the peerage about the date of this letter, it is believed that the writer's ambition was not gratified.

[3] Apparently the notorious Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, and the divorced wife of Robert, Earl of Essex: she afterwards married Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and died in 1632. By Somerset she had an only child, Ann, " the little lady" mentioned in the above letter, who was then about four years old, and afterwards became the wife of William, Earl of Bedford. Dugdale's Baronage.

BARONIES BY WRIT.

ASTLEY. Andrew de Astley, whose ancestors were Barons by tenure, was summoned to Parliament from the 23rd June, 23 Edw. I. 1295, to the 26th September, 29 Edw. I. 1300, and dying[1] in that year, left

Nicholas his son and heir, then twenty-four years old[2], who was also summoned to Parliament on the 4th July, 30th Edw. I. 1302, on the 11th June, 2nd Edw. II., 1309, and 26th October, 3rd Edw. II., 1309; but attending the latter monarch to Scotland, was taken prisoner, or according to some accounts slain, at the battle of Bannockburn. The time of his death is uncertain; but it appears that he died without issue, as, in the 19th year of the same reign, his nephew,

Thomas de Astley, son of his younger brother Sir Giles de Astley, had livery of his lands; but he was not summoned to Parliament immediately on his succession to the inheritance of his uncle: he received writs of summons, however, in the 16th, 22nd, and 23rd of Edw. III. but not afterwards, although he appears to have been living, at least as late as the 33rd of that reign[3]: neither was his son and heir, Sir William de Astley, ever summoned. No proof exists of either of the Barons Astley having sat in Parliament.

Joan, only daughter and heiress of the said Sir William, married first, Thomas Raleigh of Farnborough, in Warwickshire, by whom she had no issue; and, secondly, Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthyn, to whom she was second wife, and had issue by him, a son and heir, Edmund de Grey, who was afterwards summoned to Parliament as Lord Grey of Groby; with which barony that of Astley descended to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, who was beheaded and attainted in 1554; and whose present sole representative is her Grace Ann Eliza, Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos.

ATON. Gilbert de Aton was summoned to Parliament on the 30th December, 18 Edw. II., 1324, on the 20th February, 1325, and again on the 25th February, 16 Edw. III., 1342; and appears to have died in that year leaving William his son and heir, who was also summoned on the 8th January, 44 Edw. III., 1371, but never afterwards[4], nor is any evidence to be found of either of these Barons having been present in Parliament. By Isabel, daughter of Henry Lord Percy, the said William Lord Aton had three daughters, who were his heirs: namely, Anastatia, wife of Sir Edward de St. John, knight;

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[1] Writs of summons to Parliament continued to be addressed to him, however, until the 34 Edw. I., and which were probably "issued and enrolled by mistake."—Palgrave's "Parliamentary Writs," p. 433.

[2] Esch. 29 Edw. I. No. 155.

[3] Pat. 33 Edw. III. m. 4. dorso.

[4] He must have died before the 13 Ric. II. 1389, as in that year partition was made of his lands between his daughters.

whose present representatives are, Edward Lord de Clifford; James Brownlow; William Gascoigne, Marquess of Salisbury; John Gower, Esquire; and Isabella, Countess Dowager of Egmont. Katherine, who married Sir Ralph Evre, and is now represented by Sir William Strickland, Bart.; and Elizabeth, who married first, William Placye, and secondly, John Conyers, of Sockburne, in Durham. The heir-general of the said Elizabeth is Thomas Stonor, Esquire.

AUDLEY OF HELEIGH. Nicholas de Audley, or Aldithley, whose ancestors were Barons by tenure, received a writ to attend a great council, dated on the 26th January, 25 Edw. I., 1297, and died in 1299, leaving Thomas his son, his heir, who died a minor in 1307. Nicholas, the brother and heir of Thomas, was regularly summoned to Parliament, from the 8th January, 6 Edw. II., 1313, to the 25th August, 12 Edw. II., 1318, and died in 1319; to whom respectively succeeded James, his son, and Nicholas, his grandson, both of whom were likewise summoned to Parliament. The latter died in 1392, S. P. leaving John Tuchet, then aged 20, son and heir of John Tuchet, son and heir of Sir John Tuchet, by Joan his sister; and Margaret, wife of Sir Roger Hillary, his other sister, who was then forty years of age; and Fulk Fitz Warine, son and heir of Fulk, son and heir of —— Fitz Warine, by Margery, half-sister of the said Nicholas (namely, daughter of his father, James Lord Audley, by Isabel, his second wife[1]), his heirs[2]. The said Lady Hillary died in 1410, S. P.[3] when, according to modern opinions, the barony of Audley fell into abeyance, between John Tuchet, and Fulk Fitz Warine, above mentioned. The former was summoned to Parliament, as "John Tuchet, without the addition of "de Audithley," from the 21st December 7 Hen. IV., 1405, to the 9th Hen. IV., 1408. He died in 1409, leaving James Tuchet, his son and heir, then ten years of age. On the death of his grand-aunt, Lady Hillary, in 1410, he became the eldest coheir of the barony of Audley, unless, which is not probable, the writ to his father in 1405, was a termination of the abeyance of that dignity, instead of a new creation of a barony of Tuchet. Soon after he became of age, on the 26th February, 8 Hen. V., 1421, he received a writ of summons to Parliament by the appellation of "James *de Audley*," which must be considered a complete termination of the abeyance of the barony of Audley; and he continued to be so summoned until 1455. After his death in 1458, John, his son and heir, was similarly summoned, as were his male heirs, subject however to two forfeitures and restorations, until the death of John Tal-

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[1] MS. note of the "Inquisitiones Post Mortem" of the 9th Hen. IV. in the possession of the writer, but the only inquisition in the printed calendar of that year of the name of Audley or Audithley, is No. 35, Ricardus de Audeley, "whose lands were also in the county of Stafford."

[2] Esch. 15 Ric. II. No. 1.

[3] MS. note of the "Inquisitiones Post Mortem" of the 12th Hen. IV. Her heirs are said to have been John Audeley, son of John, son of —— Audley, alias Tochet and Joan his wife, her sister.

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bot Tuchet, Earl of Castlehaven, in Ireland, without issue, in 1777. His nephew and heir, George Thicknesse, who assumed the name of Tuchet, the son and heir of Philip Thicknesse, by Lady Elizabeth Tuchet, the sister of the last Baron, was allowed the barony, and dying in 1818, was succeeded by his son, George John Thicknesse Tuchet, the present Baron.

Two or three facts connected with the title require to be stated. Although the first writ on record, that of the 25 Edw. I., can scarcely be deemed a writ of summons to a regular Parliament, as none of the spiritual peers were summoned, it has been held that the dignity was created by that writ; and such is accordingly the precedency which has been assigned to the Lords Audley. The earliest proof of sitting which exists is of John Tuchet, who was one of the witnesses in Parliament to two patents for the settlement of the crown in 8 Hen. IV., 1406: in which he is merely called "John Touchet:" his son, and grandson were frequently present, and were always described by the name of "Audley," or as "Lords Audley." By the statute 29th and 30th Car. II., for the restoration of James Tuchet, son and heir of Mervin Tuchet, Lord Audley, and Earl of Castlehaven, in Ireland, who was attainted of felony, and beheaded in 1631, whereby this barony became forfeited, the descent of it was specially limited to the said James Tuchet, and the heirs of his body; in default of which to Mervin Tuchet, *third* son of the late Mervin Lord Audley, beheaded in 1631, and the heirs of his body; failing which, to the daughters of the said Mervin Lord Audley, and their heirs; thus passing over George, the *second* son of the said Mervin Lord Audley, and his issue, as "fully, amply, and honourably," as if he were "naturally dead without issue." The cause of this exclusion was, that George Tuchet was then a Catholic priest abroad.

Audley. On the 15th May, 14 Edw. II., 1321, a Hugh de Aldethley, or Audley, who is presumed to have been a younger brother of Nicholas Lord Audley, of Hely, who died in 1319, was summoned to Parliament by the style of "Hugh de Audley, senior," but never afterwards, nor has the date of his death been ascertained; Hugh, his son and heir, was summoned to Parliament in his father's lifetime, from the 20th November, 11 Edw. II., 1317, to the 15th May, 14 Edw. II., 1321, as "Hugh de Audley, junior," and from the 3rd December, 20 Edw. II., 1326, to the 24th August, 10 Edw. III., 1336, as "Hugh de Audlei." Having married Margaret, the daughter and coheiress of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester, he was created Earl of Gloucester on the 22rd April, 1337, and died s. p. m. in 1347, leaving Margaret, his daughter and heiress, the wife of Ralph Lord Stafford. Their heir general is George William Stafford Jerningham, present Lord Stafford under the patent to Sir William Howard and Mary his wife (the heir general of the house of Stafford Dukes of Buckingham) of the 12th of September, 1640. The ancient Barony of Stafford, and whatever other honours he possessed, having been forfeited by the attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521.

No proof has been found of either of the Lords Audley of this family having sat in Parliament as a Baron.

BADLESMERE. The first of this family who was summoned to parliament among the Barons of the realm is Bartholomew de Badlesmere, Lord of the manor of Badlesmere and of Leeds Castle, in Kent. He was summoned from the 26th October, 3 Edw. II., 1309, to the 5th August, 14 Edw. II., 1320; and on the Parliament Roll of the 9th year of that reign, in the record of the proceedings between the council of the King and the delegates of the Earl of Flanders on the discussion of certain differences, it is said [1], that "prefati Arnaldus et Thomas Attornati Perote et Joh'is predictor' coram Venerabilibus Patribus W. Cant' Archie'po totius Anglie Primato, J. Norwic' J. Cicestr' E'pis, Thoma Comite Lanc', Adomaro de Valencia Com' Pembr', Joh'e de Brittania Comite Richem', J. de Sandale Cancellar', W. de Norwico Thes', et quibusdam Justic' de utroq. Banco, *Bartho' de Badelesmere* et alijs Baronibus et Dñi Regis Fidelibus, apud Westm' super quibusdam negotijs statum Dñi Regis et Regni tangentibus tractandis convocatis, supplicarunt quod Dñus," &c.

He was among the adherents to Thomas Earl of Lancaster; and was taken prisoner at Burrowbridge, in March, 1322, was soon afterwards executed, and was attainted. By Margaret his wife, who was daughter of Thomas de Clare, grandson of Richard Earl of Gloucester, and aunt and one of the coheirs of Thomas de Clare, Seneschall of the Forest of Essex, he had one son Giles de Badlesmere, who was fourteen years of age A° 2 Edw. III.[2], and four daughters.

In the 1 Edw. III., the attainder of Bartholomew de Badlesmere was reversed, and Giles de Badlesmere, his son and heir, was restored to his father's lands in the 7 Edw. III., although he was at that time still a minor[3]. He was summoned to Parliament from the 22nd January, 9 Edw. III., 1336, to the 18th August, 11 Edw. III, 1337, and died in 1338, without issue, when his four sisters were found to be his heirs[4], viz.

1. Margery, then thirty-two years old, and the wife of William Lord Roos.

2. Maud, twenty-eight years old, and wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.[5]

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[1] Rot. Parl. vol. 1. p. 359.

[2] Esc. 2 E. 3. Second Numbers, No. 23.

[3] Claus. 7 Ed. 3. pt. 2. m. 3.

[4] Esc. 12 E. 3. No. 44.

[5] Some authorities state that she married first, Robert Fitz Payne, but she appears to have been confounded with another person. Among the Ancient Charters in the British Museum marked 45 F 11 is one, dated in May, 9th Ed. I., 1281, twenty-nine years before this Maud was born, containing an agreement between Bartholomew de Badlesmere and Robert Fitz Payne, that Robert, son of the said Robert, should marry Mary, daughter of the said Bartholomew, before the feast of St. James next following, whom he dowered with land to the annual value of two hundred marks. He was to receive with her 1200 marks, and it was agreed that she should reside with, and be supported at the cost of, her father, for one year after her marriage.

XUM

3. Elizabeth, twenty-five years old, first married to Edmund Baron Mortimer, of Wigmore; and secondly in the 12 Ed. III., to William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton.

4. Margaret, twenty three-years old, and wife of John Lord Tiptoft.

I. Margery, the eldest sister and coheir, survived her husband William Lord Roos, and married, secondly, Thomas de Arundel. She died in the 37th Edw. III., when Thomas de Roos, her son by her first husband, was found to be her heir. The coheirs of this lady at the present time are, Sir Henry Hunloke, Bart., George Earl of Essex, and Charlotte Baroness de Roos.

II. Maud Countess of Oxford. The descent from this lady continued in the male line until the 18 Hen. VIII., 1526-7, when her great-great-great-great-grandson John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, died without issue, and left his three sisters his coheirs, viz. Elizabeth, Dorothy, and Ursula. Of these, Dorothy married John Neville, Lord Latimer; and her representatives, who are extremely numerous, will be traced under that title[1]. Ursula was twice married: first to George Windsor, son and heir apparent of William Lord Windsor, by whom she had no issue; and secondly, to Sir Edmund Knightley, of Fawsley, co. Northampton, by whom she had five or six daughters, who all died infants or without issue: she was buried at Letheringham, in Suffolk.

Elizabeth, the other sister and coheir of John Earl of Oxford, married Sir Anthony Wingfield, of Letheringham, in Norfolk, K.G.; and her share of the Barony is now vested in Charles Baron Dillon, a general in the Austrian service, grandson and heir of Francis Dillon, of Proudston, in the county of Meath, and Mary his wife, who was the only child and heiress of Sir Mervyn Wyngfield, Bart., sixth in descent from Sir Anthony[2].

III. Elizabeth, the third sister and coheir of Giles de Badlesmere, had issue by her first husband a son and heir, Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March. As this lady's share of the Barony of Badlesmere became vested eventually in the Crown by the marriage of Anne, only sister, who left issue, of Edmund Mortimer, last Earl of March, with Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, grandfather of King Edward IV., it is unnecessary to take any further notice of this line.

IV. Margaret, the fourth sister and coheir of Giles de Badlesmere, had issue by her husband John Lord Tiptoft, a son and heir, Robert de Tiptoft, who was twenty-six years of age at the death of his father,

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[1] Her present coheirs, 1823, are, 1st, the Duke of Northumberland; 2d, Winchcombe Henry Howard Hartley, of Sodbury, co. Gloc. Esq.; 3d, Sir Charles Knightley, of Fawsley; 4th, Troth, only dr. and heiress of the late Grey Jermyn Grove, of Pool, co. Salop, Esq.; 5th, Villiers William Villiers, of Bath, Esq.; 6th, the Earl of Abindon; 7th, Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.; 8th, the heir or heirs, if any, of William Sandys, who married in 1596, Elizabeth 2d dr. and coh. of Sir Wm. Cornwallis, of Brome, Knt.; 9th, William Fermor, of Tusmore, co. Oxford, Esq.; 10th, Lord Rollo; and 11th, the heirs, if any, of Elizabeth, Barbara, Constance, and Victoria, four of the daughters and coheirs of Archibald 7th Earl of Argyle, who died in 1623.

[2] Ped. of Dillon in the College of Arms.—Ped. of Wingfield in Blore's Rutland.

in the 41 Ed. III., 1367, and dying in the 46 Ed. III., 1372, left issue by Margaret his wife, daughter of William Deincourt, three daughters, his coheirs; viz. Margaret, then aged six, Milicent, aged four, and Elizabeth, aged two years.

1. Margaret made proof of her age in the 4th R. II., and was then wife of Roger Le Scrope of Bolton. Her present representative is Charles Jones, Esq., sometime a captain in the 1st Dragoon Guards. His descent will be found under the title of SCROPE of BOLTON, which dignity is now absolutely vested in that gentleman.

2. Milicent made proof of her age A° 8 R. II., and was then the wife of Stephen Le Scrope of Castlecombe in Wiltshire, and her present representative is William Scrope of Castlecombe, Esq., whose only child, Emma-Phipps, married in 1821 George-Julius-Buncombe-Powlett Thomson, Esq., who thereupon assumed the surname of Scrope.

3. Elizabeth made proof of her age in the 8th R. II., and was then wife of Philip Le Despencer, by whom she had issue an only daughter and heir, Margaret, who married Sir Roger Wentworth of Nettlested, Knight. The present representatives and coheirs of this lady are, the Honourable Nathaniel Curson, eldest son of Lord Scarsdale; and Anne-Isabella Lady Byron. For their descents see the title WENTWORTH.

The Barony of Badlesmere is treated, in the above statement, as being now in abeyance between the representatives of the four sisters and coheirs of Giles Lord Badlesmere, though the title of Baron Badlesmere was long assumed by the Veres Earls of Oxford; and there is even a decision of the House of Lords which may, at first sight, appear to have recognised their right to it. Upon full consideration, however, it is presumed that there has never been any sufficient authority for that assumption by the Earls of Oxford; and this opinion has been recently expressed in the "Third Report of the Lords' Committee on Matters touching the dignity of a Peer of the Realm."

After stating that on the claims to the Earldom of Oxford, and Baronies of Bolbeck, Sandford, and *Badlesmere*, referred to the House in 1625, the House, taking the opinion of the Judges, resolved, on the 5th of April, 1626, that the said Baronies were in abeyance between the heirs general of John Earl of Oxford, *without inquiring into the origin or nature of those Baronies, or even their existence in the person of the said John Earl of Oxford*, the Report proceeds: "Indeed the Committee apprehend, that if that inquiry had been made, it would have appeared that the Barony of Badlesmere, supposing it could have been claimed by descent from Bartholomew or Giles de Badlesmere, had been in abeyance between four coheirs, one of whom had married John, then Earl of Oxford; and unless the Crown had done some act calling the dignity out of abeyance in favour of some Earl of Oxford, of which the Committee have not found any trace, that dignity, if an hereditary dignity, was never vested in any Earl of Oxford, and must have remained in abeyance between the four coheirs of Giles de Badlesmere, and not between the coheirs of John Earl of Oxford."

That the Barony of Badlesmere was an hereditary dignity, and could be claimed by descent, is proved by the writs of summons and consequent sitting. How it happened that the Earls of Oxford assumed the title rather than any of the other coheirs, is not easily accounted for, unless it be supposed that possession of the Manor of Badlesmere, *quasi caput Baroniæ*, which was assigned to the Countess of Oxford in the partition of the lands, was deemed, at that time, to carry with it the Baronial title. There is no trace of any exercise of the Royal Prerogative determining the abeyance in favour of the Veres; and primogeniture, if it was held at any time to confer an exclusive right, was not in their favour, for the Countess of Oxford was the *second* sister.

BALIOL. Alexander de Baliol, brother of John, King of Scotland, was summoned to Parliament from the 26th September, 28 Edw. I., 1300, to the 3d November, 35th Edw. I., 1306. He was for some time Chamberlain of Scotland [1]; and was twice married, but is considered to have died about 1309, without leaving issue, though it is certain that he had children living in 1296 [2]; and Dugdale, apparently on the authority of the Clause Rolls [3], says, "that, about 1309, his son Alexander was imprisoned in the Tower of London," but, upon security, given by this Alexander, his father, and two of the Lindeseys for his future fidelity to the King, he was enlarged. If he died without issue his Barony became extinct. No evidence exists of his having ever sat in Parliament.

Edward de Baliol, King of Scotland, was summoned to Parliament on the 1st January, 22 Edw. III., 1348, and 10th March, 23 Edw. III., 1349, but it does not appear that he ever obeyed the writs

BANYARD. Robert de Banyard [4], or Baygnard [5], was summoned to Parliament on the 23d May, 6 Edw. II [4]. and 26 July, 7 Edw. II., 1313 [5], among the Barons of the Realm; but of whom Dugdale takes no notice in his Baronage.

The best account of this individual which has been compiled is in Banks' "Stemmata Anglicana," where he is considered to have been the person who in the 5 and 6 of Edw. II. was intrusted with the charge of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and of the Castle of Norwich [6]. It was apparently this Robert Baynard who in the 6 Edw. II. received permission to embattle his mansion of Hautboys, in Norfolk [7]; and the writer just cited conjectures that he was the same man who was appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench, on the 9th March, 1328, and who was summoned to Parliament in that

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[1] Ancient Charters in the British Museum, 43 B. 10, and Fœdera, N. E., vol. i. p. 757, et seq.
[2] Rot. Scot., vol. i. p. 41.
[3] 3 Edw. II. m. 8.
[4] Appendix to the first Peerage Reports, p. 227.
[5] Ibid. p. 230.
[6] Rot. Orig. 5 Edw. II. vol. i. p. 186.
[7] Calend. Rot. Patent. p. 74.[b]

capacity in the 2 and 3 Edw. III. Whether Robert Baynard was ever a Peer of the Realm or not is unimportant, since no proof occurs of his having sat in Parliament: he probably died in the 4 Edw. III. seised, with Maud his wife, of the manors of Hautboys, Whatacre, Chattegrave, &c. in Norfolk, and left two sons, Thomas, then aged twenty-six, and Robert, who was then married to Lucia, the daughter of Roger Atte Ashe, which Lucia was at that time thirty years of age [1]. The arms of Sir Robert Baynard of Norfolk, in the reign of Edward the Second, were Sable, a fess between two chevronels, Or [2].

BARDOLF. I. Hugh Bardolph, Lord of Wirmegay, in the county of Norfolk, was summoned to Parliament on the 8th June, 22d Edw. I., 1294, and from the 6th Feb. 27th Edw. I., 1299, to the 2d June, 35th Edw. I., 1302., and was one of the Peers who subscribed the letter from the Barons to the Pope, in the Parliament at Lincoln, in the 29th year of that reign. He died in the 32d Edw. I. [3], and left issue by Isabella, daughter and heir of Robert de Aguyllon his wife [3],

II. Thomas Bardolfe, his son and heir, then twenty-two years of age [3], who was also found heir to his mother at her death, in the 17th Edw. II. [4] He was summoned to Parliament from the 26th August, 1st Edw. II., 1307, to the 23d Oct. 4th Edw. III., though he died in the 3d Edw. III. [5], leaving, by Agnes his wife [5],

III. John Bardolf, his son and heir, a minor of the age of seventeen, but then married [5]. He made proof of his age in the 9th of Edw. III. in January, in which year he was summoned to Parliament, and continued to be so summoned until June, in the 37th Edw. III. In the 13th Edw. III., 1339, he was one of the Peers *present in Parliament* when an aid was granted to the King [6]. He married in the 10th Edw. III. Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Roger Damory, and dying 3d August A° 45th Edw. III [7]. was succeeded by his son and heir,

IV. William de Bardolf, then a minor of the age of fourteen years and upwards [8]. He was summoned to Parliament from the 49th Edw. III. until his death, which happened A° 9th Ric. II., 1385-6 [9]. In the 50th Edw. III he was one of the Triers of Petitions for Gascony, and the parts beyond sea [10], and in the same year was one of the mainpernors of the Lord Latimer [11]. He married Agnes, the daughter of

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[1] Esch. 4 Edw. III. No. 28.
[2] Contemporary Roll of Arms in the Cottonian MS., Caligula, A. XVIII.
[3] Esch. 32 Edw. I. No. 64. The statements, not authenticated by references, have been copied from Dugdale.
[4] Esch. 17 Edw. II. No. 39.
[5] Esch. 3 Edw. III. No. 66.
[6] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 103[b].
[7] *Sic* in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 682; but a MS. note of the Esch. 45 Edw. III. No. 7, states that he died in the 37 Edw. III., and which agrees with the date of the last writ addressed to him.
[8] Esch. 45 Edw. III. No. 7.
[9] Esch. 9 Ric. II. No. 11.
[10] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 322.
[11] Ibid. p. 326.[b]

Michael Poynings, and by her, who survived him, and remarried Sir Thomas Mortimer, Knight[1], he left issue,

V. Thomas de Bardolf, his son and heir, who at the time of his father's death was eighteen years of age[2]. He made proof of his age in the 13th of R. II., and the next year received Summons to Parliament, and continued to be so summoned till the 5th Hen. IV. In the following year, he joined the insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham (Earl Marshal) against King Henry the Fourth. Upon the dispersion of the rebel army, by John Duke of Lancaster, when the Earl of Nottingham, and Scrope, Archbishop of York, were taken prisoners and beheaded, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf succeeded in escaping into Scotland, and subsequently into Wales, from whence they returned, and continuing in rebellion, engaged the royal forces at Bramham near Thusk, when the Earl was killed, and Lord Bardolf so wounded that he died shortly afterwards. He was attainted in Parliament, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown.

He married Amicia, daughter of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, by whom he had issue two daughters his coheirs[3].

1. Anne, nineteen years old at her father's death, and then the wife of Sir William Clifford, Knight[3], brother of the Lord Clifford of Cumberland, as she was also, at the death of her mother, which happened in the 9th of Hen. V.[4]; and when she was thirty years of age, she married to her second husband, Sir Reginald Cobham, whom she also survived, and died without issue by either, in the 32d Hen. VI.

2. Joan, eighteen years old at her father's death, and then wife of William Philip[3], who was afterwards treasurer of the household of King Henry V., K. G. and chamberlain to Henry VI., and by whom, who died A° 19th Hen VI., and was buried at Donyngton, she had issue an only daughter and heir, Elizabeth, who was married before the 19th Hen. VI. to John Viscount Beaumont, and her descendants will be found under that title. This Joan died A° 25 Hen. VI.

Some of the lands forfeited by the attainder of the last Lord Bardolf, were at various times restored to his heirs. King Henry IV., in the year subsequent to the attainder itself, restored to Sir William Clifford and William Philip, the lordships of Shelford and Stokes-Bardolf in Nottinghamshire, and the manor of Byrling in Sussex; and in the 18th of Henry VI., all the lands which he held in fee-tail were restored by act of parliament; but it does not anywhere appear that the attainder itself was recorded. It is remarkable that Sir William Philip is repeatedly styled in grants from the crown [5], and in the acts of Parliament, William Philip, late Lord Bardolf, although his wife's elder sister survived him. This has given rise to an idea he was so created by patent; but that opinion seems to be completely contradicted by his name not once appearing among the

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 326[b].
[2] Calend. Rot. Patent. p. 247[b].
[3] Esch. 9 Hen. IV. No. 31.
[4] Esch. 10 Hen. V.
[5] See Calendar of the Patent Rolls, p. 295, 296[b], 304[b].

list of barons summoned to Parliament. It is not, however, a point of any importance; for if he was so created, the honour extinguished at his death without issue male; and his having been created Lord Bardolf, with limitations to heirs male, would not prevent the claim of his wife's heirs general to the old barony, if the attainder were reversed.

An Account of the Expenses of the two Brothers, Mr. Henry and Mr. William Cavendish, Sons of Sir William Cavendish, of Chatsworth, Knight, at Eton College, beginning October 21st, 2nd Elizabeth, 1560.

[From a Contemporary Manuscript.]

THIS document presents us with a complete view of the expenses incurred for schoolboys at Eton early in the reign of Elizabeth. Although some entries are curious, as illustrative of the manners of the time, there are others from which no conclusions of importance can be drawn; but it has been thought better to give the whole, as it is believed no similar account of schoolboy expenses has ever been submitted to the public.

The two youths entered the college on the 21st of October, 1560. It appears by a paper printed in Collins's "Noble Families," that Henry, the elder of them, was born on December 17th, 4th Edward VI., 1550; and William, the younger, on December 27th, 5th Edward VI., 1551. The Princess, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, was a sponsor at the baptism of Henry, with the Marquis of Dorset and the Earl of Warwick. Their father, Sir William Cavendish, died October 25, 1557, and their mother, who was afterwards Countess of Shrewsbury, was married to Sir William Saint Loe, captain of the guard to the Queen, who, in a letter to his wife written about the time when the young Cavendishes were placed at Eton, says, "The Amnar (Almoner) saluteth the, and sayeth no jenttlemen's chyldren in Ingland schalbe bettar welcum, nor bettar loked unto then owre boyes."

Mondaie the xxi[st] of October.

In primis bread and beare	vi*d.*	
Boylid mutton and pottage	v*d.*	
One breast rost mutton	x*d.*	ii*s.* v*d.*
One lytull chekyn	iiii*d.*	
It. for fyre mornyng and evening in ther chamber ther	iiii*d.*	

Apud cenam duo filii Fraunc. Knolles milit. ibi fuerunt.

Tewseday xxii[d] of October.

It. for Thomas Folow dynner at the inne the same day ..	iiii*d.*

XUM

Note that M^r. Henry and M^r. W^m. Cavendysh his brother, w^h ther man, dyd begonne ther bord at one Ryc. Hilles the xxiii^d day of October, and must pay for them twayne x*s*. and iii*s*. iiii*d*. for ther man wekely, over and besydes the woode burned in ther chamber.

It. the Frydaie the xxv^t of the same p^d for eight yardes black fryse at xx*d*. the yarde ..... xiii*s*.

It. for the makyng of the same ii gownes ..... xvi*d*.

It. xxvii^t day for ii qwere whyte paper ..... viii*d*.

It. rec. from M^r. Fletwod ii yardes fryseado at viii*s*. the yard.

It. p^d for iiii yardes black cotton at viii*d*. the yard ..... ii*s*. viii*d*.

It. for the makyng of ii fryseado coates ..... xx*d*.

It. for iiii duss. buttons to ye coates ..... xvi*d*.

It. for iii yardes jane fustion ..... iii*s*.

It. for canvas to lyne the bodyes ..... viii*d*.

It. for iii yardes cotten to lyne the same dubletts ..... ii*s*.

It. for sylk to styche the same dubletts and makyng lowpes for the holes ..... xii*d*.

It. for iiii duss. black sylk buttons for ther dublets ..... xvi*d*.

It. for cotton wolle for the sleves ..... iiii*d*.

It. for makyng the same dubletts ..... xx*d*.

It. for ii yardes fyne carse [Kersey] at xl*d*. the yard .... vi*s*. viii*d*.

It. for one yarde carse to lyne ther hose ..... xiiii*d*.

It. for ii yardes cotten to lyne the sloppes ..... xvi*d*.

It. for one lynen clothe to lyne the same hose ..... xii*d*.

It. for one oz. di. [1½ ounce] sylk to styche the same hose ii^s. vi*d*.

It. for the makyng the same hosen ..... iii*s*. iiii*d*.

It. p^d for ii combes to my masters ..... ii*d*.

It. for a breykfast for the cumpanye of formes in the scole according to the use of the scole ..... vi*d*.

It. the xxix^t for ii payr showes for M^r. Henry and M^r. W^m. agaynst All Hallowtyde ..... xvi*d*.

It. p^d for the sawlyng of ther old showes ..... ix*d*.

It p^d for one payr of knyffes ..... vi*d*.

It. p^d for Lucian's Dialogues ..... iii*d*.

It. p^d for ii penn^e and cornetts ..... x*d*.

It. geven to a man to see bayre bayting and a camell in the colledge, as other schollers dyd ..... iii*d*.

It. p^d for ii duss. threde poynts ..... vi*d*.

It. p^d for ii payr furred gloves w^t strynges at them ..... v*d*.

It. for the Kynges Grammar
It. Marcus Tullius Offic.
It. Fabulæ Æsopi
ii bokes of wax light
} sent by M^r. Fletwod.

It. the xvi^t day of November p^d for carryage of the chamber stuff from the warff ..... iiii*d*.

It. p^d for whyte and black threde ..... i*d*.

It. to an old woman for swepyng and makyng cleane the chamber ..... ii*d*.

It. p^d for makyng a key ..... vi*d*.

It. p^d^ for xl tenter hokes to hang the chamber..... iiiid.
It. p^d^ for mendying M^r^. Henry's showe..... id.
It. the xxiiii^t^ day of November p^d^ for iii pound cotten candell..... ixd.
It. for iii loode wodde ii bylletts iiiis. viiid. and the iii fagot iiiis.
M^d^ that M^r^. Henry and M^r^. W^m^. Cavendyshe his brother, and ther s^r^vant, did begon ther bord in the colledge xxv^t^ day of November, an^o^ supradicto.
It. p^d^ for eyght claspes and holders of ireon for my m^r^ feld bedde..... xiid.
It. the xv^t^ day of December for ii pond candell..... vid.
It. the xx^t^ day of December for ii qwere whyte papur for the gentlemen to write uppon..... viiid.
It. p^d^ for ii payr showes for M^r^. Henry and M^r^. W^m^. Cavendysh agaynst Chrystenmas..... xviiid.
It. p^d^ the xxi^t^ of December for a cople say gyrdells .... iiiid.
It. p^d^ for one Isope Fabulls..... iiiid.
It. p^d^ to my oste Hyll for iiii wekes bord of M^r^. Henry and M^r^. W^m^. Cavendysh, and ther s^r^vaunt, endyng the xx^t^ day of November..... liiis. iiiid.
It. for quarterydge in penne and ynke, brome and byrche vid.
It. p^d^ the xx^t^ of Januarie for ii pond candell..... vid.
It. p^d^ the xxvii^t^ day of Januarie for ii payr showes for M^r^. Henry and M^r^. W^m^. Cavendysh..... xvid.
It. p^d^ the same day for one qwere whyte paper..... iiiid.
It. p^d^ the xv^t^ day of Februarie for one pond candell .... iiid.
It. p^d^ for di. elne [half an ell] fyne holland to mend the gentlemen sherts w^t^..... xiid.
It. for di. elne course Holland to be lyning for their collers ixd.
It. for the woman's paynes in doyng the same eyght sherts xiid.
It. the xi^t^ day of M^r^che p^d^ for ii qwere whyte paper .... vd.
It. the xx^t^ day of M^r^che one pond candell..... vid.
It. p^d^ for neldes [probably needles]..... ob.
It. p^d^ for ii payr knytte hose for M^r^. Henry and M^r^. W^m^. Cavendysh..... xxd.
It. p^d^ for ii payr of showes agaynst Ester for M^r^. Henry and M^r^. W^m^. Cavendysh..... xviid.
It. for ii duss. threde poynts for them..... vid.
It. p^d^ the last day of M^r^che for quarterydge, viz. byrche, brome, and ynke..... vid.
It. p^d^ for towe duss. black sylk bottens for mending the doubletts..... vid.
It. p^d^ the xx^t^ day of Apryll for mendyng both ther showes iiid.
It. p^d^ the fyrst day of May for whyte threde and blak .. id.
It. p^d^ the xviii^t^ of May for ii payr showes agaynst Wytsontyde for M^r^. Henry and M^r^. W^m^..... xviid.
It. p^d^ the vi^t^ day of June for sawlyng of one of M^r^. Henrys showes..... iiid.
It. p^d^ for one qwere whyte papur the xii^t^ of June ..... iiid.

XUM

It. p[d] the xxiii[i] of June for M[r]. Henry and M[r]. W[m]. ther quartorrydge, viz. byrch, brome, and potaticio, also lyght ..... x*d*.
It. p[d] to my oste Hyll, for one quarter comens endyng the xxii[t] of May ..... xiii*s*. iiii*d*.
It. p[d] for my lytul masters washeng for the same quarter ..... ii*s*. iiii*d*.
It. p[d] to the bursers of Eyton College for one quarter bord dew at the anunciation of our Lady last ..... iii*li*. xii*s*.
It. p[d] for one gyrdell to M[r]. W[m]. Cavendyshe the iiii[t] of Julye ..... iiii*d*.
It. for mendying of both their showes..... ii*d*.
It. p[d] for ii payr of showes for M[r]. Henry and M[r]. W[m]. his brother the xxvi[t] of Julye ..... xvi*d*.
It. p[d] for a Tullies Attycum for M[r]. W[m]..... iii*d*.
It. p[d] for one quere whyte papur..... iiii*d*.
It. p[d] the xxviii[t] of September for one lb. candell..... ii*d*. *ob*.
It. p[d] for ii payr of showes for M[r]. Henry and M[r]. W[m]. his brother at Mychalmas..... xvi*d*.
It. for ther quarterydge in penne, ynke, byrche, and brome ..... vi*d*.
It. p[d] the viii of October for sawlyng of ii payr of my lytull mayster's shoes ..... xii*d*.
It. p[d] the xx[t] day of October for ii bunches of wax lyghts ..... i*d*.
It. p[d] xxiii of November for the bord of M[r]. Henry and M[r]. W[m]. and ther man for one moneth bord ..... xxiiii*s*.
It. to a carter to carry the stuff to the watersyde ..... iiii*d*.
It. to Frenche of Wyndsore for carryeng the stuff to London ..... vi*s*.

	£.	*s*.	*d*.
Summa totalis.....	xii.	xii.	vii.
By your ladyship at Eaton.....	iii.	xviii.	x.
By Mouzsoule	ix.		
	Li.	*s*.	*d*.
Summa totalis of all the whol payments...	xxv.	xi.	v.

The reader may now be disposed to follow into life the two youths for whom so much was expended in "birch and broom."

When little more than seventeen years of age, February 9, 1567-8, Henry, the elder, married the Lady Grace Talbot, a daughter of George, the 6th Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, by the Lady Gertrude Manners, his wife. In 1572, he was elected to be a Knight of the Shire for the county of Derby, and was one of its representatives in five succeeding parliaments. His mother was then the wife of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose castle of Tutbury, Henry Cavendish resided. We find him giving an account of a duel fought by two of his servants there, in which one of them was killed, in a letter to his mother[1]: and not long after he writes to her from Cold Harbour, in London, in reference

[1] Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 82.

to certain rumours which were spread abroad in Derbyshire, that he had resorted to London only to play at dice. He says,

"I have attayned to please those I seeke if I please your La. For others I lyttle esteeme to please thear fantasyes, and wyll lesse every daye, knowyng I am as free borne as any other, and therefore thynke I dooe well yf I please myselfe; which by God's grace I wyll assuredly shortely dooe, and showe whearfore my commynge up was, neyther to play at dice, to seeke ease and dallyance, or for any other vayne delyghte, but to seeke vyrtu, and honor in armes, which by his lycense that yeldes all thyngs I am resolute to folloe[1]."

In the summer of 1578 he was with Sir John Norris, one of the four colonels who commanded the little body of English which was sent to assist the Netherlands. He behaved himself well in that expedition, though he missed the honour of sharing in the principal battle, being by chance absent from the army, buying tents at Brussels[2]. After this, he travelled much abroad. Leigh, his contemporary, says of him, that "he had spent all his dayes in travel," and "had been at Jerusalem[3]." It is certain that he travelled in those parts of the world; for there is a letter from his lady, addressed to the old Countess of Shrewsbury, in which she says,

"It is the greatest comfort can cum to me to hear he is so well passed so far of his longe and dangerous iurnay; at the end wherof I trust in God he is by thys tyme; for by a nott he left wyth me at hys goinge, of hys days iurnays (wherein he hath altered but on day as appeareth by hys letters) he was at Constantinople the xx of thys month[4]."

This letter was written about the end of the reign of Elizabeth. In the first year of the reign of James, he was implicated in the conspiracy of the Lords Cobham and Grey. Cecil wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, desiring that he might be "privately warned" to come to court to be examined, but expressing a conviction that nothing could endanger him. He appears, however, to have come out from his examination unhurt, and we find him after this living quietly at Tutbury: at his death, on October 12, 1616, he was interred in the church of Edensor, near to the mansion of his father, at Chatsworth.

If we may judge from the letter to which we have referred, Lady Grace was to him an affectionate wife; but among the virtues for which he is celebrated in his epitaph, conjugal fidelity is not one. Sir Simon Degge, in his curious appendix to Erdeswick, has preserved the recollection of an opprobrious term that was applied to him. The Visitations in some measure justify

[1] Hallamshire, p. 90.
[2] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, ii. 191.
[3] "England Described," p. 60.
[4] Hallamshire, p. 91.

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the application of it, where we have the names of many of his illegitimate issue: and there is at this day a family possessed of an Irish peerage who are in direct descent from one of his natural sons.

Henry went to the grave with no addition of honour; but not so his younger brother. His education was continued at Clare Hall, and when he was of proper age an advantageous match was obtained for him by his mother (whose greatest merit seems to have consisted of an assiduous prosecution of the interests of her children) with an heiress of the family of Highley, who had good estates in Yorkshire and Lancashire. In 1595 he was Sheriff of Derbyshire, and he sat with his elder brother in Parliament. When King James departed from the system pursued by his predecessor, and made sudden and large additions to the peerage, the house of Cavendish, at that time one of the most potent in the kingdom, looked with reasonable pretensions to an increase of honour: and William, the second son of the Countess of Shrewsbury, rather than Henry his elder brother, who was issueless, was the member of that house for whom the family interest was exerted. The Lady Arabella Stuart, whose mother was sister to the two Cavendishes, used her influence: and it appears to have been to that influence primarily that the house of Cavendish owes its introduction into the peerage, though nothing could finally have prevented so wealthy a family from attaining that distinction. Cavendish, writing to his mother, says,

"His Majestie iiii days since hathe bene moved by my La. Arbell for me: who promiseth, as afore, at the next call; wch is thought wilbe at Michalmas terme, at the next session of parlement[1]."

This letter is dated on the 4th of July, 1604; but the honour was not conferred quite so soon as was expected. He writes to his mother, on the 23rd of April following, respecting the christening of the young princess, for whom it was then said that the Duke of Holst, the Lady Arabella, and one of two lady marchionesses, were to be sponsors; but says nothing of the dignity which the King intended, at the christening, to bestow upon him[2]. Rowland Whyte, however, only three days later, writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury, names several gentlemen who were to be made Barons at the christening, and amongst them Sir William Cavendish, adding, that it was at my Lady Arabella's suit[3]. He was accordingly created Baron Cavendish of Hardwick, the patent bearing date on May 4th, 1605. On the death of the old Countess of Shrewsbury, he had a great accession of wealth; but the distribution which she made of her great property appears not to have been to the satisfaction of every part of her family: and we find Lord Cavendish and his

[1] Hallamshire, p. 94. [2] Ibid. [3] Lodge, iii. 280.

brother Henry soon after at variance, and referring the matter in dispute between them to the judges Walmesley and Altham [1]. His estate was much increased by the death of Henry, without issue, in 1616. In 1618 he was created Earl of Devonshire; and lived till the 3rd of March, 1625.

The name of the first Earl of Devonshire becomes connected with our literature, by his patronage of Hobbes, whom he took into his house in 1607, as a companion to the elder of his children, and a tutor to the younger. Hobbes met in the same household with a person of a very different character, Rothwell, one of the most extravagant of the puritan divines of that age, and who was the domestic chaplain. It is remarkable that at the same time, Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, sister to the Earl, was a religious devotee of another class, collecting reliques, and, when those which were substantial could not be obtained, contenting herself with *the measures of the length and breadth* of the body of Saint Mary Magdalene, from St. Maxence, in Provence [2]. The children of the first Earl of Devonshire seem to have done credit to the instruction he provided for them. The second Earl, from whom descends the present Duke, sustained with great propriety the honours of his family; and the eldest son, Gilbert Cavendish, shows a matured judgment in the "Horæ Subsecivæ;" a work which there appears to be no sound reason for transferring from him to Grey, Lord Chandos. The ground on which his claim to this work has been lately questioned is, that it shows a greater ripeness of judgment than could be expected in so young a man [3]; but it has also been shown, that he was remarked by his contemporaries for that very quality, the presumed absence of which is to be made the reason for depriving him of whatever literary honours that work can confer [4]. We shall take the liberty to transcribe again the contemporary testimony, as it is from a book of extreme rarity: the "Divine Meditations and Elegies" of John Hagthorpe. 12mo. 1622.

"And now is gone
(O word scarce to be named with fewer teares)
Candish, the noble, vertuous; tho' in yeares
Younger than Adon, yet like Nestor wise;
Though green in blooming youth, ripe in advice:
Whom Nature as a cabinet did frame
Therein to stow all things that mortals name
Rich, faire, or good; which Death by Fate's decree
Hath broken up, and now quite robbed we be
Of treasure that enricht this barren time,
And reduc't plenty."

[1] Talbot Papers in the Heralds' College, M. 566. [2] Ibid. O. 127.
[3] Memoirs of the Peers of England of the Reign of James I., p. 385.
[4] Hallamshire, p. 294.

BADGES, CRESTS, AND SUPPORTERS.

[Continued from New Series, Vol. I. p. 310.]

Birch.—A sprig of the Birch tree is worn by the clan of Buchanan, in Scotland, as its badge of distinction.

Bird's Head.—Guillim, edit. 1724, p. 137, says that the ancient crest of the Wests Lords Delawar was a Bird's Head Argent, charged with a Fess dancette Sable.

Blackberry Heath.—The clan of Maclean in Scotland is distinguished by a sprig of Blackberry Heath.

Blackthorn.—A sprig of Blackthorn is the badge of the clan of Macquartie.

Boar.—On a seal of Aliva de Verdon, in the 9 Hen. III., the device is a Boar. Two Boars counter-passant are represented on the seal of "Roger de Laceles." (Harleian MSS. 245. f. 118.) The seal of the Mayor of Calais was charged with a Boar passant, from whose neck was attached a piece of drapery charged with a Lion rampant, gardant, supporting three bars Wavy. Harl. MSS. 5805. f. 386. b.

Boar, Black.—In a "note of Badges said to have been given by certain nobles and corporations," (Harl. MSS. 2113. f. 95. b.) Randle Holmes ascribes a Black Boar to "Glocester," but does not specify whether it belonged to that city or to the Dukes of Gloucester. It does not appear, however, that the badge of any of the latter was of that colour. At Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, the arms of Vernon are supported on the dexter side by a Boar Sable, armed, &c. Or.

Boar, Blue.—The Boar was borne, in allusion to their name, by the family of Vere, as their crest, and sometimes, as it will afterwards appear, as their badge. On the seal of Hugo de Vere attached to the celebrated letter addressed by the Barons to the Pope, 28th Edw. I. 1301, the shield is surmounted by a Boar. In Gower's "Historia Tripartita," written in the time of Richard the Second, we find the Duke of Ireland designated by his badge or crest of the Boar. Stowe, in his Survey of London, speaks of the Earl of Oxford riding into the city "with fourscore gentlemen in a livery of Reading tawney, and chaines of gold about their necks, before him; and one hundred tall yeomen in the like livery, to follow him, without chaines, but all having his cognizance of the *Blew Bore*, embroydered on their left shoulder." When used as a crest, it was placed on a Chapeau, Gules, turned up Ermine.

The Holles Earls of Clare used the same crest, to show their descent from Horace Lord Vere.

Boar, Ermine.—On a seal of Jacob Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, 28 Hen. VI., the crest is a Boar Ermine charged with a Saltire (Gules) and placed on a Chapeau.

Boar, White.—The White Boar was the badge of Richard Duke of Gloucester, and was retained by him after he ascended the throne. His arms were sometimes supported by two of them. (Vide "Regal

Heraldry.") In Sandford's time, there remained over the library gate at Cambridge, carved in stone, a Rose, supported on the sinister side by a Boar; which Boar, the same author informs us, he had found among the badges of the House of York, being of silver, with tusks and bristles of gold, inscribed, "Ex honore de Windsor." Richard retained a pursuivant in his service who bore the title of "Blanke Sanglier."

The Courtenays Earls of Devonshire used a Gray Boar as their badge. On the chimney-pieces in the episcopal palace at Exeter the arms of Courtenay are supported by two Boars.

A Boar, Argent, ducally collared and chained Or, has been sometimes a supporter to the arms of the Earls of Northumberland.

The sinister supporter of the family of Bowles has been already mentioned (vide Alant): the dexter was a Boar, Argent, armed and bristled Or, and pierced in the breast with a Falchion. The crest a Falchion erect, enfiled with a Boar's Head Argent.

Boar's Head.—A Boar's Head erect, and erased Sable, was an early badge of the family of Booth. The family of Edgecumbe formerly used for their badge a Boar's Head couped Argent, the neck encircled with a Wreath of Foliage Vert. Harl. MSS. 4632. f. 217. The same MS. f. 220. b., gives to the family of "Buteller of Hydenham" the badge of a Boar's Head, per pale Gules and Azure; gutte Or

The crest of Sir Edward Walsingham was a Boar's Head couped Sable, holding in its mouth a Walnut Vert. Harl. MSS. 4031. f. 162.

On the seal of Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany, &c. in Scotland, in 1412, his crest is represented as a Boar's Head between two branches, but which is too minute to enable us to ascertain what particular kind of foliage is intended.

Bottle.—One of the badges used by the Veres Earls of Oxford was a long-necked Bottle of silver, with a blue lace or cord. This badge was borne by them in right of their hereditary office of Lords High Chamberlain. Over the west window of the church at Castle Hedingham, Essex, this badge is represented as in the margin.

Bow.—René, King of Sicily and Duke of Anjou (the father of Margaret Queen of England), after the death of his wife Isabel, took for his device a Turkish Bow, the string of which was broken; with the following motto, "Arco pelentare, piaga non sana."

Boxe.—The Harl. MS. 2113. ascribes to "Exceter" the badge of "a Boxe, a beast with a cressant and fire flamying."

Boxwood.—The clan of Mackintosh in Scotland bear a sprig of Boxwood as their badge.

Briar Rose is worn as the badge of the clan of Rose, in Scotland.

Broom.—A sprig of Broom is worn by the clan of Forbes. (Vide "Planta Genista.")

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Bucket.—The Lansdown MS. 870. f 7. gives as "the proper creaste" of "the Lorde Wellis," a "Buckyd with the chains," evidently alluding to the name.

Buckle.—The family of Pelham have used a silver Buckle as their badge, which is said to have been derived from the capture of John King of France at the battle of Poictiers, by John de Pelham. In the Harl. MS. 5805. f. 359. is the drawing of a seal belonging to John Pelham, 24 Hen. VI., on which the Buckle, (as in the margin) is placed between the initials of his name. Two other representations of seals belonging to this family, and with the same badge, will be found in Collins's "English Baronage." The Pelhams sometimes used it latterly as a crest. The Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Chichester both retain it as a badge.

Sir John de Willoughby de Eresby, 13 Edw. III., used a seal on which a Buckle is placed ou each side of the helmet, derived evidently from the arms of his wife Joane, the daughter and heiress of —— Rosceline, whose arms were, Gules three Buckles, between cross Croslets Argent.

Morgan, in his "Armilogia," tells us, that, in memory of the signal fidelity of the city of Hereford to King Charles the First, that monarch "disarmed his belt, which was charged with three Buckles, and bestowed them as a reward on the necks of the Lions gardaunt, as supporters to the arms of that city."

Esme Stuart, Lord Aubignie, says Randle Holmes, "did beare a Lion rampant, all set with Buckles, with this motto, "Distantia jungit." This Lord was cousin to James IV. of Scotland, and was in the service of France. Paulus Jovius says, that the signification of this device was, that he was "the meane and buckle" to hold united the King of Scots and the King of France. The badge of a Buckle is placed on the cornice of the Countess of Lennox's monument in the south aisle of Henry the Seventh's chapel.

Buffalo's Head.—A "Buffle's" head Ermine on a spear-point is given in the Harl. MS. 245, with the following notice: "This Buffle's head borne by one of the Lord Wylughbyes upon his speare poynt."

Bull, Black.—"A black Bolle, rowgh, his hornes, and his eleys, and membrys of golde," was the badge of the House of Clare or Clarence; which titles appear to have been synonimous. King Edward the Fourth frequently used it in reference to his descent from Lionel Duke of Clarence, whose descendants had been declared by Richard the Second to be the right heirs to the crown of England. Over the gateway of the George Inn at Glastonbury the arms of Edward are supported on the sinister by the Bull; and the same animal is placed on the dexter side at Hertford Castle, (vide "Regal Heraldry"), and also on the impaled arms of himself and Elizabeth Widville in a MS. preserved in the library of the College of Arms, marked Vincent 152. Ralph Vestynden held £10 per annum by letters patent, under the great seal of Edward IV., until he was rewarded with an office, "for the good and agreeable service which he did unto us, in berying

and holdying of our standard of the blak Bulle in the batayl of Shirborn in Elmett."—Rolls of Parliament, vol. v. pp. 545. 613. King Richard the Third also used the black Bull as a supporter; for Sandford speaks of a Rose supported by a Bull on the dexter, and a Boar on the sinister, as existing in his time over the library gate at Cambridge. George Duke of Clarence, both in reference to his dignity and descent, made especial use of this symbol of the House of Clare. On his seal the escutcheon, according to Sandford, was supported by two Bulls, and the same animal is placed at the feet of his portrait in the Rous Roll. His pursuivant bore the title of "Noir Taureau," or Black Bull. The Rous Roll places the Bull at the feet of his children, Edward Earl of Warwick, and Margaret Countess of Salisbury. Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in allusion to his descent from the ancient earls of Clare, has the same beast at his feet; and among other badges ascribed to the Lord Bergavenny is "the black Bull, golden collar," for Clare. Harl. MSS. 5854.

The Ratcliffs Earls of Sussex used sometimes for supporters, on the dexter, a Bull Sable platée, and ducally collared, chained, crined, armed, and membered Argent. On the sinister a Bull Sable, ducally collared, chained, &c. Or. MS. in the Lambeth Library, No. 278. The sinister supporter of the arms of Wriothesley Earl of Southampton was a Bull Sable, ducally crowned, and armed Or, a ring through his nose, and a chain therefrom, reflected over his back, of the last.

Lord Darcy of the North used for his dexter supporter a Bull Sable, armed, &c. Or. William Lord Crofts of Saxton had two Bulls Sable, armed and ducally collared Or, for his supporters. The supporter of the Earls of Shaftesbury, a Bull Sable, armed, ducally collared, and lined Or, is evidently derived from the arms of Hamelin; which they now bear in the first quarter, instead of the original coat of Astley.

Bull, Blue.—The present dexter supporter of the Duke of Somerset, a Bull Azure, ducally collared, chained and armed Or, appears to have been so used by that family in the time of King Edward the Sixth.

Bull, Dun.—The MS. No. 5854, in the Harleian Library, gives "The Dun Bull for Nevill;" and in the ancient ballad of "The Rising of the North Countrie," it is said,

> "Lord Westmoreland his ancyent raisde,
> The Dun Bull he rays'd on hye,
> And three Dogs with golden collars
> Were there sett out most royallye."

Bull, Gold.—A Bull Or, armed Azure, ducally gorged Gules, was a supporter of the Lords Ogle, and was used also by Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, who inherited that barony.

Bull, Pied.—The Harleian MS. last quoted gives also "the Pied Bull for Raby" to "Lorde Bergavenny." A standard of the "Lord Bourgayne," temp. Hen. VIII., is drawn in a MS preserved in the Heralds' College. The ground is per fesse Vert and Argent, semée of double staples Argent and Or, thereon a Bull passant Argent, pied Sable, collared and chained Or; the motto, "A tenir promesse, vient de noblesse."

Bull, Quarterly.—A Bull quarterly, Sable and Argent, was the

crest of Lord Hoo, and quarterly Sable and Or, of the Wingfield family.

Bull, Red.—One of the supporters used by the Lords Dacre of the South was a Bull Gules, ducally collared, armed and chained Or.

Bull's Head.—A Bull's Head Sable, platée, with the motto, "Joy sans fin," is the ornament of a standard belonging to Woddrington of the county of Northumberland. A Bull's Head Sable, armed and ducally gorged Or, was the crest of the Hastings Earls of Huntingdon. A Bull's Head Sable, couped and armed Gules, was used as a badge by Boleyn Earl of Wiltshire. A Bull's Head Sable, gutte Or, armed, ducally crowned, and ringed through the nose of the last, was the crest of Sir Thomas Wrythe Garter King at Arms. The family of Aston, at one time, bore for crest a Bull's Head couped Or, armed Argent, the tips of the horns Sable. A Bull's Head erased Gules, ducally collared and chained Or, is the original crest of the family of Manners.

Bullrushes.—A bunch of Bullrushes proper was the crest of Montfort. It is placed over their arms in Dugdale's plate of the armorial bearings in Compton Murdack manor-house. The Bullrush is the badge of the clan of Mackay in Scotland.

Buoy.—One of the badges attributed to the Lord of Abergavenny, Harl. MS. 2076, is the buoy of a ship; probably in allusion to the office of admiral said to have been held by his ancestor at the invasion of England by William the Conqueror. This badge is always blazoned Or.

Butterfly.—This badge was generally used by the Lords Audley. It was sculptured over the door of Bishop Audley's chapel in Salisbury cathedral. We also find it on a seal of "Jacobus Dñs de Audeley," in the time of Henry VI.; and a standard of Lord Audley, temp. Henry VIII., is red semée of Butterflies Argent; the motto, "Merci fortune." Erdeswick says in his History of Staffordshire, that the original arms of Audley were, Azure, three Butterflies Argent.

Buttress.—In the Notes added by Bysse to Upton's "Studio Militum," is the representation of a seal belonging to William Lord Botreaux: a Buttress is placed on each side of his achievement, an intended pun on his name.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

Impressed with the conviction that our efforts to rouse the members of this Society to the performance of the duty which they owe equally to it, and to their own characters, have been attended with some success, we continue our observations upon a subject which many of our readers may consider unworthy of the trouble we bestow upon it. That we are nearly tired of the task we have undertaken will be readily believed; for who would

not sicken over the repeated exposure of negligence and folly? Fortunately the most disagreeable part of our duty has been performed; and we are now spared the necessity of wounding the feelings of individuals, who, if they had confined themselves to the fulfilment of the duties of their respective stations, would not have been alluded to in our pages in the manner in which we have been compelled to speak of them.

The Society is about to be called upon to choose the officers and Council; and it is to this circumstance that the present article will be principally confined, as an opportunity will be given us of considering its lucubrations on the appearance, we presume, of at least *part of a volume* of the "Archæologia" on the ensuing anniversary.

Our former papers must have persuaded all who have perused them, that a reform is necessary in the bye-laws, as well as a change in the objects to which the Society's funds are devoted; and that it is above all things necessary that the Council about to be elected should be composed of men who are conscious of these facts, and resolved to effect the necessary alterations; who, feeling regret at the degraded state of the institution, will zealously labour to elevate its character and its reputation.

The Auditors for the present year having been recently appointed, we shall first offer a few observations on the report which has been annually presented to the Society. On that report being read, the members have been asked from the Chair whether they will "receive" it; but not a syllable is uttered, or a vote given, and the report is considered, by this tacit acquiescence, to be "received" accordingly. Now, we ask if any one of the officers, if any one of the Council, if any one individual of the body at large, is aware of the object of that question? The act of putting it implies that such reception is necessary; and consequently that if it was withheld, some effect would attend the refusal. The Auditors, we understand, merely compare the receipts produced to them with the sums said to have been expended; and are shown the Treasurer's report of the state of the funds; hence the mere laying that document on the table would answer every purpose, unless it was originally meant that by "receiving" the report the Society sanctions all the payments which the Auditors have found to have been made. Assuming then that such is the case, is it credible that this proceeding should hitherto have always taken place without one question being asked, or one word of information being afforded, as to the objects upon which the money had been laid out, or those upon which the resources of the corporation for the following year are intended to be applied? Volumes would not more satisfactorily prove the carelessness of the Fellows about its affairs; and where ever is there indifference to the concerns of corporations or individuals without being followed by abuses in

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the one, or ruin in the other? We may be told that this tacit acquiescence in the conduct of the council in the disbursement of the funds has been justified by its strict attention to the bye-laws; by the extraordinary economy it has evinced in investigating the charges of the artists and tradesmen employed; and by its judicious fulfilment of all the duties intrusted to it. Its pretensions to the two last-mentioned merits we have already discussed [1]; and we proved that the Council vote money without inquiry, and that the engravings have never been the subject of competition among eminent artists; but that the "engraver to the Society" fixes his own estimate upon his labours, which estimate alone influences the Council as to whether the drawing shall or shall not be engraved [2]; whilst, from the Council allowing the Secretaries' wishes to be omnipotent, it appears that it is, in fact, the mere automaton of the officers; and the members at large, by quietly acquiescing in all which is proposed to them, become the automata of the Council. With respect to the Auditors, however, it is remarkable that not a word is to be found in the bye-laws. They are nominated by the President without even the sanction of a statute; and that nomination has always, as a matter of course, been confirmed by the Fellows, though they were ignorant of the authority which creates them, of the duties which they delegate to them, and of the control which they possess over their conduct!

By the thirteenth chapter of the bye-laws, the management of the estate and revenues is intrusted to the Council; and it is provided that any sum not exceeding 5*l.* shall be paid by an order signed by the President or one of the Vice-Presidents; that every payment above 5*l.*, and not exceeding 50*l.*, shall be authorised by an order of Council signed in the same manner; "and that every payment exceeding the sum of 50*l.* shall be made by like order of Council; but not till the same, having been laid before the body of the Society, shall be approved and ratified by them." Among the nonsense and absurdities for which the bye-laws are distinguished, the statute in question is perhaps the only one which is clear and distinct, but which we are prepared to prove, has been continually violated. Whilst in trifles and forms, many of which are excessively ridiculous, the regulations are scrupulously attended to, this important control over the funds of

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[1] Retrospective Review, N. S. vol. i. p. 161.

[2] Ibid. p. 324. Perhaps this is the most convenient opportunity for contradicting an impression which the papers on the Society of Antiquaries in this work are said to have created; namely, that we wish to insinuate, that the officers have derived pecuniary advantages from the misapplication of the funds. Nothing could be further from our intention, for we wholly acquit them even of so degrading a thought, and cheerfully bear testimony to their personal respectability. Our complaint of their conduct is confined to their connexion with the Society; and the utmost we meant to charge them with in respect to the funds, is with not using the most efficacious means for getting the plates engraved, the works printed, &c. in the best and cheapest manner.

the corporation has, with extraordinary temerity, been virtually taken from it. The Council has, it seems, usurped the power of preventing the Fellows from seeing the accounts; and though the statutes provide that it cannot pay more than 50*l.* without the sanction of the whole body, yet, sums very much beyond that amount have been paid. This conduct merits severe censure; and whoever sanctioned such disbursements has acted illegally, and treated the Society with disrespect. The proper, and, indeed, in the present state of the system, only opportunity, for commenting on the subject of the funds, is when the Auditors make their annual report: and it remains to be proved whether that report will be again "received" in silence.

Not only, however, have the bye-laws been disregarded, but even the charter itself has been violated by a unanimous recommendation of the Council of last year, which affords another proof of the woeful ignorance of the officers of the corporation of its constitution, and of the tractable tempers of the gentlemen whom they selected for that situation. Although the Society possesses a President and four Deputies, it was found that neither of them could or would attend. Instead of the Council forwarding a remonstrance to those gentlemen, they adopted a measure which, whilst it allowed them to retain the titles of V. P. S. A., without occasioning them the overwhelming labour of sitting, with a cocked hat on their heads, for about twenty-two minutes, once in five weeks, it gratified the Treasurer's ambition of presiding over the Society. This most sagacious Council unanimously proposed a bye-law, giving authority to the Treasurer and Director to fill the Chair at the election and admission of new members. The proposed statute was submitted on the *last* night of one session, and balloted for on the *first* of the ensuing, when it was passed *of course*. The Treasurer has accordingly performed the duties of the President or his deputy, upon several occasions, and has admitted six, and presided at the election of eight, gentlemen. Thus far all was well. The President or Vice-Presidents came only when it suited their convenience; Mr. Amyot was but too happy to preside over "the learned body," and we concede that he executed the important functions with all becoming solemnity and decorum. A few weeks since, however, the Solons of the Society were not a little astonished at having their attention called to the following words of their charter,

"And we do further give and grant, that it is our royal will and pleasure, that all persons which shall, within two months next ensuing the date of these our letters patent, be nominated and chosen by the said President and Council, or any eleven, or more of them (of which we will the said President, or his Deputy, always to be one) and in all times after by the said President, Council, and Fellows of the said Society, or any twelve, or more of them (*of which we will the said Pre-*

sident, or his Deputy, always to be one), shall be received and admitted into the said Society of Antiquaries, as Fellows of the same," P. 4.

accompanied by what appeared news to them,—the intimation that, as no corporation can make a bye-law in contradiction of the express words of its charter, all proceedings under the bye-law alluded to were void; and consequently that neither of the persons elected under the presidency of the Treasurer, or admitted by him, were "Fellows of the Society." It is scarcely credible that twenty-one men capable of writing their names should have committed the egregious folly of recommending a bye-law without having first perused the charter creating the institution. The Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London for 1826-7, have, however, to their immortal honour, thus stultified themselves; and a more convincing proof of the ill effects of allowing the officers to dictate to the body who shall form the Council cannot be wished. If, as we assert, and we challenge them to contradict us, the officers have in the last year, and in many preceding years, violated the bye-laws by making disbursements on their own responsibility, which those bye-laws positively say shall not be made without the sanction of the whole body; and if, as we have shown, they have caused the charter itself to be infringed upon, are they proper persons to fill the situations they occupy? or can they be trusted with the selection of the individuals to whose care its affairs are so exclusively committed, that they possess and have exercised the power of preventing a Fellow from knowing in what way the funds are expended, what are the objects the Council has in view, or from seeing the papers which have been read? For many years the Society has been conducted "in peace," or, in other words,—*risum teneatis amici*—Mr. Nicholas Carlisle has been suffered to be the absolute dictator!!! It is that "learned gentleman" who has been permitted to nominate its Councils, and who in the performance of that task has lately offered an unprecedented insult to a member, simply because he dared, on one occasion, to express the opinion that the statutes required a revision. We are, as we have always been, most anxious to avoid personal remarks on any one connected with the Society, though we have not hesitated to comment on their conduct in their public capacities: but, in the name of common sense and common decency, we call upon the members at large, as men of talent, as gentlemen, nay, as Englishmen, to rescue their Society from so degrading a thraldom, as that Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Amyot, or Mr. any body else, should have the power to say who shall and who shall not be placed on its Council.

We can inform the Fellows, that the officers treat the idea of an opposition to their dictation on the 23rd of April with scorn and ridicule; and that they confidently suppose they have not the spirit to free themselves from their bondage. It therefore behoves

every Member who values the independence of the institution to teach them a different lesson; and to convince them, that they have been suffered too long to possess the uncontrolled direction of its affairs.

Let every Fellow ask himself whether the Society, in its present state, effects any practical good? Whether its meetings, or its publications, are worthy of such an institution? or whether they have not been the subject of ridicule from the time of Horace Walpole to the present? They have seen that it has been daily growing worse; and that, if the present officers are allowed to nominate a Council as supine as themselves, no hope of improvement can be entertained.

In conclusion; we exhort each Fellow to exert himself in the formation of an independent and zealous Council; and when he affixes his name to the balloting list, we entreat him to reflect that, by adopting the recommendation of the officers, he will evince his approbation of the present state of the Society, of the manner in which its charter and bye-laws have been disregarded, of the frivolous objects upon which its funds are employed, and of the inanity and worthlessness of its proceedings; whilst, by selecting a Council according to his own judgment, he will have the honour of affording his assistance to the efforts which will be made to render the Society worthy of a place among the literary institutions of Europe.

The Members should moreover bear in mind, that the eyes of the public are upon them—that the existing state of the Society has been lamented or ridiculed in half the Journals of the day—and that there is not one of the officers themselves so inflexibly obstinate, or impenetrably dull, excepting perhaps Mr. Nicholas Carlisle, as not to be convinced of the necessity of improvement, though they are so completely held in trammels by the Secretaries that they cannot act according to their own inclinations. Will the Fellows, then, bow beneath the yoke which its servants have imposed, and which they still intend them to wear? or will they not rescue themselves and the Society from the degraded condition to which it has been reduced? The humblest Mechanics' Institute in the kingdom effects more good, is governed in a more liberal and independent manner, and is more respected, than that which might be rendered the first literary society in England.

ADVERSARIA.

Order of the Bath.—Among the numerous letters which have been addressed to us, applauding the exposure which appeared in our last number, of the system of receiving fees from the Members of this Order, without fulfilling the objects for which they were demanded, the following letter signed "A Sufferer" merits particular notice:

"Your very able and forcible observations upon the Order of the Bath, and admirable exposure of the system carried on with respect to Officers upon whom the Order has been conferred, merit the thanks of the whole body, and it is to be hoped that Government will see the stipulations, for which so much money was paid, fulfilled.

"You will be rendering further service by keeping your eyes upon this proceeding; and should you have further occasion to notice the subject, perhaps you will inform the public whether those fees continue to be demanded for Statutes, &c. (not a copy of which, though paid for, can be procured,) from the Officers lately promoted into this Order for service in the East Indies and at Navarino.

"Perhaps you could suggest some laudable object towards which the fees paid by deceased Officers might be appropriated, the purposes for which they were paid not having been accomplished."

We assure our correspondent, that we will not fail to comply with his request, of watching the proceedings on the subject; and can inform him, in reply to his question, that one, at least, of the officers who received the third Class of the Bath, for Navarino, has paid his fees; and we have cause to believe, that some of those who were similarly rewarded for their recent services in India have likewise done so. Perhaps the fees paid by deceased Members of the Order could not be better appropriated than by printing a limited impression of those memorials of their services with which, in pursuance of the regulations, they furnished the proper officers, and by giving the surplus to some charitable institution connected with the naval or military service. It may be satisfactory to our correspondent and his fellow "Sufferers" to learn, that we know, *from authority*, that attention is awakened in the *highest quarters* to the conduct of which they so justly complain.

KNIGHTHOOD OF THE ELDEST SONS OF BARONETS.—The dignity of Baronet was established by Letters Patent, dated 22nd of May, in the ninth year of the reign of King James, 1611; and, by other Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster, the 28th of May, in the tenth year of his reign, 1612, making a certain ordinance, establishment, and final decree upon a controversy of precedence between the younger sons of Viscounts and Barons and the Baronets, and touching other points, also concerning as well Bannerets as the said Baronets; whereby the King was pleased, amongst other things, to knight the then Baronets that were no Knights; and did, by the same presents, of his mere motion and favour, promise and grant for himself, his heirs, and successors, that such Baronets, and the heirs male of their bodies as thereafter, should be no Knights, when they should attain and be of the age of one and twenty years, upon knowledge thereof given to the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, or Vice-Chamberlain for the time being, or, in their absence, to any other officer attending upon his Majesty's person, should be knighted by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, as by the said several Letters Patent (amongst other things) did fully appear.—His present Majesty, however, having deemed it expedient that the said promise to confer the honour of knighthood in future should be discontinued, has, by Letters Patent, bearing date the 19th day of December last, been pleased to revoke, determine, and make void the said promise and grant in the beforementioned Letters Patent contained, "with respect to all Letters Patent for the creation of Baronets to be made and granted after these presents; and that the said Letters Patent shall be made hereafter without such clause as hereinbefore mentioned; without preju-

dice, nevertheless, to any Letters Patent heretofore granted, or to the rights and privileges now by law belonging to any Baronet and his heirs male."

In consequence of which revocation, the Patents granted to the thirteen gentlemen recently created[1] do not contain the clause referred to[2].

IRISH PEERS PRIVILEGE FROM ARREST.—The question involving the freedom of Irish Peers from arrest has been recently decided by an act of the highest tribunal. In September last Lord Hawarden was arrested, after pleading his privilege to the Sheriff ineffectually.

Coates and *Another*, Assignees of Cox, a Bankrupt, against *Viscount Hawarden*.—The Court of King's Bench, in Michaelmas term, granted a rule to show cause why the bail-bond should not be delivered up to be cancelled, and the costs attending the proceedings be paid by the plaintiffs. The rule was moved for, and obtained, on the affidavit of the defendant stating, that he was a Viscount of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; that his right to vote in the election of representative Peers for Ireland had been allowed by the House of Lords, and exercised by the defendant, and that he was entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of an Irish Peer; that the defendant was arrested at his residence at Brighton on the 15th September, 1827, by an officer of the Sheriff of Sussex, and that he had been discharged from such arrest upon a representation of his privilege; that he immediately forwarded a strong remonstrance to the Sheriff; notwithstanding which, he had been again taken under the same process, on the 24th September, upon which occasion he had given a bail-bond, accompanied by a protest against the regularity of the proceedings[3]. The Court, in granting the rule, said, that they entertained no doubt as to the defendant's privilege[4]. The rule was subsequently made absolute, with costs; the defendant's counsel undertaking that no action should be brought.

On the meeting of Parliament Lord Hawarden made a complaint to

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[1] See Retrospective Review, N. S. Vol. I. p. 524.

The following is the clause in question:—"We will moreover, and do by these presents, of our more ample grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, covenant and grant to and with the said A. B. and his heirs male aforesaid, that we will, immediately after the date of these presents, create and make the said A. B. a knight; and that we, our heirs, and successors, will create and make the first-born son or heir male apparent, begotten of the body of the said A. B. and of the bodies of his heirs male aforesaid, and every one of them, a knight, as soon as he shall attain the age of one and twenty years, although in the lifetime of his father or grandfather, upon notice given thereof to the Chamberlain or Vice-Chamberlain of the Household of us, our heirs, or successors for the time being, or in their absence to any other officer or minister of us, our heirs, or successors, attending the person of us, our heirs, or successors, to have, hold, and enjoy the same state, degree, dignity, style, title, place, and precedence, with all and singular the privileges, and other the premises before granted to the said A. B. and his said heirs male of his body lawfully begotten for ever."

[3] It appeared also that the whole debt, except £4, had been received by Cox before his bankruptcy.

[4] Manning and Ryland, Michaelmas Term, 1827. A curious letter from an Irish Peer, complaining to the Earl Marshal, in the reign of Charles the First, that he was under arrest for debt, will be found in a former page of the present Number.

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the Lord Chancellor of the breach of privilege, who brought the matter under the consideration of the House of Lords; when Lord Hawarden being called to the table, stated his complaint, which was referred to a Committee of Privileges; and, after a report to the House, the Under Sheriff of Sussex, his Officer, and the Solicitor, were committed to the custody of the Black Rod, where they remained until they were, upon petition, subsequently discharged, on payment of their fees.

Curious Regulations.—In the Code of Ordinances for the government of the Savoy Hospital, founded by Henry the Seventh, the following regulations occur:

"De armis non portandis."—And we do prohibit and command, that no master, sub-master, chaplain, perpetual or hired, or any other attendant or servant of the aforesaid hospital, for the time being, shall carry a sword, or other arms, offensive or defensive, excepting a small knife (parvum cultellum), within the said hospital; nor the master, or any perpetual or hired chaplain, without."

"De non ludendo ad talos."— And whereas it becomes the good and honest to be adorned with good and honest manners; we do therefore command, that no master, &c. in any manner, privately or openly, play at dice, cards (cartas), or any other illicit and prohibited games (jocos), within the said hospital. But they may, at all times, play at chess (scaccos), and, at the time of our Lord's Nativity, for forty days, at tables, without fraud and blasphemy, and great sums of money; nor provoke tipplings, murmurings, strifes, and quarrels, nor use secret conversation with any woman or girl, especially within the aforesaid hospital. And that none of them be a night-walker, or on any night lie or dare to be without the hospital, in any place within two miles of the same hospital, beyond seven o'clock in the evening. And that none of them, nor any woman [thirteen were ordained to reside there], nourish, keep, or carry dogs of any kind, or ravenous birds, within or without the hospital."—Cotton. MS. Cleop. C.v. f. 27.

Londoniana.—*Drury-lane.*—Some writers have supposed that this place was so called from its having been the residence of a Sir Thomas Drury, who had a spacious mansion towards its northern extremity: at the other end, or its southern extremity, in the reign of James the First, stood the noble residence of the Earl of Craven. This caused a great accession of inhabitants in these parts of the parishes of St. Clement's Danes and St. Mary-le-Strand. But long before this the Cock and Pie public-house, now a few doors from the end, stood alone, having been built prior to the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First. About the end of the latter reign, the George Inn, which was taken down many years ago, and some few others, began to be built. In the reign of Charles the First the neighbourhood was further improved by new buildings; and in that of Charles the Second Drury-lane was the centre of gaiety and dissipation, and consequently of attraction to the looser and juvenile parts of the community. That its vicinity was the haunt of the Cyprian corps, we have the authority of Butler in his Hudibras. Here were bowling-alleys, gaming-houses, and taverns in every direction; to which we may add gardens, the probable names of which still re-

main; as Short's gardens, Brown's gardens, &c. long since formed into streets. These being in the neighbourhood of what were called the Cock and Pie fields, it is likely that the house called the Cock and Pie was the seat of the hilarity of the times. Tradition says that the Cock and Pie public-house was known in the reign of Henry the Seventh as a place of pleasant resort for the citizens of London. It was afterwards called the Music-house, probably from the celebration of May-day round the may-pole which stood in the Strand, nearly opposite Little Drury-lane. For while apprentices and servants used to dance round the tall may-pole, it is very likely that the citizens of a higher order met to enjoy the same species of amusement in a higher degree at the Cock and Pie; an idea which is justified by the appearance of the long-room for many years afterwards. This ancient ale-house, which was once much more extensive than at present, it appears, looked over the Cock and Pie fields to the westward on one side, and towards the gardens of Craven-house on the other. Even so late as the reign of George the First many of the houses in Craven-buildings had trees before them; and one also stood at the upper end of Little Drury-lane, nearly in front of the present Cock and Pie alehouse. The gardens extending along the Strand might also have been seen formerly from the back of this house.

Lewterner's-lane, in Drury-lane, was commonly called Newtener's-lane; but the wickedness of its inhabitants having gained, as well as some other places near it, the appellation of "Little Sodom," they have given it the preferable name of Charles-street, as appears from a stone fixed in the front of a house at the eastern end of it. Whetstone-park, running between the south side of Holborn and the north side of Lincoln's-inn-fields, was also a receptacle for Cyprians, and continued highly offensive to the decent part of the community, till they were routed by the mob, and the King's life-guard was obliged to be called out to suppress the riot that ensued. Upon the site of Wild-court, Great Wild-street, stood Wild-house, which was occupied by a Spanish ambassador when William the Third landed at Torbay, and was plundered shortly after by the rabble of property to the amount of 100,000*l.* Several respectable and well built old houses in the vicinity of Drury-lane, the approaches to which are now obscure and unsightly, sufficiently attest the different classes of people that once occupied them, from their present inhabitants. Amongst these is the large house in Brownlow-street, many years used as a lying-in hospital, and the remains of a considerable inn in the Coal-yard, &c. It is certain that a house in Brownlow-street, Drury-lane, formerly belonged to the Duke of Lenox. M. Monconnys, in his Voyage d'Angleterre, in 1663, mentions one of the small streets leading into Drury-lane, that was principally occupied by certain females of the lowest description. He had been to visit *Gresin*, i. e. Gray's-inn, and Great Queen-street, with which he says he was much delighted. He afterwards passed through one of the little streets near Drury-lane, which he conceived was the public brothel, as being inhabited by women as disgusting in their appearance as in their minds, who were standing at their doors to call in passengers. "To me, however," he observes, "they said nothing,

rightly judging that I was not one of their game or stamp." At this time some of the bowling-greens remained that had distinguished this luxuriant quarter; for he says, "I passed by one of them, where it was as agreeable to observe the facility with which the bowl ran over the smooth green, as to see persons playing."

BAYEUX TAPESTRY.—A correspondent informs us that, some years since, the Society of Antiquaries devoted a considerable portion of its annual funds to the completion of coloured engravings of the Bayeux tapestry, which has been several years before the world. It was understood that the Society intended to publish a paper embracing the various communications and dissertations upon this interesting subject. Several years, however, have elapsed without so desirable an object having been accomplished. It is therefore suggested to us to call the attention of the officers of that body to the point, in the hope that some of them will be found sufficiently zealous to devote a little time to the arrangement of the observations which have been communicated, and to see that they are given in such a form as will render them a proper accompaniment to the plates, so as to make a perfect volume. In compliance with this request, we do *call* upon them,

"——— And so can any man;
But will they *obey* when *we* do call *on* them?"

We fear, indeed, that nothing short of a voice sufficiently powerful to fill the last trumpet will have any effect upon the present officers of that institution.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Debrett's Peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in two volumes. Seventeenth edition. 1828.

The Annual Peerage of the British Empire, 2 *vols.* 1828. [*By Anne, Eliza, and Maria Innes.*]

A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, exhibiting, under strict alphabetical Arrangement, the Present State of those exalted Personages, with their Armorial Bearings, &c. By John Burke, Esq. A new and enlarged edition. London. 1828. 1 *vol. pp.* 724.

THE last and present season have been so unusually fertile in the manufacture of "Annual Peerages," that we expect we shall perform a useful act by examining their various merits; because, as very few persons purchase more than one of them, it is necessary that they should possess a guide to the best.

"Place aux dames" is a rule as obligatory upon critics as upon courtiers. The Misses Innes have arranged their volumes upon a new plan, which, with a little trouble, may be readily understood. In the compilation of their work the fair authoresses have displayed very creditable industry; and to those who may be satisfied with brief particulars of the existing members of families of our nobility we

sincerely recommend their elegant little volumes. The statements which they contain are more accurate, and were apparently obtained from more authentic sources, than those which occur in productions of higher pretensions. Whilst bestowing our approbation upon every part of the "Annual Peerage" in which its authoresses are concerned, we cannot refrain from noticing the publisher's trick of calling the present a *new edition*, when the sole difference between it and the original work consists in adding a list of peers deceased since "the commencement of the printing," or more truly since March 1827, and placing the figures 1828, instead of 1827, in the title-page.

The "General and Heraldic Dictionary" consists of short articles on the families of all the peers and baronets of England, Ireland, and Scotland, in alphabetical order; and by those persons who want the appearance of a great deal for their money, and are indifferent whether what they find be true or false, this volume will be eagerly purchased. With this remark we should have dismissed it, but for the following arrogant preface:

"The absolute want of any book of reference, appertaining to those elevated ranks, the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom, in *which the slightest confidence, as* AN AUTHORITY, could be reposed, suggested the compilation of the work now submitted to the public. Deeming books of this description only valuable so far as they can be easily understood and *implicitly relied upon*, the compiler," &c. . . . "He confidently trusts that he shall finally succeed in the object he had originally in view,—that of completing a work upon the hereditary dignities of the British empire which may, in his own and in after times, be consulted as an AUTHORITY."

It therefore becomes desirable to inquire, how far the work thus pompously ushered into the world is calculated to justify so unusual a flourish; and to judge, by the present specimen, what are the probabilities in favour of the editor's accomplishing his modest object. We pass over the introduction, in which the history of the Peerage, and of its various ranks, is discussed in eight or nine pages, and open the volume at hazard. Mr. Burke's talent seems chiefly to consist in tracing descents to a period which no other genealogist would dream of approaching within three or four centuries, or, to use his own words, "in deducing the pedigrees from the remotest periods," and in connecting individuals with families, not only without a shadow of proof, but sometimes in direct opposition to a decision of the House of Lords. We are informed, for example, that the present Earl of Aldborough traces his pedigree to the time of Alfred! and that the name of Turnour, Earls Wintertoun, is derived from the ancient place of residence of the family, in Normandy, "La Tour Noir!" The ancestors of the Countess of Dysart were, according to Mr. Burke, *bell-ringers*. He says,

"The very ancient and illustrious family of Tollemache is of Saxon descent, as the name denotes, being derived from the Saxon word 'toll-mack,' tolling of the bell."

Sir Thomas Lethbridge is said to be descended from Lothbroke, a Dane, who landed in England in 970! though it is notorious that his pedigree, in the College of Arms, commences with his father's great-grandfather, whose baptismal name is not known. And we are told, with irresistible gravity, that Sir Robert Williams "deduces his

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pedigree, with singular perspicuity, from Brutus! son of Silvius Posthumius!! son of Ascanius!!! son of Æneas!!!! which Brutus was the first king of this island, and began his reign above 1100 years before the birth of Christ!!!!!!" That Mr. Burke did not invent this nonsense we admit, nor will we impeach his intellects by supposing that he believes it; but he betrays a lamentable want of judgment in giving such assertions a place in his volume. A more severe expression is deserved when we find him reviving the exploded story of the descent of Sir Egerton Brydges from the Lords Chandos, especially as he refers to the decision of the House of Lords on the subject, which he mentions in the following words: "The claim was contested before the House of Lords from 1790 to 1803; the opposition was strenuous, and the Lords came to a resolution, by which the right, so far as a committee *could go*, was *suspended;*" a sentence which is intended to mean, that the Lords' committees *negatived* the claim. Is Mr. Burke ignorant, that the arms which he correctly assigns to the present Baronet are not the arms of the ancient house of Brydges, but a recent grant to the individual whom he represents as "persevering in the claim," and who "asserts himself" to be legally entitled to the barony? The account of the ancestors of Sir Jonathan Wathen Waller is not true. It is well known that that gentleman is not descended from the ancient family of Waller, that the arms which he bears were recently *granted* to him, and of course are not those of the family from which he wishes it to be believed his maternal grandmother derived her origin[1]. The statement of Colonel Berkeley relative to his pretensions to the earldom of Berkeley is curious, and proves how readily the editor will insert whatever may be sent to him. Did he learn from the same quarter, that the present Earl of Berkeley is also Baron Mowbray, Segrave, and Breaus [Braose] of Gower? Among the Baronets, the title "Payne" occurs, though it is not to be found in Debrett's Baronetage, simply because it is *extinct*. Whether Mr. Burke is more correct in his account of the existing state of families than of their ancestors, will appear from the following examples:

HERALDIC DICTIONARY.	THE FACT.
Sir Edmund Antrobus. No issue given.	Has a son, and other children.
Sir Charles Burton, succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1735, *ninety-two years* since. Mr. Burke gravely states in a note, that he has not had any communication from that gentleman, and therefore has no authority for the date of accession but the works which have preceded him. When he *does* hear from the worthy Baronet, he will perhaps inform his readers.	Sir Charles succeeded in 1705, and died in great poverty, unmarried, when the title became extinct.—*Nichols's Leicestershire.*
Sir John Cope. No wife mentioned.	Has been married many years.
Sir Hugh Everard succeeded his brother in 1742.	He died in 1745, s.p., when the title became extinct.—See *his Will.*

[1] According to Mr. Burke, the Baronet uses the motto "Azincourt;" but this must be a mistake; for it would be a libel on Sir Wathen to believe he could commit so silly an act as to attempt to commemorate the supposed deeds of an individual from whom he cannot establish his descent.

Sir Edward Mostyn. By his late wife he had an only son, who died in infancy.	His present son and heir-apparent, and many other children, were by his late wife.
Sir Richard Simcon, married, &c. by whom he has no issue.	He has a son and heir, John, and several other children.
Sir Christopher Bethel Codrington	This gentleman is *not* a Baronet, the title being vested in the eldest son of his elder brother, of neither of whom is any notice taken.—*Report in the College of Arms.*
Sir Harford Jones	Has assumed the name of Brydges.
Sir Bourchier Wrey	Died November, 1826.
Sir Samuel Young	Died December, 1826.
Sir Randall O'Neill. No dates mentioned.	Title *extinct.*
Campbell, Sir Alexander, of Gaitsford, K.C.B.	Died four years ago, and was succeeded by his grandson.
Croft, Sir Herbert, *twice* said to have been created in 1761, though he died in 1720.	Created 1671.

The preceding are a very few specimens of the diligence displayed in the compilation of the "General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage," and which may convince our readers of the justness of its claim to be a *book of authority*. It has, however, one merit, which is not possessed by any existing work of the kind, namely, notices of the Baronets of Scotland and Ireland. These titles are omitted in Debrett's Baronetage, a work in its present state so bad as to be only one degree better than Mr. Burke's. The arms in the "General Dictionary" are wretchedly engraved, and if the editor superintended them, he must be woefully ignorant of even the rudiments of heraldry. Of this two or three examples are sufficient: The arms assigned to Sir Charles Hardinge are those of the *late* Baronet impaled with his wife's, with the chief of honorary augmentation granted to his grandfather drawn over *both coats*. We remember seeing them so painted on the hatchment on the late Baronet's house, and which, we presume, is Mr. Burke's *authority*. Another instance is that of the coat of Warren, which is attributed to Waller[1]. In the old editions of Debrett's Peerage, the arms of the Marquess of Hastings are erroneously represented with the coat of Rawdon instead of Hastings in the first quarter, whence Mr. Burke has copied them.

Professedly "impelled by a sense of gratitude for former favour," but more truly, we believe, influenced by fear of the effects of the competition they have experienced, the proprietors of "Debrett's Peerage" have made important improvements in the seventeenth edition of that work; and though it is still far from what it might, and perhaps will be made, it is infinitely more valuable than any other Peerage of the day, though the proprietors judiciously disclaim so ambitious an expectation as Mr. Burke has avowed. The improve-

[1] Plate 91.

ments in this edition do not so much consist in a new set of plates, for though they are much better than the former ones, and exhibit the charges more correctly and distinctly, they are not what they ought to have been, as in the typographical department. The issue of each peer is given in a much smaller type, and a distinct paragraph is assigned to every child, so that the confusion which prevailed in the former editions is completely avoided; for the eye need no longer be fatigued by tracing from whom the eternal 1 John, 2 William, 3 Robert, &c. were descended. Considerable care has been obviously employed in correcting and adding to the various statements; and we believe that the editor has, like Mr. Burke, sent circular letters to the nobility for particulars of their families. It is amusing to observe the places where the editor has been indebted to the "Annual Peerage," or to Mr. Burke, and where, from having the fear of plagiarism before his eyes, he has shrunk from copying from them. In some cases he has repaid the favours they conferred upon him, in following his former mistakes, by adopting their blunders; and in others, he has omitted to benefit by their corrections and additions. This was an unnecessary squeamishness, for they have not hesitated to copy whatever suited their purpose from the labours of the venerable Debrett. Could they then, in common fairness, refuse to bestow a fact or two upon his descendant, adorned as he is in red cloth, and emerged from the fat, dumpy, citizen-like figure by which he was known for sixteen generations, into the sleek, genteel form in which he now presents himself? Ladies are never ungrateful; hence we will answer for the amiable Misses Innes' allowing the invisible Mr. Debrett to sport at large over their preserves; whilst Mr. Burke, with the generosity peculiar to his country, would, we are sure, offer his hand to his rival, and say, "All is fair in war—take and take, and welcome."

Upon Mr. Debrett's appearance the next season, we beg to apprise him, that we shall expect, 1st, That the age of every peer will be mentioned, even if he be obliged to ask his rivals for the information: 2nd, That no feeling of gallantry will induce him to suppress the ages of the wives, or of the married, and especially of the unmarried daughters of peers: 3rd, That he will not retain his present affectation of omitting to call illegitimate issue by their proper name: 4th, That if a nobleman marries his mistress, the newly-made "honest woman" may receive the honours due to her promotion: 5th, That considerable pains be taken in ascertaining the dates and causes of noblemen assuming names; so that a man who calls himself Smith, or Jackson, instead of Beauchamp, or Seymour, may not lie under the reproach of having uselessly evinced bad taste: 6th, That no insinuation will occur, that a family of the same name as an ancient nobleman sprung from the same ancestor, when it derived its origin from a much humbler source[1]: and, 7th, That accurate blazon of the arms, crests, and supporters of the peers will be given under their respective titles,

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[1] For instance, in the case of *Howard*, Earl of Wicklow: "*This branch* of the family of Howard," &c.

in order that the world may know the names of some of the monsters, which, as represented in the plates, alike defy the skill of the herald and the naturalist.

A Manual of Heraldry for Amateurs, by Harriet Dallaway. 12mo. pp. 169. Pickering, *7s.*

This pretty and unpretending little volume is said to have been written at the request of Miss Howard Molyneux, to whom it is inscribed. It is designed to afford a knowledge of the rudiments of Heraldry to Amateurs, for which purpose it appears to be well calculated; as the descriptions are concise and simple, and are illustrated by wood cuts. When we say that the fair compiler, whose various accomplishments are well known, is the wife of the author of the popular volume, entitled "Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England," any recommendation of her labours from us would be superfluous; for it will be readily supposed that she has received the assistance of his researches and talents, and consequently that few ladies are so qualified to afford information on the subject.

CREATIONS OF HONOURS, CHANGES OF NAME, &c.

From the London Gazettes, from January 25th to March 25th, 1828.

February 8.—Whitehall, January 17.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Thomas Stott, of the city of Quebec, Esq., sometime Paymaster of the 29th Regiment of Foot, and now Paymaster of the 4th Royal Veteran Battalion, in behalf of his grandson and sole heir-expectant, William Jane Stott Wilson, an infant of the age of fourteen years, or thereabouts, His Majesty's royal licence and authority, that he the said William Jane Stott Wilson, and his issue, may take and use the surname of Stott, in lieu of that of Wilson, and also bear the arms of Stott.

February 19.—Whitehall, February 18.—The King has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for granting the dignity of a Baronet of the said United Kingdom to the following Gentlemen respectively, and the heirs-male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz.

Francis Freeling, of the General Post Office, in the city of London, and of Ford and Hutchins, in the county of Sussex, Esq.

Joseph de Courcy Laffan, of Otham [1], in the county of Kent, M. D., Physician to His Majesty's Forces, and to His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent.

Patrick Macgregor, of Saville Row, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., Serjeant Surgeon to his Majesty, and Personal Surgeon to His Royal Highness the late Duke of York.

March 4.—Whitehall, February 14.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Ann Raynsford, of Powick, in the county of Worcester, widow, and relict of the Reverend Charles Justinian Raynsford, late of Powick aforesaid, Clerk, deceased, and unto her sister, Mercy Vincent, of the same place, Spinster, deceased, two of the daughters of Francis Vincent, late of Weddington Hall, in the county of Warwick, Esq., deceased, by Mercy his wife, who was the sister of Thomas Sheldon, late of

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[1] "Cobham" in the Gazette of February 19th, but corrected to "Otham" in the Gazette of February 26th.

Abberton, in the aforesaid county of Worcester, Esq., also deceased, His royal licence and authority, that they may, in compliance with a clause contained in the last will and testament of their maternal uncle, the said Thomas Sheldon, respectively take and use the surname of Sheldon only, and also bear the arms of Sheldon [1].

March 7.—St. James's, March 5.—Sir Christopher Robinson, Knt., sworn of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

Whitehall, February 23.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Samuel Lesingham, of Upton-upon-Severn, in the county of Worcester, Esq., and Lucy his wife, second daughter, and at length co-heir, of Francis Vincent, of Weddington Hall, in the county of Warwick, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, deceased, by Mary his wife, one of the sisters of Thomas Sheldon, of Abberton, in the said county of Worcester, Esq., also deceased, His royal licence and authority, that they may take and use the surname of Sheldon only, that they may respectively bear the arms of Sheldon, and that such surname of Sheldon only, and the arms of Sheldon, may be taken and borne by the issue of their marriage, in compliance with a proviso contained in the last will and testament of the said Thomas Sheldon, bearing date the 7th day of November, 1801, and in testimony of their grateful and affectionate respect for his memory.

March 14.—Windsor, February 5.—Thomas Frankland Lewis, Esq., sworn of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council; and, on the 13th of February, Rowland Lord Hill was also sworn of the Privy Council.

March 21.—Whitehall, March 19.—The King has been pleased to grant unto the Most Noble William Spencer, Duke of Devonshire, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, His royal licence and permission, that his Grace may accept and wear the insignia of the Imperial Russian Order of St. Andrew.

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[1] According to this notification, His Majesty has been pleased to authorize a *dead* woman to change her name and arms; a concession, by which we presume she will not very speedily benefit. It is time that official announcements should be superintended by some responsible person, for we before had occasion to point out the careless manner in which they are printed in the London Gazettes.

HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN WORKS

LATELY PUBLISHED; IN THE PRESS; OR PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

In a few days, the first Part of the BIBLIOGRAPHER'S MANUAL; being an account of rare and useful books, published in, or relating to, Great Britain and Ireland, since the invention of Printing; with Bibliographical and Critical Notices, and the prices at which they have sold in the present century. By William Thomas Lowndes.

Very shortly, THE ARMS OF THE PEERS, BANNERETS, AND KNIGHTS OF ENGLAND, about the 10th Edw. II., 1316-17, containing the blazon of upwards of one thousand coats, from a contemporary MS. in the British Museum, with an ordinary. 1 vol. 8vo.

CHRONICLES OF PORTSMOUTH; being the History, Antiquities, and present State of every Public Edifice in the Towns of Portsmouth, Portsea, Gosport, and Southsea. 1 vol. 12mo.

THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF GEORGE PEELE, now first collected from rare and unique copies; edited by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, B.A. 2 vols. crown 8vo.

Nearly ready, A CATALOGUE OF KNIGHTS, from 1760 to 1828, including Knights Bachelors, Knights of the Garter, Bath, Guelphs, and of the Ionian Order of St. Michael and St. George, and the names of those of British Subjects who have received the Insignia of Foreign Orders. By Francis Townsend, Esq., Rouge Dragon, Pursuivant of Arms. Crown 8vo.

THE

Retrospective Review.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. II.—PART II.

Copies of several Letters received from and writ to the Right Honourable the Lord Arlington and Mr. Trevor, Secretaries of State in the Reign of Charles the Second, by the Honourable Charles Bertie, Esq. of Uffington, in the County of Lincoln, as Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Denmark, to adjust the Difference of the Flagg.—MS.

THESE papers, with various memorials, and a brief journal of the envoy's voyage and return, occupy the first two hundred and fifty-six pages of a thin volume in folio, preserved in the library of the Earl of Lindsey, at Uffington House. For permission to offer this notice of their contents we are indebted to the kindness of the Countess Dowager. The manuscript bears the name and arms of Mr. Bertie, and appears to have been transcribed from the original correspondence for his own use: there is also another transcript for his younger grandson Peregrine[1], about 1747;

[1] Father of Albemarle, eighth Earl of Lindsey, and grandfather of the present Earl. The name of *Peregrine* is peculiar to the Berties, and its romantic origin is well known. On the accession of Mary, the Duchess of Suffolk, with her infant daughter (afterwards Countess of Kent) and chaplain, Dr. Sandys (afterwards Archbishop of York), set off in disguise to join her second husband, who had obtained leave to visit Germany. After various adventures and escapes, Mr. Bertie, with his wife and child, arrived on foot at Wesel on a dark and wretched evening, 12th Oct. 1555. The innkeepers, taking them for a lance-knecht and his mistress, with one accord denied admittance: "In the mean time the poor babe cried bitterly; the Dutches wept as fast; the weather was extream cold, and the Heavens rained as fast as the clouds could powre." In this extremity they took refuge in the church-porch of St. Willebrode, where she gave birth to the ninth Baron Willoughby d'Eresby, hence called Peregrine. We shall not

made, however, with no attempt at literal exactness, and in other respects incomplete.

Mr. Bertie was the fifth and youngest son of Montague, second earl, by his first wife Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayn, of Rushton, in the county of Northampton, and widow of John, Earl of Holdernesse. He died 22d March, 1711, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and is buried in the chancel at Uffington. The following character is given of him in Francis Howgrave's "Ancient and Present State of Stamford."—"This gentleman was endowed with extraordinary parts, and very early qualified himself for the service of his country, by his travels into France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. He first signalized his valour by his attendance on George, Duke of Albemarle, general to King Charles II. in the two great battles[1] fought against the Dutch at sea, in the year 1666, and was afterwards preferred to be one of the captains in his majesty's regiment of guards, whence his majesty was pleased to command him his envoy extraordinary to Christian the Fifth, King of Denmark, to adjust the difference about the flag, in the year 1671; in which negotiation, having succeeded to his majesty's great satisfaction, he returned home; and, in 1672, waited on his Royal Highness the Duke of York to sea[2]; and was per-

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pursue the story, the interest of which long continues. He is recorded by Naunton (Fragm. Regal. 1824), as an approved soldier, and from his will, preserved in Collins, must have possessed an extensive library.

The "great troubles and wonderful deliverance" of his parents form chap. xi. of Clarke's Martyrologie, 274—280, ed. 1625: 521—526, ed. 1677. The ballad, temp. Eliz. "of the most rare and excellent history...to the tune of Queen Dido," may be found in the collections of Evans and others, and was reprinted, with two woodcuts, on a broadsheet, by J. Nichols, in 1806. "The Life of the Dvtches of Suffolke as it hath beene divers and sundry times acted, with good applause," by Thomas Drue, Lond. 1631, is of much greater rarity. It is rather to be called a dramatic representation than a play, and its popularity must have been owing to the interest of its story and some small attempts at humour, for we can discover no other recommendation. Bonner is pushed into a well by a friend of the fugitives, who, when all is safe, officiously assists in his extrication: The words

> Well done my masters, lend 's your hands,
> Draw Dun out of the ditch.
> Draw, pull, help all, so, so, well done,

recall a spirited scene in the Peace of Aristophanes. At the close of Act III. Erasmus makes his appearance at Wesel, and in the middle of Act IV. the scene is suddenly changed to Oxford, that the audience may be edified by Ridley and Latimer on their way to execution. It is not paged, but ends on i. 4. in quarto.—See also the "wise speeches," Camden's Remaines, p. 370, ed. 1674, Fox's Martyrs, and Hollingshed.

[1] Burnet's Own Time, i. 229, fol.—i. 397-8, Routh; and compare Evelyn (Memoirs, June 1—17, 1666), who says, "God knows it was rather a deliverance than a triumph."

[2] In his letters to the Lord Chancellor Retz, and Griffenfeldt, principal Secretary of State, upon his return to England, March 15, 1671-2, he mentions, "being commanded to sea in the Duke of York's second;" but promises meantime to send the Chancellor some books on gardening and planting, with "a glass beehive, wch will keep their workes from being incomprehensible as the acts of some persons, you know of, are."

sonally with him in that engagement of Sol-Bay. In 1673, he was advanced to be Secretary of the Treasury, under the Right Hon. Thomas, Earl of Danby, then Lord High Treasurer of England; and in the year 1680[1], was again honoured with the appointment of his majesty's envoy extraordinary to several electors and other princes of Germany; and, last of all, in the year 1681, was made Treasurer and Paymaster of his Majesty's Office of Ordnance, in which he served near twenty years, though under three several reigns; and served thirty years in Parliament as burgess of Stamford, wherein he acquitted himself with unspotted reputation. He had such an universal genius, that, when he went to solicit a favour, he could easily enter into the foible of every man's nature; and so indefatigable was he at all times in the service of his friends, that he never ceased his importunities till he had either gained his point, or left no hopes of success. He was a true patriot to his country, and valued its interests so much, that, notwithstanding he tasted largely of his prince's favours, he freely quitted them all, rather than consent to the least thing he thought might be a disservice to it; and therefore he undoubtedly was the properest person to represent so uncorrupted a corporation. His behaviour was easy and genteel; and he was so well beloved, that he used commonly to be called 'honest Charles Bertie;' and well did he deserve so particular a character; for when some had a design to lessen the great esteem his country had for him, the great council of the nation honourably acquitted him. But I shall say no more of this great man, than that he was grandson to the valiant Earl of Lindsey[2], that so bravely lost his life in the battle of Edge-Hill, in the just defence of his king and country." He was returned to parliament from Stamford with his brother Peregrine[3], 1661,

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[1] On this occasion, passing through Wesel, he obtained a copy of the register of the birth and baptism of his great grandfather, authenticated under the town seal; and restored the inscription in the church-porch, which had suffered from time and wantonness. His great grandson Albemarle (then Colonel Bertie) found it well preserved, 22nd August, 1784, and brought a copy to England.

[2] Clarendon, passim. Of this earl and his son Montague, both commemorated in Mr. Lodge's *Illustrious Portraits*, very interesting particulars are given in Lloyd's "Memoirs of those who suffered in the Cause of Charles I." pp. 306—320, fol. Lond. 1668. The frontispiece contains an excellent portrait of the former nobleman; another occurs, p. 62, of James Heath's Brief Chron. ed. 1663. That by Houbraken, in Birch's Heads, is unfaithful.

[3] Peregrine, with his elder brother and Sir T. Osborne, were the three voices that unexpectedly threw out the non-resisting oath after the passing of the five-mile-act in the parliament which held its sixth session at Oxford, 31st Oct. 1665. *Detection of the Parliaments of England*, i. p. 98, "Of the Use and Abuse of Parliaments," 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1774. See also Locke's celebrated "Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country."

1685, with William Hide, 1688; with his nephew Philip, 1690, 1695; with W. Cecil, 1698, 1700, 1701, 1702; and with C. Cecil, 1705, 1707, 1708, 1710. While discharging the office of secretary he encountered the animadversion of the House of Commons. "We have likewise a list of twenty-seven pensioners by name, together with their allowances, as also a record, that Charles Bertie, Esq. had a patent for disposing of 20,000*l.* per annum, secret service money, out of the excise; to which ought to be added, a declaration in parliament of Sir Robert Howard's, auditor of the exchequer, That in two years' time the said Mr. Bertie had received 252,467*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* on the same account."—*Detection of the Parliaments of England*, i. p. 103-4, "of the Use and Abuse of Parliaments," 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1744.

To this the following letter, which is preserved on the verso of the third fly-leaf[1] preceding the correspondence, relates:

"A copy of my letter to my L^d^. of Bath concerning my summons to attend the House upon secret service, 9th of May, 1679.

"Friday Morning, 9th May, 1679.

"My L^d^.

"I am informed y^t^. there is an order of the House of Com'ons out against mee, and y^t^. they intend to oblige me to produce my books of secret service; and to examine me upon a lyst of names they have gott. I am withdrawn on purpose to receive his Majesties com'ands therein, which I shall govern myself by, and humbly desire your Lordship to acquaint his Majesty, that I will never disclose any trust he has been pleased to repose in mee unless his Majesty shall think fit to com'and me; I am with all respect

"My Lord,

"Y^r^. most obed^t^. hum: serv^t^.

"Chas. Bertie."

It was admitted that "nothing could be got out of him," and the following day he was ordered into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. The inquiry was not dropped: but on the 16th the house was suddenly summoned to witness the passing of the Habeas Corpus act, and immediately after a prorogation was declared, which determined in a dissolution.

In the third chapter of Lord Molesworth's "Account of Denmark, as it was in the Year 1692," is a notice of the Sound, and of the jurisdiction challenged by the Danes. The reader will not have forgotten Mr. Southey's vivid description of Nelson's

[1] The second contains "the transcript of a printed letter written by Sir Richard Fanshaw [Madrid, Monday, Feb. 6, 1664, O. S.] to King Charles the Second in recommendation of my grandfather." It may be found, p. 437, of the Letters of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanshaw during his Embassies in Spain and Portugal. Lond. 1701, 8vo.: the *transcript* appears to be by Charles the elder grandson.

passage in 1801. The object of the present mission is thus explained in the letter of credence, Whitehall, 4th March, 1670-1.

"Nauis quædam de Regiâ Nrâ Classe Ablegatum Nrum Extraordinariũ in Sueciam haud ita pridem deuexerat, quâ in Angliam reuersâ, ejusdem Rector querelam Nobis attulit, quæ insperatâ suâ nouitate animum Nrũm haud parum conturbauit. Narrauit enim, dum Fretum Oresundicum rediens pertransijt, Arcis Vestræ Cronenburgensis Præfectum adeo amicitiæ Nostræ et officii sui immemorem fuisse; ut tormenta ab arce sæpius explodi jusserit, quò dicta Nauis Nostra ad imum Maris deprimeretur câq; hostilitate unus e Nauicularijs Nostris fuerit interfectus: Nec possumus nec volumus Nobis in animum inducere, Arcis Præfectum hujusmodi injuriam Maj^te Vrâ sciente nedum mandante, perpetrâsse; Quandoquidem in pari casu satisfactio tam ampla tamq; publica Nobis in personâ Legati Nostri Extraordinarij Comitis Essexiæ[1] nuper facta est, cui sub eâdem Arce transeunti bis eodem modo et ab eodem Præfecto illata fuerat. Siquidem in Aulâ Maj^tis Vestræ coram multis ejusdem primarijs Officialibus, Nostroq; præsertim Legato idem Præfectus solenniter ac uerbis conceptis professus est; Tormenta illa ab Arce non alio fine explosa fuisse, quam ut Legatum prætereuntem uel appellentem salutarent, neutiquam uero, ut Vexilli demissio requireretur."

The instructions, Whitehall, 19th Jan. 1670, recite,

"That such a great and suddain variation of their counsells and respect towards us must necessarily give us a great jealousy. That Wee have informed Our self by all records of that nature, and by the experience of many of Our officers, who haue for fourty or fifty yeares past co'manded the ships of us and our predecessors in those seas, and are fully satisfyed, that in noe time the ships of Our navy royall have ever stroke their flagg or lowered their topsayles, much lesse was it ever required of them by such hostility, as was practised by the present governor of the castle of Cronenburg; That Wee esteeme it an innovation to the prejudice of Our honnour, wch Wee shall by no meanes consent unto, or suffer to be imposed upon us."...

To these is appended the following note:

"The words sent to the Earle of Essex in writing, written by Monsieur Schumakerus Principall Secretary of State wth his own hand, were;

"Le Gouverneur dira, qu'il ne pretendoit pas de faire baisser le Pavillon; Que ce n' estoit que part du salut, et qu'il est fort fasché qu'on l'a interpreté autrement."

"On Saturday, May 7th, 1670, Major Grãll Holk came, and began his submission in these words:

"Je n'ay pas fait ces coups de canon avec dessein de faire aucun affront au Roy d'Angleterre, ny à Vostre Excellence, et je demande

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[1] Sir W. Temple's Letter to Sir J. Trevor, Hague, May 27, N. S. 1670; to Lord Falconbridge, Hague, Aug. 22, 1670.

pardon au Roy et à Vostre Excellence (where failing to pronounce the rest, wch was agreed upon, Monsieur Guldenlew assisted him in saying) Je ne pretends pas, &c. wch the Governor repeated word for word after him."

From a letter to Mr. Secretary Trevor, 17th June, 1671, it appears that Mr. Bertie had been present at this submission, and on repetition of the offence, being commissioned in place of "our trusty and well-beloved Wm. Louing, Esq." who had been lost at sea, he went on board the Monmouth yacht at Greenwich, 26th April, 1671, and came into Dunkirk "with our topsayles up," about noon on the 29th. Here they found the French king, attended by his principal courtiers. The English fired seven guns which were not answered: it being alleged to be without example to return a salute from any place where the grand monarque happened to be in person,—"so that we intend to spare our powder in going out."

"His journey hither was purposely to advance the fortifications of this citty with all possible expedition, and for that purpose his Maj^ty^ had drawn thirty thousand foot to this place, ten thousand of which were alwais working for fifteen houres of the day; beginning at four of the clock in the morning, and relieved successively by other 10,000 at the houres of 9 in the morning, and 2 in the afternoon; At 7 of the clock they left off. Euery Sunday the King commanded the review of his foot, to which were joined 2,000 horse, being onely les Trouppes de la Maison...The length of the line extended from Dunkerke to old Mardike wch I compute to be betwixt 3 and 4 English miles."

The queen and all the ladies came to admire the show. Their presence does not appear to have added to its splendour, for the envoy most ungallantly writes to Sir J. Trevor, that his opinion of the troops

"Became much lessened afterwards, by the sight we had of the femal camp; wch though inferiour in number, seemed to me ye more formidable of these, being composed of an infinity of ugly faces and shapes wch were created (I think) on purpose for the terror of mankind."

From the secretary's reply we learn, that the reported dismission of the "femall court" to Paris was regarded with apprehension as indicative of some momentous design being entertained. The officers, however, appeared to Mr. Bertie "very much dissatisfyed with the tediousnesse of their march, and the improbability of any action this sum'er, so that I hope his most X^tian^ Maj^ty^ (in imita'on of the Romam emper^r^) will close this campagn wth the gathering of a few cockles only."

After the review the envoy visited the citadel, "wch consists of eight bastions and 4 other detachés, and certainly when per-

fected will be a noble piece." The king also intended to enlarge the port.

" His designe was to make the Channel from the Splinter of Mardike to Dunkerke eighteen foot deep at low-water-mark, wch is now onely 7. For this purpose he had entertained one Mr. Baily his engineer, who with Major Claiton, Mr. John Crosse, Mr. Baddelow, and Major Wright, all Englishmen, had undertaken this great work, with an engine of their own invention for the clearing of the Channel.

" During our stay here (wch was onely of two dayes) we attended the King to masse in the Jesuits Church, where his own musick wrapt us into admiration. His gesture bespoke little devotion, looking most of the time upon the captain [Faseby] of the yacht, who had but one leg, & could not kneel at the elevation; Afterwards we saw their Maj^ties^ and Monsieur at dinner, with their small dishes, after the French fashion and (as I thought) no great cheer; When any of them called for drink, the nobility that waited behind, cried aloud, ' A boire pour le Roy,' ' pour la Reine,' ' pour Monsieur ;' wch seemed to me very unseemly."

Having left Dunkirk on the first of May " with a brave gale," on the sixth they made the mouth of the Elbe, and saw on the larboard,

" The citty of Gluckstadt wth four spire steeples, a neat town wth trees about it, and strongly fortified. Our pilot told us that we must by noe meanes carry our topsayle up before the castle of Gluckstadt, that the Danes required all vessels to strike in their passage by that town, and that they would certainly sink us, if we paid not this respect; However the captaine and myself resolved to goe by with our topsayles a trip, and about 6 in the afternoon we came up with the towne. When our head boare with the castle, we saluted them with 7 guns, wch were answered (though after some little intervall of time) wth three from the castell, and soe we passed by without any molestation."

He supposes the Danes knew his errand, and did not wish unnecessarily to widen the existing breach. In a letter, two days after this, from Hamburgh, he mentions having " encountered this destiny;"

" W^ch^ I find since my arrivall here, was expected to have produced something of more moment then really it hath done; The Danes in all their discourse here wth our merchants of late threatning an interruption to our passage by that castle (whose architecture much resembles the forme of a pidgeon house, and hath no other consideration to render it terrible, but because inhabited by Danes), unlesse we payed them the respect of our topsayles."

About eight miles farther a Swedish hoy, stationed to take toll from all merchantmen, excepting those belonging to Ham-

burgh, "fired sharp over us; but afterwards making our auncient, and we by that time coming up with her and saluting her, shee answered all our salutes, and so we sailed on without any disturbance."

He reached Hamburgh on the 7th, and on the day following was complimented by two Burgomasters in thé name of the city;

"And according to the laudable custome, wch this towne duly observes to all ministers in their passage through it, presented me wth 2 sheep, a quarter of an oxe, two barrells of beare and one alme of Rhenish wine, w^ch^, it seemes, is the proportion allotted to an envoye."

After this he exchanged courtesies with the various resident ministers, and during his stay beheld a piece of civic justice, which afforded much amusement. Two girls of indifferent character were tied to a pillar in the market-place, to be whipped by the hangman, a prodigiously fat and pursy officer, attended by his servant, in great formality. This worthy approaching the magistrates, who were there seated, very respectfully

"Desired to know of their worships if he should begin, wch they commanding, immediately he pulls off his doublet, puts on his little black cap, & in his half shirt advances towards the 2 virgins; his servant following him wth a bundle of rods, and so delivering one of them into his hands, he puts himself into his gracefull posture, his left arme a kimbolt, and so falls on, dealing his blows very quick forehand and backhand; he chastised them very neatly, and handled the rod wth as much pride and glory, as if it had been a scepter. However the exercise was too violent for one of his bulck, and, I dare say, he did as much pennance as the young ladys themselves; as soon as ever he had done, his servant immediately reaches him the rummer of Rhenish wine wch stood there ready, to refresh his spirits; and he poured it downe so fast, as if he never designed to taste it, & so the ceremony ending, the company retired."

On the 15th he left Hamburgh in his carriage, being conducted nearly a league with a cortège of coaches belonging to Sir William Swann, his majesty's resident, and the English merchants. They took leave with "a good glasse of Rhenish" under a fine grove of trees, and early the next morning had a view of Lubeck,

"Which makes a faire shew with its many spires all covered with copper. It is situate in a plaine countrey wth delightful woods and rich meadows about it. The fortification is rather beautifull then strong.....The houses are built after the old German manner: all their beauty is at the first entrance, having broad and faire gates, wch lead into a larg high hall; all the rest of the roomes are dark and inconvenient; the streetes are very spatious, and I think preferable

to those of Hamburgh; the inhabitants are not numerous, and some parts of the town seem utterly desolate."

This decay is attributed to the improvement of the Swedes in navigation, refining ores, &c. and "such was the benefit of that act of the Long Parliament in prohibiting any thing to be imported by forrainers that was not of the proper growth of their own countrey." It was also attributed to the indiscreet zeal of the magistrates, who, being strenuous Lutherans, thought proper to persecute every other profession with great severity[1]. He was assured here that it was "noe longer agoe then 26 yeares, since the first English ship was seen at Stockholme, and now in this very yeare 1671 there passed through the Sound for severall ports 130 sayle of English merchants wch in the space of one yeare hath encreased near 30 sayle, and it is believed the next they may go on proportionably[2]." In the church of St. Mary, and another which had once been a cathedral, he saw two curious clocks; the second had "the picture of the sun in the middle, who in the space of every minute moves his eyes backwards & forwards." The same church contained besides a noble picture of the Passion, dated 1491.

At last, on the ninth of May, about seven in the evening, the envoy arrived at Copenhagen, and found the Danes "thinking of the unction of the king at the castle of Fredericksbourg[3], w^ch^, they tell us, will be followed with the coron'on of the Queen; I feare these cœremonies will retard ye progresse of our affaires." He obtained his first audience on the 27th, when the King promised commissioners, consisting of the highest officers of state.

Pp. 21—25 are occupied with "Memoire de Monsr. [Christofte Lindenow] l'Envoyè de Danemarc au Roy de la Grande Bretagne, Londres ce j de Decembre, 1670." Here it is insisted that,

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[1] In 1819, when a very general persecution of the Jews raged in Germany, the senate of this free town enforced against them, with peculiar harshness, an edict of 1788, forbidding *all strangers* to carry on any species of commerce within Lubec. Hollis relates, that in his time the citizens of Hamburgh tolerated nothing but Lutheranism, except in the chapels of the residents. He saw over one of their gates:

LIBERTATEM
QVAM PEPERERE MAIORES
DIGNE STVDEAT SERVARE
POSTERITAS.

Mem. of T. Hollis, i. p. 27. Lond. 4to. 1780.

[2] According to the newspapers, the total number of ships that passed the Sound was,
In 1826—11,065 In 1827—13,006; of which
3,730 5,099 were British.

[3] Lord Molesworth says, the court frequently resorted hither for the purpose of stag-hunting, and (p. 171-2) gives an account of a singular ceremony on breaking the deer.

since by the last treaty made between the two Crowns of the North, guaranteed by Charles, the dominion of the Sound is expressly reserved to the King of Denmark,—the conduct of the governor is to be approved and not blamed; and that England should please to consider

"Que non seulement c'est un usage universellement receu par tout le monde, de faire rendre le respect convenable aux fortresses scituees sur une Riviere ou Destroit par les Navires qui y passent, en baissant leurs Voiles, pour marque de la supreme jurisdiction que celuy, à qui les Forteresses appartiennent, a sur le fleuve, rade, ou mer voisine; Mais aussi—"

that this right, as regards the Sound in particular, had been publicly and especially recognised and avowed in various treaties, e. g. 1489, between John, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and Henry VII.; 1583, between Frederick and Q. Elizabeth. It also produces a passport in 1535, written by the Lieutenant and Commissioners of Christian III. to Edmond Bonner and Lord Candys [Cavendish] ambassadors from England.

At the envoy's first interview with Guldenlew, the Danish minister urged, that two French men-of-war had recently lowered their topsails on passing the Sound, and that De Witt, on his return from the embassy to Poland, had paid the same mark of respect. The Englishman indignantly replied, that his country was not to be guided by the examples of other nations; that his own yacht had just run, with topsails up, into Dunkirk, where the French king was then in person, and the grande bannière de France was flying from the church; and that it was not to be expected, that English ships of war should pay more respect in the Sound than they did on entering the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, &c.

"Monsieur Guldenlew and Schroeder shew here a copy of my Lord Carlisle's Letter, written from Stockholme in June, 1669, in answer to a complaint made against Captaine Sheppard, who, in his way to Swedeland, passed the Sound wthout striking, wherein my Lord blames the carriage of the captaine, and assures Gabell, that he had given him order to be more civil at his returne. They also affirme here, that Sir Gilbert Talbot acknowledged this submission to their castle in his coming into the Sound, and that he himself made noe scruple this last winter to owne the same to Monsieur Schroeder in England. Both wth instances I told them I could not admit wthout better authority, and wthall begged leave to doubt the truth of them till the proofs were plainer."

Letter to Sir J. Trevor, 27th May, 1671. The secretary, in his reply from Windsor, 10th June, advises Mr. Bertie to make a point of obtaining an answer in writing, since "that court was

so apt to deny the satisfaction given to my Lord of Essex, because it was not written." He proceeds:

"My Lord of Carlisle declared to his Maj^ty in councell to-day (and will write as much to you himself), that the letter they mention did indeed condemne the captaine for not giving the salutes with his guns in passing by the castles, but had no relation to the striking his flagg, wch he, in his return, did as absolutely refuse[1]."

On June the 3rd, Mr. Bertie writes to the secretary:

"The solemnity of the King's sacre will be performed privately the 6th instant at Fredericksbourg, noe forrain minister being invited[2] thither. His Maj^ty there intends to shew an act of his absolute power in the creation of seuerall earles and barons, titles never conferred before in this kingdome. Many of the ancient familys refuse the honour as utterly disapproving this innovation. The King intends also to declare, by an act, that the naturall sons of the crown shall imediately follow the royall family; by which rule Monsr Guldenlew will have precedency of all the nobility. There is also designed the institution of a new order of knights, though inferiour to that of the elephant.

"Schumackerus is lately made of the privy councell, dines wth the King by vertue of that office, refuses to be made a gentleman, and is yet treated in excellence; is very powerfull with Monsieur Guldenlew, and these are the two omnipotents of this court.

["July 29.—The King hath lately changed Schumackerus his name, and given him that of Griffenfeld, wth a good estate into the bargaine in Norway, wch makes us feare his Maj^ty may shortly doe as much for his mother, who keeps at present a good taverne, and sells the best wine in Copenhaguen.]

"The news of the siege of Brunswick, and the great hopes of the reduction of that citty to the obedience of the Dukes of Lunenburg, inspires our court wth the like thoughts of renewing their claim to the citty of Hambourg.

"All businesse is suspended here till the ceremony be over, and the court returned to Copenhaguen, during whose absence I intend an excursion of two days to Elsineur, to visit those formidable batteries, raised by Holck for the challenging all obedience to his cōmands in the Sound.

["Oct. 14th.—Last Sunday the King instituted a new order of knighthood, called Danne-brog (or the Danish colours), and created to the number of 24 knights. The historicall part of this order re-

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[1] P. 50 gives a "List of English Fregats," which passed the Sound without striking between the years 1662—1670.

[2] The singular revolution of 1660, when the commons of Denmark, groaning under the oppression of the nobility, by a solemn act resigned their franchises to the king, and made him a despotic monarch, is detailed by Lord Molesworth, chap. vii. *The manner how the kingdom of Denmark became hereditary and absolute.* See also chap. viii.

lates to a great battle given by Woldemar the Second[1] against the Swedes, encouraged thereunto by the sight of the Danish colours displayed in the heaven, and alludes much to the story of Constantine's battle against Maxentius, from whence I believe it takes its originall."]

Lord Molesworth, chap. xi., after enumerating the companions of the Order of the Elephant in his time, proceeds: "They pretend that the Order of *Dannebrug* is more ancient, and recount many fables of its original, viz. that one King *Dan* saw a white cross with red edges descend from Heaven, and thereupon instituted the order, and gave it this compound name, from *Dan* and *Brug*, which signifies painting. The knights of this order are almost as common here as baronets with us, and therefore I omit their names." In a preceding chapter he says, that strangers were studiously preferred by the government to its own subjects, "whether it be that the court can better trust strangers, whose fortunes they make, than the posterity of such whose fortunes they have ruined, or whether they think their very parts and courage to be diminished in proportion to their estates and liberty (which appears to be plainly the case of their common people), or for what other reason, certain it is, that all sorts of places, civil and military, are filled more by foreigners than gentlemen of the country. And in their disposal of offices, it is remarkable, that such as are of ordinary birth and fortunes are much sooner preferred than those of contrary qualities. So that here may be found several in the most profitable and honourable employments, who have formerly been serving-men and such like; and these prove the best executors of the will and pleasure of arbitrary power, and therefore are caressed accordingly. There is one further advantage in the promotion of these kind of men; that after they are grown rich by extortion, and have sucked the blood of the poor, when clamours grow loud against them, the court can with ease squeeze these leeches, laying all the blame of its own oppression at their doors, and this without the danger of incurring the discontent of any of the nobles upon the score of kindred or alliance." Chap. viii. Schumacker, notwithstanding his origin, appears to have enjoyed a liberal education.

"Doct^r^ Barlow (you were pleased to enquire of) is well, and fixed in his old station at Oxford, where, with a kind of pride, hee reflects upon your educaõn, that hath contributed so much to the ornament of that place and his studies." From *a Copy of a letter I writ to*

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[1] Waldemar the Third, in the xivth century, made a remarkable answer to a haughty Nuncio: *Naturam habemus a Deo, regnum a subditis, divitias a parentibus, religionem a Romana Ecclesia; quam si nobis invides, renuntiamus per præsentes.*

Monsieur Griffenfeldt, [i. e. Schumacker] *Principall Secretary of State in Denmark, upon my returne into England, March* 15*th,* 167$\frac{1}{2}$.

In a dispatch to Trevor, 27th June, 1671, the envoy criticises their diplomatic Latin, "wch smells a little of the Goth and Vandall."

With respect to the redress demanded by the envoy, Guldenlew had wished the removal of Holck to suffice, and Schumacker declared, that if a solemn renunciation were required it would never be granted. On the 17th June, Mr. Bertie writes,

"Yesterday they sent for me againe, and told me, that though they could never consent to an entire renunciation of their right, yet to comply, as far as possibly they could, with his Maj^{ty} of England, they would moderate somew^{t} thereof, and wthall offered some expedients for the conservation of each King's honour.

"1. That his Maj^{ties} ships for the future should pass before Cronenburgh wth their topsayles up, provided after the salutes were reciprocally past, the castle might have liberty to fire one gun to keep their pretensions on foot.

"2. That his Maj^{ties} ships coming into the Sound should always carry flaggs, and that, upon that account, the castle should exact no submission from them. To the first I answered, that I knew the King my master would never suffer that innovation in the Sound, that his ships should be shot at upon any pretence whatever, and I conceived this to be the same thing wch they now practised in the Sound, and wch the King my master does utterly dissallow. As to the 2nd, that it would appeare very absurd to make all our ships admiralls, and that I knew his Maj^{ty} would never vary from that practice, wch he observes wth all other nations in the like case. Monsr Guldenlew was pleased to mention another (wch seemes to me the most hon^{ble}, vizt. That when any of his Maj^{ties} ships are coming into the Sound, the Danish colours should fly upon the castle, a thing only practised in foul weather, and it is a signall, that all ships in generall may then passe before the castle wth their topsayles a trip, and noe guns fired but for salutes.

"Schumakerus hath argued much upon that clause in the King's letter (neutiquam vero ut vexilli demissio requireretur), from whence he would inferre, that all the King of England does demand is, that his flagg should not strike (wch they willingly agree unto), but that there is no mention made of the topsayles. So that, he says, this only concernes admiralls, and not the simple men-of-war, but we have at last convinced him of the contrary.

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"I find them now begin to cool in their pretensions, and have therefore thought it requisite to make use of a little heat, to make them more sensible of his Maj^{ties} resentment, however I have tempered it with a discretion suitable to the occasion. . . . We are here fitting out 9 or 10 sayle of ships, the biggest of which carries 40 guns. They are much alarmed wth the news the last post brought them from

England, that his Majty is fitting out a fleet upon some secret designe, wth I hope will contribute much to ye advantage of his affaires in this court.

"The Prince Elector's son is arrived here, in order to the consummation of his marriage wth the Princesse Wilhelmina, who will make good in bulck what shee wants in beauty.

"20th June.—The truth is, they would willingly grant wt we demand for the future wthout any reflection on wt is passed, to avoid the name of a renunciation, wch they say is so highly dishonble, though it be in effect the same thing, as Monsr Guldenlew himself confesses.

"As for the displacing of the governour, they tell me now, that it shall be subsequent to their declaration, in case the King approves of it, though I heare they intend it very speedily, to prevent the shame of removing him hereafter at our sollicitation. Truly, Sir, the variation of their counsells is so frequent here, that noe man living can make a reasonable conjecture of them, nor dare I depend upon any thing but what I have in writing."

A letter from Trevor, Windsor, 2nd July, communicates the resolution to send Mr. Henry Coventry forthwith as Extraordinary Ambassador to Sweden, since both France[1] and Holland[1] are doing the same. On July 18th, Mr. Bertie says,

"The Danes report here, that Mr. Coventry goes for Sweden to treat a marriage betwixt the Duke of York and the Princesse of Gottorp, of the house of Holstein."

The conduct of Holck, the Governor of Cronenburgh, displays a wantonness of brutality approaching very nearly to phrensy or fatuity. On the 25th June he fired upon a yacht belonging to the King of Denmark, and this piece of extravagance was followed by a succession of outrages against an English vessel and the person of the envoy.

"About four dayes agoe," writes the envoy, July 29, "I received a letter from a master of a ship belonging entirely to my Lord Witherington, who complaines of the barbarous and cruell usage he and his men received from Major-General Holck & his souldiers, who, whether fancying that the master struck not at all to the castle, or at least not so low as he ought to doe (both which he offered to prove), immediately sends his boat with his souldiers aboard the vessell, where they drew their swords, and clubbed their muskets upon the saylers; one of whom they have so inhumanly beaten and bruised, that he is not able to stirre. Afterwards they dragged the master wth

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[1] The different reception which these ambassadors experienced at the Danish court is thus noticed in a despatch of Dec. 12:

"Monsieur Van Hairen hath been received here very coldly in comparison of Monsieur de Pompone (who was presented with a sett of curious coach horses and a gobelet d'or valued at 5000 crownes). He had audience of the King, was pleased to returne my visit, & is this day set forward for Stockholm."

great violence into the boat, carried him a shoar, and clapped him into prison all night. Next morning Monsr Holck condemns him to pay four RD. w^th^out allowing him the liberty to speake in his owne defence, and all this punishment (he assures me) for a fault he was noe wayes guilty of. This makes most of us think him mad here, and I believe you will doe noe lesse in England."

A drummer had been guilty of some disrespect before Mr. Bertie's first visit to Elsineur; as also, on the following day, a soldier, in sight of his officer, who "expressed noe dislike of his rude carriage." A letter of the 15th of August gives information of an act of more atrocious violence. The envoy was at Elsineur, walking on the plain before the castle, where many others were passing at the time. A soldier left his post to forbid, in Holck's name, his walking there, and presently pushed his hat off and presented a musket. Mr. Bertie, strictly guarding against force on the part of his retinue, contented himself with sending one of his attendants to signify his rank. Shortly after this a Scotish pilot had his head cut by one of Holck's troopers for giving evidence. The king ordered the secretary-of-war to punish the guilty. Holck was displaced [1], the regiment removed, and the soldier condemned to die. At the instance of Mr. Bertie his life was spared, but his sword was broken by the common hangman, and he was himself whipped and banished. Charles instantly wrote a letter to the King of Denmark, but satisfaction for the insult had already been obtained.

"This morning I received a visit from Gen^ll Major Holck, who was comanded by the King to wait on me, and to make his apology for the affront offered me at Elsineur: he told me, he was as sorry for ye unlucky accident as any man whatever, & conjured me wth the usuall German rhethoricke (oaths and imprecations) to believe him innocent thereof. He touched lightly upon our affaire in the Sound, complaining of his hard fate in incurring the King of England's displeasure, but it was w^th^all some happinesse to him to discourse his misfortunes to one of my quality, and of his own profession, who knew so well what the duty of a souldier exacted from him."

These unpleasant circumstances were forgotten in the festivities of a grand

"carousell, where the King, Prince, Guldenlew, and count Anthony of Oldenburgh assisted, each of them having his particular squadron richly clad in different colours, the Queen also with the Princesse of Saxe, of Heydleberg, of Deuxponts, and the other ladys of the court,

[1] He was made a baron, and governor of Laland, Langland, and Funen, "three isles in the Belt, which are but names, and are nothing comparable to the government of Cronenburgh."

XUM

dressed in their amazonian habit, made their entry in triumphant chariots, contending for the glory of their sexe, with as much emulation as the men."—Aug. 8.

Afterwards he writes,

"The King and court returned the 11th instant to Copenhaguen, and all the time since hath been consumed in entertaining the Princesse of Heydelberg[1] before her departure. The senators have been solemnly drunk these four dayes[2]."

We conceive that these valiant topers would have been right welcome guests at the court of the Lord Bishop of Munster, whose "most episcopal" potations are so pleasantly celebrated in Sir William Temple's correspondence. The common people, in manifesting their loyalty, diligently followed the grave example of the senators, and, "in imitation of them, have as willingly put off all sence and reason. When their braines will be againe in order, God onely can tell." From Lord Molesworth it appears, that "persons of condition" usually indulged in cherry brandy, and the wines of France and the Rhine: the poorer people, according to the same authority, poisoned themselves with bad beer and brandy made from barley.

"We are in some heate here, that the Dutch Admirall van Ghent did refuse to strike to his Maj^ties yacht, that brought back my Lady Temple out of Holland. The Adm^ll excused it, that he had noe orders for it; but I am of opinion the States Generall will not avow his disobservance of so expresse an article of the treaty of Breda. In the meane time it makes great noise, and the more that the Dutch fleet of 48 sayle rides still in our seas, and hath revictualled for two moneths longer."

From Sir John Trevor, Aug. 17. This is mentioned also by Lord Arlington, Aug. 20.

"You cannot but have heard, what hath befallen Captaine Crow bringing over my Lady Temple in one of the yachts, to whom the Dutch ships refused to strike; He is in the tower for not opiniastring the point enough, and for an example to others. In the meane time

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[1] Wilhelmina, who was just married, and took with her a portion of 30,000 R.D. When Lord Molesworth wrote, the rixdollar was in value something less than an English crown. Among the occasional imposts he enumerates a "Marriage Tax, when a Daughter of Denmark is to be disposed of; whose portion commonly is but 100,000 crownes: but under this name, occasion is taken to raise more." Chap. ix.

[2] South was in Poland about 1676. His description of the customs of the inhabitants in very many points resembles what is here written of the Danes. The same propensity to inebriety pervaded all classes, rich and poor, lay and leird; it was however attended with this peculiarity, that the Poles, in their cups, were particularly apt to talk Latin. Sermons, Oxford, 1823. vol. 1. pp. xxiii. xlvi. lii. lxv. lxx.

we are expecting satisfaction from the States Generall, for the fault of their commanders."

The details of the adventure are given in a letter from Sir W. to Sir J. Temple, London, Sept. 14th, 1671. The lady was highly complimented upon her courage and composure[1]. Van Ghent lost his life shortly after in the fight of Southwold-bay, better known as Solebay.

About this time, Mr. Bertie narrowly escaped compromising his public character, by paying a visit to General Wrangel, who arrived at Helsingburg, and from whom he had received attentions the year before in Sweden. Wrangel

"told me, that all the letters from France and Holland mentioned our designes of deserting the Triple Allyance, though he sayd, he could never believe it. I replyed, the same was reported of Sweden upon Monsr Pompone's arrivall, but that the actions of both nations did evince the contrary; and that I hoped his excellence would not credit the Dutch in their reports, who did purposely disseminate them abroad, out of a naturall distrust of us."

Aug. 15th, 1671. On Sept. 4, Trevor writes:

"We heare your visit to Generall Wrangell gave much jealousy to the Danish court, wch I presume you have so well expounded to Monsr Guldenlew as to take off all ill impression there."

There is a passage worthy of extraction in a letter from Copenhagen, 5th Dec. 1671.

"The prohibition of French goods in Holland hath necessitated severall of their merchants to send their ships hither for a markett, and we are so glutted with wine, salt, and other French commodities in these parts, & that at so cheap a rate, that we conceive it may endanger the credit of many of their merchants, who have apparently traded to losse this yeare.

The inclosed is from Monsieur Courtin to Mademoiselle de Queronaille."

On p. 244, Mr. Bertie gives the subjoined list of the Danish fleet, which had increased considerably in the year 1692. See the enumeration in chap. x. of the "Account of Denmark."

"Names.	Guns.	Names.	Guns.
The Sophia	76	Oldenburgh	48
Old Charlota	60	The Hommer	26
Prince Christian	70	New Spes	30
The Three Lyons	58	Delmenhorst	36
The Swanne	50	Fero	34
Prince George	70	Copenhaguen	32
The Three Crownes	60	The Fortune	18
The Cour Prince	70	The Blackbeare	24

[1] Burnet, l. 305, folio; i. 530, Routh.

Names.	Guns.	Names.	Guns.
The North Lyon	66	The Stock Fish	24
The Trinity	46	The Hearte	16
The Queen Charlotta	58	The Wildman	20
Anna Sophia	58	The King's Yacht	24
Victoria	44	The Flying Fish	14
The Lindworme	50	Bonaventura	12
Guldenlew	38	Abraham	6."

We proceed to collect some passages scattered over different pages of the manuscript before us. The first relates to a point of etiquette in the Order of the Garter.

From Trevor, Whitehall, 26th May, 1671.—"The Danish Resident here lyes in some misfortune, that he can neither be seen abroad, nor admit a visit at home; He sent me a memoriall lately concerning the rank to be given to his master at this instalement at Windsor; His pretence is, that his master, being the elder knight, ought to be ranked before the King of Sweden; and that they being both equal Kings, seniority ought to give the preference. The Swede pretends, that when his master was made kn^t, there was noe other teste couronnée in the order (the King of Denmark being then but Prince), and that by that prerogative, his rank was actually given him in the stall next the soveraigne, and this decreed to him in a chapter called by his Maj^ty, when there could be noe competitor wth him. This his Maj^ty hath examined, and finding to be true, must leave Sweden in that stall, but will transpose the Duke of York to please the King of Denmark; This is according to the rule of that Order, where seniority gives the place even to Earles before Dukes; and in the case of Kings, where noe other rule can distinguish, it must be the same: and if the King of France were in the case, it must pass by the same order. I think fit to informe you thus largely, that if you heare it mentioned in that Court, you may have the story before you; and indeed this is the onely thing now before us wch relates at all to the court where you are."

Mr. Bertie answers, June 17.—"They have not mentioned anything to me as yet about the King of Sweden's instalement at Windsor. Nor doe I give them the least occasion for it."

From Trevor, 27th June.—"I did in one of my former letters give you an account of the care his Maj^ty took, at the last ceremony at Windsor, to shew all respect to the King of Denmark, at the same time when he was obliged to doe justice to the King of Sweden, in continuing him in the stall, wch was given him before the present King of Denmark came to the crowne; but his Maj^ty to doe all right to the King of Denmark, hath placed him in that stall wch the Duke of York possessed, wch was the first in his Maj^ties hands to dispose. I write this to you againe, because Monsieur Lindenow being wth me this morning, said that his master desired to have kept his stall, wch he had as Prince of Denmark, and not to have been removed higher to the stall, where his Maj^ty hath now placed him, and desired that I would write to you to represent the reasons of it in that court, wch I

believe you will willingly doe, since it is to vindicate his Majties care and respect to that crowne."

From the envoy's reply, July 11.—"I have not failed to represent to Monsieur Guldenlew the great care and respect his Majty expressed to the King of Denmark at the installation in assigning him that very stall, wch the Duke of York possessed, and wch was the first in his Majties hands to dispose of; which is of singular satisfaction to them, and as great an act of friendship, they confesse, as they could wish, and wthall they desired a copy of that part of the letter to shew the King himself."

Our next extracts appear to relate to some spy or intelligencer, mentioned by the ministry of this country, at the court of Denmark.

To Trevor, 3d June, 1671.—"I am at length come to the knowledge of the person I was to be acquainted wth by vertue of 148 commands, his 612 is Sisenau of the 796 of 511 and 422 of the citadell of 678; at the very same time our 723 entered into that 762, he commands at the Batteries, wch played on our ships in that unhappy action; and begun his acquaintance wth Mr. Louing in a taverne at Copenhaguen. So that these particulars agreeing wth my description of him, and other circumstances concurring in the case, induces me to believe him the person meant; however I must now informe you, that he is removed from that 36; & hath another much worse bestowed upon him in the island of Funen. 572 displaced him, because a forrainer, and if he had still remained, where we thought he did, I feare the play would be scarce worth the candle. I dare noe further describe him toe you, least I be thought to aime at my own interest more than the publick, and yet I may wth more freedome speake my mind to you, because I know you are rendered uncapable of doing me any service in that particular. I have given 148 an account of his instrument by this post, and wait his fresh orders in it."

——— 11 July.—"Though I have found out my man here, yet I want the resolutions of him in England, wch I have desired by two letters, and have yet noe answer. His Majties liberality bestowed on this man must needs be well employed, for none will speake more honbly of him than he will, or drink his health oftner, which is all the service he can doe; and as for his Lop, he will have no cause to repent his courtesy shewed to him, so good a report will he make of him also, and of his excellent foresight in affaires of state. I am confident the man is as sorry for his removall from so good a goverment, as wee are, and the losse of such an opportunity to pay his gratitude, however if any place in the isle of Funen will serve our tourne as well as well as Bergen, it is, and himself also, totally at our service.

To Lord Arlington, 3d June.—"I am now able to give your Lop some account of the businesse you were pleased particularly to commit to me. I find the person's name is Caspar Sisenau of the countrey

of Liege, and commandant of the citadell of Bergen in the yeare 1665, at the very same time our Fleet came into that harbour, he commanded at the batteries, wch played on our ships, and had a peece of the side of his belly taken off with a shot. All these particulars agreeing with my Lord of Essex description of him, & other circumstances concurring, sufficiently prove him to be the person meant by your Lo^p^. However I must tell your Lo^p^ that he is now removed from that governm^t^, and hath another (though far inferiour) bestowed on him at Nybourg in the isle of Funen, where he now is. The reason of this change (as I am informed) proceeds from a dislike Monsr Guldenlew conceived of him, because he had married a kinswoman of Gabells, and was totally devoted to that faction; so that I shall expect your Lo^ps^ new directions, before I make any further progresse in this affaire, and humbly beg the honour & advantage of your Lo^ps^ advise as well in this, as in all other concernes to render my service more acceptable to his Maj^ty^ in this employment."

"This letter was written in cyphers."

From Lord Arlington, Windsor, 6th July.—"I cannot judge by the description you make me in yours of the third past, whether he be the man you were directed to. When I see my Lord of Essex or Mr. Treasurer, I shall be better informed; in the meane time you shall doe well to hold your hand."

To Lord Arlington, 29th July.—"I shall obey your Lo^ps^ commands of the sixth instant, in reserving the King's bounty by me till such time as your Lo^p^ shall direct the distribution of it."

From Lord Arlington, Whitehall, 5th Jan. 167$\frac{1}{2}$.—"My indisposition ever since the arrivall of your letter [12 Dec. 1671] hath hindred me from making answer to it, and I am not without some doubt, whether this will arrive time enough to overtake you, before your leaving of that court, and to answer your question, what you shall doe with the 200 pounds delivered into your hands by his Maj^ties^ directions; in which I can direct you noe better then that you should bring it back againe; I wish you a good journey, and assure you, you shall on all occasions find me ready to serve you, as

Sir,

Your very affectionate and humble servant,

ARLINGTON."

From Lord Arlington, Whitehall, 29 Aug. 1671.

"Here inclosed goes a letter of his Maj^ties^ to the King of Denmark in favour of the Countesse of Ufeldt. You may have understood, how long his Maj^ty^ hath refused the doing any thing of this kind, as being unwilling to make an uneasy and disagreeable request to his Maj^ty^ of Denmark; but the young count her son assuring his Maj^ty^ by me, (who hath not yet been brought to kisse his hand) that the Queen lately in disguise with other ladies visited his mother in the prison, and gave her some hopes of her liberty; His Maj^ty^ would not be wanting in interposing his good offices, since her cap-

tivity began in his dominions, and that she is in all considerations else an object of great compassion. Upon the whole matter, Sir, his Maj^ty^ would have you advise wth Monsieur Guldenlew, telling him what hath prevailed with him now to induce him to write this letter, and bespeaking his good offices in it, and yet telling him, that without his encouragement to deliver it, you have order to suspend it in your hands, which accordingly in that case you must doe, till you receive new directions from hence, or at least till by some other occasion you shall be assured the letter will be gratefull to his Maj^ty^ of Denmark."

"Ad Regem Daniæ in Gratiam Comitissæ d' Ufeldt.

"Carolus Secundus Dei gratiâ Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor &c. Ser^mo^ et Pot^mo^ Principi Domino Christiano Quinto eâdem gratiâ Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Vandalorum Gothorumq; Regi, Duci Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, et Dithmarsiæ, Comiti in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst, Fratri, Cognato, et Amico Nostro Charissimo Salutem.

"Ser^me^ et Pot^me^ Princeps, Frater, Cognate, et Amice Charissime, Quandoquidem Maj^tem^ V^ram^ commiseratione, quâ decuit, Regiâ erga infelicem heu diu nimium Comitissam de Ufeldt motam jam tandem intelleximus, nec averso eò usque animo esse, quin ut mitiora demum de ea decernenda censeat, Nos quidem, quò propriùs Nos tanget tanti infortunij calamitas, nequaquam immemores, qualiter quàmque hoc Nostro in littore tantarum angustiarum, tamq; diuturni carceris initia senserit; intimèq; insuper affecti tam deplorandâ sorte fœminæ præsertim nobilis, tantaq; ac tam grauia perpessæ, temperare non potuimus, quin argumentis ijs cæteris, quæ apud Maj^tem^ V^ram^ tantùm valere potuerint, intercessionem hanc Nostram Regiam subjungeremus, quò fauoris gratiæq; exinde subsecuturæ partem aliquam sentiat ea Nostris hisce precibus deberi; Id quod Nos amicitiæ affectusque erga Nos suj specimen singulare reputabimus, par demum prout occasio tulerit, cùm gratiâ relaturi; Maj^tem^ interim V^ram^ Dei Opt. Max. tutamini dictamq; Comitissam benevolentiæ Ipsius clementiæq; ex animo comendamus. Dabantur e Palatio Nostro Westmonasteriensi 25to die Augusti Anno Dm. 1671 Regniq; Nostri 23^tio^,

Maj^tis^ V^ræ

Bonus frater, Cognatus et Amicus

CAROLUS R."

To Lord Arlington, 16 Sept.—"Your Lo^ps^ of August 29th challengeth my humblest acknowledgements; neither have I lost any time in advising with Monsieur Guldenlew concerning the affaire of the Countesse of Ufeldt. I this day discovered to his Excellence what your Lo^p^ was pleased to command me, assuring him, that his Maj^ty^ had long withstood all sollicitations of this nature, and that he was even now unwilling to make any disagreeable request to the King of Denmark, unlesse his own inclinations to mercy did dispose him towards it. His Excellence replyed, that it was an argument of his Maj^ties^ singular generosity, and that he was very confident noe intercession could be more prevalent in the case, then that of the King of England,

XUM

assuring me of his assistance, and that he would wth a faire opportunity sound his Maj^ty in it, and give me an account thereof. Truly, my Lord, I hope the King's Letter may doe the businesse, and deliver the poor lady from the horrour of that prison, wch shee hath now inhabited these eight yeares. For my owne part, I shall sollicite it wth all the pleasure imaginable, having noe lesse commisseration of her condition, then the rest of the world here.

"However I should be very sorry, they should so farre value this act of grace here, as to think we must pay it back in moderating any point of our right in the Sound."

To Lord Arlington, 31 Oct.—"As for the concerne of Madame de Ufeldt, his Excellence tells me, that the Queen Mother and Madame la Landgrave de Hesse oppose her inlargement, but that he doubts not but his Maj^ties owne good nature, and ye mediation of so great a King may prevaile for such a degree of liberty, as may be hon^ble for the Countesse of Ufeldt, and give noe ground of jealousy to his Maj^ty. Next week Madame la Landgrave goes hence, and then he conceives will be the most proper time to move his Maj^ty once more in it."

From Lord Arlington, Whitehall, 28 Nov.—"I know very well what paynes it hath cost you to bring this affaire to so good an issue, the successe of which I congratulate you upon with all my heart, and am not a little pleased, that you have gained some ground towards the ease of Madam the Countesse of Ufeldt."

To Lord Arlington, 12 Dec.—"I reminded his Excellence [Guldenlew] of Madame de Ufeldts concerne, who entertained me with a story of her daughter that had been lately here, and had presented a petition to the King himself in such a preposterous manner, as had much incensed his Maj^ty, and noe lesse prejudiced her mothers affaires, so that he sayes, we must still wait some better opportunity for the doing of it."

From "the letter I writ to Monsr Peter Retz, Lord Chancellor of Denmark, upon my returne into England, March 15, 1671-2."—"My Lord Duke of Richmond is intrusted by his Maj^ty in the concerne of Madame de Ufeldt, and we have hopes he may effectually mediate for her enlargement, since he hath to doe in a cause that may claime much compassion, and with so gracious a King as your master is, that is soe eminent for his goodnesse."

On the thirty-first of October, after much laborious cavilling, the Danish commissioners sent in their ultimatum in the weighty business of the Flag:

"Nous voyons de la conference, que nous avons eüe avec Monsr l'Envoyé Extraordinaire d'Angleterre, Charles Bertie, qu'il n'est pas encore content de la response, que nous luy avons donée le 23me de ce mois, touchant le different arrivé dans le Sund au mois de Septembre de l'an 1670, sur le sujet d'un navire de guerre du Roy de la

Grande Bretagne, qui refusa de baisser les voiles ou le pavillon [1], devant le chasteau de Cronenburg; le dit Envoyé soustenant que ce qui s'y est passé est contra morem usitatum, &c. Sans que nous puissons comprendre en quoy la difficulté consiste; car s'il ne tient qu' à traitter les vaisseaux de guerre du Roy de la Grande Bretagne dans les autres ports et havres, et devant toutes les forteresses maritimes du Roy n're maistre, de mesme que dans le Sond; nous l'avons desja dit par l'ordre du Roy n're maistre, et le disons encore à Monsieur l'Envoyé, qu'on laissera sur le mesme fondement passer les vaisseaux de guerre du Roy de la Grande Bretagne dans les autres havres et devant toutes les forteresses maritimes du Roy nostre maistre, comme dans le Sond; ou salüant le chasteau de Croneburg, ils seront resalués comme de coustume, et passeront sans baisser voiles ou pavillon, jusques à ce que l'on puisse traitter ou tomber d'accord de quelque autre expedient plus convenable; le Roy nostre maistre voulant bien faire expedier aussy des ordres necessaires pour cela aux gouverneurs et officiers de toutes les autres forteresses maritimes, pourveu que Monsieur l'Envoyé ne pretende pas par là quelque entrée aux lieux et portes defendus et exceptez par les Traittez. Fait à Copenhagne le 31me d'Octobre, 1671. (signé)

" GULDENLEW. P. GRIFFINFELD.
HANS GRAUE VON SCHACK.
H. BIELCK."

—P. 145.

At p. 252 is a letter from Retz, the lord chancellor, in excuse of his not having signed the above paper with his fellow-commissioners, owing to an accidental absence from Copenhagen. At p. 255 we find the following

" Mem^{dm}, Sr Geo. Rooke and rere-admirall Hopson took each a copy from Mr. Cha. Bertie, of ye agreem^{t} or declarac'on signd by ye Danish comm^{rs} to him, Octr 31, 1671, about ye manner of our English men of warr passing ye Sound, &c. to govern themselves thereby as they should see occasion in this expedic'on. The Danes were sayd to lye wth a fleet of 50 sayle before Copenhaguen, and the Swedish fleet at Carlscrone or Christianople.

" To this squadron of ours was ioyned another of 17 saile of ye Dutch, under the command of Allemond and Evertzon, and they were both sent out in conjunction to preserve ye peace of ye 2 northern crowns; Riga being then beseegd by ye Saxon troops under the command of ye king of Poland, and Toniguen being at the same time beseegd by ye Danes, and all the dutchy of Sleswick taken by them."

We find on page 253

" Extract du Protocoll tenu au conseil a Copenhaguen le 4me de Septembre, 1694.

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[1] The word occurs in Temple's English Correspondence, *e. g.* to Lord Arlington, Brussels, March 16, S.N. 1668; to the Lord Keeper, Hague, Nov. 2, N. S. 1668.

[2] 16 ships; 654 guns; 2867 men; April 18, 1700.

" Son Excellence le Comte de Reuentlaw faissoit tres humblement rapport au Roy (Christianus 5^tus^) du contenu de la lettre que le secretaire d'Angleterre luy avoit escrite le 3me de ce mois, touchant l'action passée dernierement aux Dunes entre le capitaine Barford, commandant la fregatte Guldenlew, et un capitaine Anglois.

" Sur quoy Sa Maj^té^ apres avoir fait examiner le fait et ses circonstances trouvoit bon de faire sçavoir au dit secretaire Anglois, qu'elle n'avoit jamais ordonné aux capitaines commandeurs de ses vaisseaux, ni mesme en avoit eũ l'intention de manquer aux marques d'honneur que les vaisseaux de guerre des autres puissances et testes couronnées ont accoustumé de rendre a la couronne d'Angleterre, et par consequent, elle n'approuvoit pas la conduite que son capitaine commandeur Barford, avoit tenüe envers la flotte Angloise aux Dunes en ce qu'il auroit manqué a ces marques d'honneur, non obstant qu'il en auroit esté averti de la part du vice admiral Anglois aussi tost qu'il seroit mis en liberté avec la fregatte qu'il commande et revenu icy, en suite des ordres que Sa Majesté luy feroit tenir pour cet effect, elle l'en feroit punir deüement: qu'en exchange elle se promettoit de la justice de leurs Majestés de la Grand Bretagne, que les capitaines Anglois, qui dernierement avoient passe par devant le chasteau et la citadelle de Cronenburg, mesme dans la presence de Sa Majesté, sans salüer ny s'acquitter d'aucune autre marque d'honneur: comme aussi celuy qui avoit eü la hardiesse d'attacquer un François sous la forteresse et a la veüe de la cittadelle de Christiansundt contre le respect qu'ils devoient a Sa Maj^té^ et a ses forteresses en seront pareillement chatiés, et qu'il leur sera enjoint et a tous autres de ne manquer plus a ce devoir afin que la bonne amitié, et intelligence qui subsiste entre les deux coronnes, et que Sa Majesté de son costé a une intention sincere d'entretenir inviolablement, ne soit alterée par ces sortes d'incidens fascheux.

" This was ye submission made by the Danes to ye crown of England upon this ships coming into ye Downes w^th^out taking down his pendent, when Sr Clovesly Shovell orderd one of his squadron called ye Sterling-Castle (Capt. Dean, command^r^) to give him a Broad-Side, for refusing, and in that killd ye Dane 3 men, and sent ye captain wth his ship prison^r^ up into ye river, where hee was detaind till the king of Denmark made this reparation."

" 9th Jan. 1672. I was conducted to my audience of congé, wherein the king of Denmark was pleased to order me three of his own coaches to attend me, two of which were drawn with 6 horses, and one was le carosse du corps; which I mention because it is the first precedent of this nature to any publick minister of my character in this court.

" January the 29th. I parted from Copenhaguen and went directly for Holland, where I took shipping, and arrived in London the 27th of Feb. 167$\frac{1}{2}$, and the next day I kissed his Maj^tes^ hand." P. 243.

He writes to Trevor, from Amsterdam, Feb. 26th, 1672, S.N. that on entering Over Yssel he found the people flying to Zwoll

and Deventer, in fear of an invasion from Munster; and in Gulderland from the approach of the French:

"But, Sir, that which strikes deepest and makes the greatest impression in the minds of this people, is the uncomfortable prospect they haue of a misunderstanding with England, being conscious of having disobliged us, upon wch account they are ever creating to themselves new feares (the usuall punishment of a guilty conscience) and are now strongly alarumed wth a report, that the English most certainely intend the burning of their ships at Helvoet Sluys, upon wch de Ruyter is ordered hence on Monday to provide for the security of that place, and truly, Sir, it is strange to see how every day produces some new fright or other, which puts the people into such a desorder, that you cannot imagine the present distraction of this state. Their Groenland fleet was almost ready to sayle, and is now countermanded, upon some secret intelligence, they have lately received, so that they live here in a continuall contradiction to their own designes.

"We yesterday received the news, that the Prince of Orange was chosen captaine general for his life, and it is hoped that the states in this good temper will bestow on him also the office of admirall. The joy hath been strangely great among the communalty of this citty, and you cannot believe the liberty they take of inveighing publickly against John de Witt (as they are now pleased to call him). They presume here that this will beget a faire correspondence with England, whose friendship (they themselves confesse) is of more importance to them, then that of all their neighbours besides. They are now fitting out the Swiftsure, which I this day saw amongst the rest of their ships, and is now disguised under the name of the Three Hornes."

The next and last despatch is from the Hague, March 3rd, 1672, S. N.

"I came very opportunely hither to participate of the publick joy for the Princes election, wch was solemnized here the first instant. His highnesse was pleased the same day to treat the States-Gen^ll^ at a mighty feast, where were fired above 500 guns, and yet the acclama'ons of the people were much louder. One thing that added considerably to the mirth was the news, they then receved of Sir George Downing's com'itm^t^, which hath been so powerfull here, as on a suddain to raise the actions of the East India company, and to furnish them wth a new hope of seeing yet a faire understanding wth England, without which they look upon themselves as desperate. The spring is now approaching, and this great cloud must either breake or dissipate, both wayes we shall be enlightned. In ye meane time this is the banke of all false news, and the Dutch are ever abusing the world with some strange report of England. They now tell us that the Duke of Buckingham is in prison, and that Lambert is in armes, both which wee believe [1] as the Alcoran."

[1] This was perhaps an expression in vogue. In Dryden's *Spanish Friar*, 1681, act v. sc. ii. "false as the Alcoran."

Mr. Bertie left Hamburgh on Wednesday, Feb. 7th, being conducted by The Company with twelve coaches to the river side. On the 8th he left Harbourgh, belonging to the duke of Lunenburg; "passing a heathy barren countrey, some part of it was indifferently well wooded, and I observed that the bores, as they cut down one tree, are very carefull to plant many more, as appeares by the nursery of young trees growing up." P. 246.

On Monday 26th he set off for London from Harwich, dining at Colchester, where he saw the place where Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas were shot, and "the Epitaph [1] that lyes upon them, written since the King's coming in." P. 251.

We observed, that the papers connected with Mr. Bertie's mission to the court of Denmark terminate on page 256. A subsequent part of the same volume contains, in a later hand, a discourse of no little interest in illustration of the measures devised by James II. in prosecution of the policy which he was inflexibly determined to adopt.

In his diary, 10th March, 1687, Evelyn makes the following entry:

"Most of the greate officers, both in the court and country, lords and others, were dismiss'd, as they would not promise his majesty their consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes against popish recusants. To this end most of the parliament men were spoken to in his maj^ty^s closset, and such as refus'd, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of greate trial, but hardly one of them assented, which put the popish interest much backward. The English cleargy every where preach'd boldly against their superstition and errors, and were wonderfully follow'd by the people. Not one considerable proselyte was made in all this time," &c.

James Lord Norreys[2], son of Montague, second Earl of Lindsey, was in 1682 created Earl of Abingdon, and held the lieutenancy of the county of Oxford 1674—87. He joined in the invitation to William, and contributed the sum of 30,000*l.* to the expenses of the expedition; but voted against declaring the throne vacant. From his high character he was again named lord lieutenant, in which post he continued till 1697, although in strenuous opposition to the court. The diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, 11th March, $168\frac{8}{9}$, mentions his being "much concerned for the church, and very angry at the bill of comprehension:"—2 Feb. $16\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{0}$. "In the afternoon Lord Abingdon

[1] See Evelyn, and the editor's note.

[2] The dedication to him of *The Lives of Illustrious Men, by C. Nepos, done into English by several hands. Oxon.* 1684, signed Leopold William Finch, contains numerous allusions to his ancestry. The family had deserved well of the country for *five* successive generations.

came to see me: he seemed much dissatisfied, and inclined to give up his lieutenancy; from which I dissuaded him, and obtained his promise not to do it without speaking to me again of it."

With the ensuing minute it will not be uninteresting to compare Burnet's account of an interview he had in 1673 with James, then Duke of York. Own Time, i. pp. 357—60, &c. folio; ii. 23—29, Routh.

"James Earl of Abingdon's discourse
with King James ye Second
November 18th—1687, from his own
Memorandum of it.

"I met the king coming from council and kissed his hand in ye gallery, and followed him into his bed-chamber, where I stayed about 3 quarters of an hour, whilst ye Spanish embassador was with him in his closset: after he came out the king called me in, and locked ye door. I told his majesty I was come up in obedience to his com'ands, and should be glad to receive them. Upon which his majesty said, he had them ready, and turning about, took a paper out of his pocket, wherein were three questions (which are well known), which he read to me, with instructions to go down and propose them to ye gentlemen of ye country, either together or apart, and send him ye answer. I asked his majesty if his hand was to ye paper? He said, no. I told him I hoped I should have his own or a secretary's for my own security and justification. He said, for what reason? I answered I did not know but there might be somewhat in it y^t^ might be penal. He said his giving me ye paper with his own hand would secure me for that. I told him I did not doubt his majesty, but he was mortal, and desired something y^t^ might secure me afterwards. He said, It may be I was of another judgment myself, and so had no mind to do it; and therefore he desired to know what my opinion was. Whereupon, I told his majesty, since he was pleased to ask my opinion, I hoped he would not be angry at my declaring of it, and would do it very plainly and freely. Upon which, his majesty replying he would not, I told him I should not make any preface, nor put him off to the meeting of a parliament. That if there was a parliament now sitting, as my opinion now was, I should be against those things, but I was not so settled in y^t^ opinion, or prejudiced, but if I did see reason, or were convinced upon the debate, I might alter it. His majesty said, my answer was like my character, &c. and y^t^ I had done with him like a man of honour and worth, &c. His majesty then asked me if I would hear reason to be convinced? I told him I should be willing to hear any thing, and glad to be convinced. And then his majesty said, these tests were against his prerogative, for they debarred him ye use of his subjects. Instancing y^t^ some church of England men had pretended those tests, to excuse y^m^selves from serving him, &c. Secondly, they were against ye peers, by excluding some from their votes in Parliam^t^, and, 3dly, against ye people,

by debaring them ye choice of representatives. And, lastly, they declared him an idolater (at which I bowed and shrunk up my shoulders) and then I told his majesty, I was not at ye making of any of those acts, and therefore could not speak much to ye reasons of them, but as to ye excluding of some peers, I did not know but my interest might be concerned therein, as well as my conscience in ye others; and his majesty would find it a hard matter to persuade people against those two. He then fell upon his declaration, and ye sincerity of his desires, y^t^ all persons might live lovingly and quietly, declaring how much he abhorred persecution, and said ye church of England had always been a persecuting church. I told him I did not think so; and however severe those laws might look, they had very rarely been put in execution but upon extraordinary occasions of ye disturbances those persons had given ye government. He said he had delivered twelve hundred quakers[1] out of prison: I told him I knew not what was done in other countrys, but for my own I would answer, y^t^ all this noise of persecution was like shearing of hogs, a great cry and little wool, for, from ye time of his brother's indulgence, till ye violence they used to exclude his majesty from ye succession, they were all connived at as well as the prosecution afterwards was very gentle: in talking of the severity of ye penal laws, his majesty said, was it not as bad for us to send men to prison, and take away y^r^ goods for conscience, as for him to quarter six dragoons upon them, &c.? I told his majesty I looked upon these acts as ye bulwarks of our religion, and whilst I did so, I could not depart from them. And though I did not doubt his majesty's sincerity in what he professed, yet I did not know who might succeed him; and though we were told of a Protestant successor, yet how if it should prove otherwise? Besides, I told his majesty he would find great difficulties in this matter, because y^t^ he knew his neighbour[2] on the other side ye water, had broke through all laws and promises, so y^t^ nobody knew what to trust to. The king said he knew that, but could not tell how to help it: as for his own opinion, it had been always otherwise. He then asked me, if I would go down and propose those questions? but I desired his majesty to consider how unfit any man was to be a sollicitor in a cause that was against his own judgement? His majesty said, he was sorry it was so, for he had made a resolution not to keep any one in his service who would not serve him in all things; to which I replyed that I took it (the commission) for his brother's and his service, and hoped he was satisfyed y^t^ I had managed it so; and when he thought any one could do it better, I should

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[1] Evelyn's Diary, July, 1656: "I had ye curiosity to visit some quakers here [Ipswich] in prison; a new phanatic sect, of dangerous principles, who show no respect to any man, magistrate or other, and seeme a melancholy proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant. One of these was said to have fasted 20 daies, but another endeavouring to do ye like, perish'd on the 10th, when he would have eaten, but could not." —i. p. 301. 4to.

[2] Evelyn, 3 Nov. 1685, notes that the intelligence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes was only obtained from the refugees and private letters, the gazettes published twice a-week passing it over entirely.

be very willing to part with it. He said he was fully satisfied therewith, and that he always thought me a person of worth and honour, and that I had dealt with him in this business like one.

"I told him I did not know y^t I had any enemy in ye country, but on his or his brother's account, and he said he did in his conscience believe so. I told him I did not know whom he intended to put in my place, but I should always be ready to serve him in any capacity there, and all I desired was y^t I might have ye favour of his countenance, when I paid my duty to him; to which he said I should as much as ever I had in my life; and when I desired to kiss his hand upon it, he stooped down ready to embrace me."

Anthropometamorphosis: Man transform'd; or, the artificial Changling Historically presented, In the mad and cruell Gallantry, foolish Bravery, ridiculous Beauty, filthy Fineness, and loathsome Lovelinesse of most Nations, fashioning and altering their Bodies from the Mould intended by Nature; with Figures of those Transfigurations. To which artificiall and affected Deformations are added, all the Native and Nationall Monstrosities that have appeared to disfigure the Human Fabrick; with a Vindication of the regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature, and an Appendix of the Pedigree of the English Gallant. Scripsit J. B. cognomento Chirosophus, *M. D. London: printed by William Hunt, Anno Dom.* 1653.

Of John Bulwer, the author of this singular volume, but few particulars are now to be recovered. His first appearance in a literary character was in the year 1644, when he published two Tracts, with an equally portentous superscription. "Chirologia, or the natural Language of the Hand, composed of the speaking Motions and discoursing Gestures thereof; whereunto is added, Chironomia, or the Art of Manuall Rhetoricke, consisting of the natural Expression digested by Art in the Hand, as the chiefest Instrument of Eloquence, by Historicall Manifestos exemplifie d out of the authentique Registers of common Life and civill Conversation, with Types or Chyrograms: a long-wished-for Illustration of this Argument. By J. B. Gent. Philochirosophus, 1644."

These Treatises, as was usual in their days, are heralded by numerous testimonial and commendatory verses, one set of which bears the following most unlatinized address: "Meissimo in deliciis, Chirologiæ Authori, Amanuensi Musarum, Polihymniæ Alumno, Motistarum clarissimo, et manus publicè prehensantium Candidato." The object of the first part of Bulwer's labour on this occasion, is to teach the language of signs and a finger alphabet; for he was engaged in that most praiseworthy and benevolent offset of his profession, which in our own days has so wonder-

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fully established itself in separate existence, the education of the deaf and dumb. With this circumstance we become acquainted with a volume which appeared in 1648, with a similar profuse expenditure of words to announce it as that which had been lavished on his other publications. "Philocophus, or the Deafe and Dumb Man's Friend, exhibiting the philosophical verity of that Subtile Art, which may inable one with an observant Eie to heare what any Man speaks by the Moving of his Lips. Upon the same Ground, with the Advantage of an historicall Exemplification, apparently proving that a Man born Deaf and Dumb may be taught to heare the Sound of Words with his Eie, and thence learne to speake with his Tongue. By J. B. surnamed the Chirosopher."

In this instance Bulwer dedicated to "the Right Worshipful Sir Edward Gostwicke, of Wellington, in the county of Bedford, Baronet, and Mr. William Gostwicke, his youngest brother;" two young gentlemen of good family, who, having been deaf and dumb from their birth, were placed under his tuition, and, as it appears, successfully. As is his custom, he collects very wondrous facts, and comments upon them with not less wondrous ratiocination. Thus he shows, on good authority, that all those who are born in ships at sea, "by a propriety of their place of birth, are, like fishes, mute." There may be something, doubtless, in this statement; and the deduction is quite as good as the premisses; but what shall be said respecting "the propriety of the place," which is similarly advanced as a reason why all the Barons of Claramont, who have been born within the walls of their own castle, should prove dumb? Few will question that there is a necessity that a child's tongue should be hindered, if "Mercury be impedite with Saturn" at its nativity: but we may be permitted to doubt, whether the instance in which surprise is said to have cured this infirmity, may be explained by the effect of "a mixt passion which causeth a miscellaneous motion of the native heat."

Bulwer's fourth tract was physiognomical: "Pathomyotamia, or a Dissection of the Significative Muscles of the Affections of the Minde, being an Essay to a new Method of observing the most important movings of the Muscles of the Head; as they are the nearest and immediate Organs of the voluntarie or impetual Motions of the Mind; with the Proposall of a new Nomenclature of the Muscles. By J. B. surnamed the Chirosopher, 1649."

This treatise is mentioned, but not with much applause, by Mr. Parsons, in his "Crounian Lectures" on Muscular Motion, printed as a supplement to the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1746. He characterizes it as filled with extravagant notions from different authors, a criticism which probably is very just; but which, nevertheless, should be received with some degree

of caution, as proceeding from one engaged in the same trade, and, therefore, proverbially likely to disagree. From the "Pathomyotamia" we learn the only two remaining facts relative to Bulwer's personal history which we have been able to collect; the one, that "his loving father, Mr. Thomas Bulwer," to whom he dedicates, was, like himself, a physician: the other, that his contemporaries passed much the same sentence upon his ingenious discoveries as we apprehend will be passed by those who now become acquainted with them. The following avowal does no small credit to his honesty: "I confess I have met with little encouragement in this design; for all the physicians and anatomists that I have hinted it unto, have held it scarce feasible, Dr. Wright junior onely excepted"—and for the approbation of Dr. Wright junior, a very satisfactory reason is assigned. The critic was returning ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα, and paying his friend in the same coin of applause which he had received for a darling hypothesis of his own.

But we pass on to the crowning labour, the *opus maximum*, of the Chirosophist, of whom, after the appearance of the "Anthropometamorphosis" we wholly lose sight. "The force of nature could no farther go!" It would have been idle to expect any new work from the same brain superior to it; and he whose effigy had been inscribed with the following glowing panegyric, could scarcely look for higher living honours, and might fairly be considered as already exalted to his literary apotheosis. The print, thus underwritten, as might be expected, is often ravished from the volume which it originally accompanied, to gladden some collector's portfolio. "Johannes Bulwer, cognomento chirosophus, alias philosophus: vultispex insignis: utriusque physiognomiæ protomystes: pathomyotomus: naturalis loquelæ primus indagator: anatomus moralis: stagirita novus: motistarum clarissimus: stator augustus et vindex naturæ, M.D. &c." It is hazardous to pronounce upon similarity of style in different languages, otherwise this anonymous Latin in many points so strongly resembles the excellent doctor's avowed English, that we should be inclined to ascribe it, in spite of his blushes to the contrary, to the person most intimately acquainted with his merits, and therefore most qualified to blazon them—himself.

Among the preliminaries to the *Anthropometamorphosis* will be found, "a list of divines, poets, historians, philosophers, anatomists, physicians, and others, cited to give in evidence, and out of which number was a grand jury impanelled for the triall of the "Artificial Changling," upon the indictment filed by the author about the matter of fact of man's voluntary transformation." If a writer's learning and research is to be measured by such a catalogue as this, few have in these points exceeded Bulwer; the names which he registers amount to two hundred

and eighty-eight, and they are of all classes and all reputations, from Moses and Isaiah down to Sir John Mandevill and Mr. Pretty.

The body of the work is divided into twenty-four chapters, or *Scenes*, as they are termed, each relating to some fashion which different times and nations have adopted as to different parts of the human frame; these are accompanied by illustrative cuts, which are not among the least curious parts of the book. The first *Scene* treats of "certaine fashions of the head, affected and contrived, by the pragmaticall invention and artificial endeavours of many nations." The Brazilians, according to Purchas, have flat heads: we know not whether Bulwer's reasoning thereon accords with the modern discoveries of phrenology.

"The inconveniences that many times attend this affected fashion of the head, when the naps, with a little bunchines remaineth not, but the nodock is made flat, are, that the brain is not so figured as is requisite for wit and stability, for the depression of this posterior prominency of the head weakens the stabilitie to action, as Galen shewes; the reason is, because voluntary motion depends upon the nerves, whose principle the *Cerebellum* is. Since, therefore, the originall and chiefe instrument of voluntary motion resides in the hinder part of the head, men are by this depraving the figure of their heads, made more cold and indisposed unto motion, and so likewise unto recordation, the after-brains, the seat of Memory, being thus perverted. Which effect was observed (as Beneventus reports) in the dissection of one James, a famous thiefe, the hinder part of whose head, where the seat of Memory is, was found so short that it contained but a very little portion of brains; for which cause, when he could least of all remember the banishments, imprisonments, and torments he had suffered for his former villanies, falling like an impudent dog to his vomit, was at last hanged, which put an end to his life and theft together." P. 9.

We are by no means deeply versed in the mysteries of Professors Gall, Spurzheim, and De Ville, but, as far as we recollect, the above paragraph reads very much like a portion of a Craniological Lecture. In a similar strain we are told that a spherical or orbicular form of the head, such as may be observed in the French (who on that account can seldom fit an Englishman with a hat) denoteth quick moving, unstableness, forgetfulness, small discretion, and little wit. Square-headed gallants also must needs suffer some damage in their intellectuals; for, a head that hath angles argues an impediment of judgment and ratiocination.

Although many have held opinion that Megasthenes, Pliny, and Aulus Gellius were loud liars when they wrote and published that there lived a certain kind of people in Scythia which had dogs' heads, yet the relation is confirmed by some of the order of Predicants sent as legates from the Apostolic State unto

the Tartars, who assure us that there is a certain nation in Tartary who have a dog's face; the same authors adding withal, that although the men have such a resemblance of a dog's head, as beforesaid, the women have a human visage as other women in the world have. If we seek farther evidence of this remarkable fact, it may be found in the pages of Vincentius Burgundius, Johannes de Plancarpio, Kornmannus, Marco Polo, Johannes Camers, Hector Pintus, and Isidore; a cloud of witnesses to which incredulity itself dare scarcely refuse assent.

So too for the *Acephali*, who want their necks and have their eyes in their shoulders. St. Augustin is most charitable to the sceptical, and might certainly be pardoned if he dogmatized more sturdily regarding these monsters, considering the ocular proof which he possessed of their existence. He

"makes commemoration of such a nation, and although he there does not impose a necessity of believing the relations that are made of such kinds of men; so he seems to grant that it is not incredible; nay, he testifies *that he hath seen them himself*, for he assures us in these words (*Serm.* 37 *ad Frat. in Eremo*), I was now Bishop of Hippo, and with certain servants of Christ I travelled to Æthiopia to preach the Gospell of Christ unto them, and we saw there many men and women having no heads, but grosse eyes fixed in their breasts: their other members like unto ours." P. 21.

It must be observed, that even Sir Walter Raleigh was a believer in these headless monsters. "The Ewaipoosomi," he says, "are a people dwelling on the banks of the river Caora, whose heads appear not above their shoulders, which, though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for my own part I am resolved it is true; because every child in the province of Arromaia and Comurs affirms all the same: they are called Ewaipanomi, and are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hairs groweth backward between the shoulders. The son of Tomawari, which I brought with me into England, told me that they were the most mighty men of all the land, and use bowes, arrowes, and clubs, thrice as bigg as any of Guiana and of the Oronoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeni took a prisoner of them the yeare before our arrival there, and brought him into the borders of Arromaia, his father's country. And further, when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slain many hundreds of his father's people, and of other nations their neighbours; but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might

have brought one of them with me, and put the matter out of doubt[1]."

Bulwer fully credits the existence of this race; but he attributes the depression of their heads to artificial rather than to natural causes; to a fantastical dislike of the original distance between the head and body by the interposition of the neck, and to a fashion which preferred having the shoulders uppermost.

He proceeds to consider horned men; some of which, he says, beyond Cathay, speak not, but rout like swine. An honest matron, near Turin, A. D. 1578, the seventeenth of January, about eight of the clock at night, brought forth a child, having five horns one against another on his head, like unto ram's horns. At Panhorn was a certain noble virgin with many crooked horns, sharp at the end, that she rather looked like a devil than a woman; and, finally, that men should be cornuted (there is, we fear, a wicked playfulness in the phrase) is a thing neither impossible nor incredible.

It can be no matter of surprise, that, as well as horned and headless men, there should be others who have but one eye, and that planted in the middle of their foreheads. That such is the case we learn from *Scene* VI. which treats of "monstrous conformations, properties, colours, proportions, and fashionable affectations of eyes among certain nations." Herodotus, Aristeas, Aulus Gellius, Appian, Pliny, and Solinus, have all attested the Arimaspians and the "guarded gold." Sir John Mandevill, "whose relations since the late discoveries of the new world are held very credible," speaks of the monocular subjects of the king of Dodyn; but that potentate, on the same authority, rules men more wonderful than even these; some without any eyes at all, others who have mouths in their shoulders, and others again whose lips are so large, that when they sleep in the sun they cover their whole faces with them. Again, "Beyond the valley, on the left side of the river Pison, in an isle northward, there are many evill and foule women, who have pretious stones in their eyes, and they have such a force, that if they behold any man with wrath, they slay them with beholding, as the basilisk doth."

In the chapter on noses, *Scene* VII. we are assured that the Tartarian women cut and pare their noses, that they may appear more flat and saddle-nosed; "which sight seemed most ugly in the eyes of Fryar William de Rubraquis, a Frenchman." The citizens of Rhinocotura had no nostrils. Divers Indians have their noses slit like broken-winded horses. The Huns flatten

[1] History of Guiana.

their noses that they may not be any hinderance in putting on their helmets. The people of St. Christopher's "stick pins in their noses, making their noses serve for pin-pillowes." The real proportions of a good nose are laid down with so much accuracy, and the subject, since the days of Slawkenbergius, has ever been deemed of such paramount importance, that we cannot do otherwise than cite this passage entire.

"Now the nose, according to the justice of nature, should be no longer than the lip and ears, and the third part of the face in length, and the thirtieth part of the length of the whole body; it should not exceed in length halfe that distance which interposeth between the externall angle of both the eyes; therefore the length of the nose should answer in a sesquialtera proportion, the length of the eye and the diduction of the mouth; nor should it exceed in length beyond the measure of its circumference at the bottom. A long nose, indeed, may be of some advantage to the sense of smelling, as appears in the noses of bloodhounds; yet for the scent of a man that length is sufficient which consists with beauty, and may be reconciled with the proportions of nature's symetrie, beyond which who endeavours to extend the nose, renders himself guilty of a great transgression; as on the contrary they also doe, who labour to prohibit the natural extending of the nose upon any pretences of beauty whatsoever." P. 121.

"Auricular fashions, or certain strange inventions of people in new moulding their ears," are treated in *Scene* VIII. The ancients had already acquainted us with the *ἐνωτόκοιτοι*, who used their ears as feather-beds, and with the Panotioi, who employed them for clothing; but later writers speak of the Californian Tulanuchas, whose ears are so prolid that they hang down even unto the ground, and six men may be hid under one of them. The Peruvians load their ears so heavily with jewels, that a man may easily thrust his arm up to the shoulder in the holes bored in them; an experiment which, in point of fact, was practised by Mr. Cæsar Frederick among the Naviri. Such too is the custom with the natives of Craweanna, Pawmeeanna, Quiksanna, Peewatiere, Arameeso, Acawreanno, Accoreo, Tarapeeanno, Corecorickoda, Peeauneado, Coeeanno, Itsura, and Warsmisso. All these are roughly stigmatized by Bulwer as "a packe of large-ear'd hell-hounds." The Portuguese, while sailing to Calicut, found an island in which the men had ass's ears; those of the women were like them, but smaller.

Under "Mouth Fashions and Oral Monstrosities," in *Scene* X. there is a little burst of misogynism, not according with Bulwer's usual gallantry. "In Turkey the women are accounted most beautifull that have the widest mouths; and you may be sure they use art to have them so; for things in fashion women will be sure to have." The Azanaghi, a people of Æthiopia, have the lower lip hanging a cubit below their chins, and are

said to season it with salt lest it putrefy from the infection of the air. The Sultan of Cambaia hath his upper lip so large and prominent, that he can bind his head with it, as women do with their hair. But this is by no means according to the order of nature, for the mouth hath no less defined proportions than the nose.

"The deduction or longitude of the mouth should but equal the longitude of the eye, which extends from the outward angle to the lacrymall; so that the longitude of the mouth is duple to the ninth part of the longitude of the face, and the nose should beare a sesquialtera proportion unto it; and the width of the mouth should be but as much againe as the bottom of the nose near the mouth, the circumference of it double, and the deduction of it treble to the longitude of the nose: so that the whole longitude of the face should beare a sesquialtera proportion to the compasse of the mouth, or to the space contained between the corners of the eye, for this space should equall the compasse (also) of the mouth, and the circumference of the ears ought to be in unison; the first joynt (likewise) towards the hand in the middle finger, should be as much as the mouth, if you measure the bow of the lip with a thread; for if you measure it right in the longitude of the empty mouth, that part of the finger would exceed it." P. 169.

If any part of the human body had been likely to escape cultivation, we should have supposed it to be that to which Bulwer addresses himself in *Scene* XIV. "Devices of certaine nations practised upon their tongues." But there is, it seems, an island called Tambuli, in which the natives first of all differ from common men by an excess of four cubits in stature; and secondly, either by nature or art, they have a cloven tongue, divided in the bottom, so that it seems double from the root; so they use divers speeches, and do not only speak with the voice of men, but imitate the singing of birds; and that which seems most notable, they speak at any time like two men, both answering and discoursing; for with one part of their tongues they speak to one, and with the other part to the other.

The arms, hands, and nails bear their portion also in human metamorphoses (*Scene* XVIII). Thus the merchants of Guinea wear their nails so long, that sometimes, when they have not a spoon by them, and that they untie their purses to weigh gold dust, they will scoop out half an ounce at a time with their nails. The Chinese use their nails as we do silver forks, for which purpose they take great pains to keep them clean. The inhabitants of the river Thomeras with theirs kill fish and cut soft wood. The Abassines graft cockspurs on their fingers' ends. The prerogative royal among the Tapuians is a long thumb nail, which none but the king may cherish. Bulwer is very earnest in recommending attention to the nails.

"Not but that the increment of the nailes is very natural, and the care of these (though small things) is in very nature; nay, the care of these parts is more noble than the care of our nourishment, since the care of them appertaines to reason and to the practick intellect; and by how much the practick intellect is more noble than the nutrient soule, so much to a more noble order doth the care of the nailes, in conforming them to the law of nature, appertain. . . . . Now the nailes are existent parts which alwaies (almost) grow; and when they incur such an excess of an increased quantity, they do but hinder the operations of the human soule, and when they decline from their proper mode of quantity, and increase further, the deduction and moderation of their excrescency to a just extending, is to the benefit of the intellect that employeth them. . . . . Neither are the nailes *extra hominem*, unlesse in carcasses and those buried; and their continual increase in man is an argument of a divine nature, a prerogative in which beasts cannot participate, and teacheth us charity to our bodies. The neglect of this charity proves not only an inconvenience, but, as some thinke, long nailes is a sin, to avoid which, Adam, in the estate of innocency in Paradise, before instruments of iron were found, perchance bit his nailes; yet surely in the state of innocency, his abode in Paradise was so short, that no inconvenience could happen unto him this way, nor any necessity enforce him to cut his nailes, although he had too just a cause to bite his nailes afterwards, . . . and therefore by no worse a law of nature do we cut our nailes than our hairs, lest they should grow into an odious and hooked curvity; unnatural slovens, therefore, are they who never pare theirs. And very little have they to shew themselves gentlemen, who have nothing but long nailes as the crests of idle gentility." P. 296.

That there are "Tailed Nations" (*Scene* XXII) is not to be lightly doubted. Pausanias so reports. Bulwer was informed by an ingenious and honest gentleman of good worth, who professed that he had read it in some Chronicles, or other author, whose name he could not very well recollect, that there is at this day a family in Kent, who have to surname the name of a village very near Rochester, whereof all that are descended have a tail, insomuch that you may know any one to be rightly descended of that family, by having a tail. Delrio says, that tails were *entailed* (as Bulwer facetiously translates him) as a curse upon the inhabitants of Stroud, by Thomas-à-Becket, the tail of whose horse had been wantonly cut off by them.

"And to make it a little more credible that the rump bone among brutish and strong-dockt nations, doth often spread out with such an excrescence or beastly emanation, I am informed by an honest young man of Captain Morris's company, in Lieutenant-General Ireton's regiment, that at Cashell, in the county of Tipperary, in the province of Munster, in Carrick-Patrick church, seated on a hill or rock, stormed by the Lord Inchequine, and where there were neare 700 put to the sword, and none saved but the mayor's wife and his son; there were

found among the slaine of the Irish, when they were stripped, divers that had tailes neare a quarter of a yard long. The relator being very diffident of the truth of this story, after enquiry was ensured of the certainty thereof by forty souldiers that testified upon their oaths that they were eye-witnesses, being present at the action. It is reported also that in Spaine there is another such tailed nation. But that which gives great reputation to the narrative of tailed nations, is a history we have gained by the Coryphæus of anatomy, Dr. Harvey, who, in a learned tract, he lately published (*de Generat.*) informes us, that a certaine chirurgeon, an honest man, and an acquaintance of his, returning from the East Indies, declared unto him upon his credit, that in the mountainous and remote places from the sea of the island Borneo, at this day, there is a certaine kind of tailed men, of which with some difficulty (for they inhabit the woods) they took a virgin whom he saw with a thick fleshy taile of a span long." P. 411.

We know not what argument can be advanced against such direct visual testimony. Perhaps it may be better to smile than to reason,

cui non tunc
Eliceret risum citharœdi cauda magistri?

We pass on to "leg and foot fashions" (*Scene* XXIII). In India, beyond Ganges, there are a nation called *Sciopedes*, that have feet of a monstrous bigness, which, when they lie down, serve them for umbrellas. There are also in Asia a certain kind of men called *Monosceli*, which have but one leg, and yet have a wonderful pernicity in leaping. In a certain valley of Mount Imaus live a people with their feet turned backwards behind their legs, that are of such wonderful swiftness that they will outrun a hare. There is reported also to be another people in some place belonging to the Tartars, who wander about sustained by one only leg and foot, having also but one arm. Two of these men undergo the office of an archer. While one holds the bow the other shoots the arrow; and there is a wonderful nimbleness observed in them, for they run with so great swiftness on their hand and foot, that they even outrun a horse, and when they have tired their arm, then they go on by hopping with their foot. Many legates and nuncios of the Pope sent unto the Tartars, in their relations affirm this to be true.

The last *Scene* (XXIV) relates to "cruel and fantasticall inventions of men, practised upon their bodies in a supposed way of bravery, and wicked practices both of men and devils, to alter and deforme the humane fabricke." It is, as the title implies, very desultory and miscellaneous. We learn from it, that among the Venetians, the maids, when they are to be coupled in marriage, are kept very daintily, to the end that they may become more fat, well looking, and in good plight. For this purpose, they eat dished wheat with milk, they sleep much, and live

very idly, close cooped up, that at length they may grow fat as crammed capons; therefore they feed upon unctuous and sweet meats, that they may more daintily, and with a more trim grace, be dedicated to their bridegrooms.

We cannot venture to extract Bulwer's researches concerning the non-Adamitical men and equivocal pigmies of Paracelsus. Indeed it is but just to warn any who may have the curiosity to refer to his pages, that there are not a few which they will pass over hastily. Respecting pigmies in general, he is of opinion that they were at first occasioned by some artifice or affectation; for they are plainly within the reach of art and the hand of man's invention.

"And if man's hand were too short, yet the Devil's power can reach to such a conclusion; for even as sometimes dwarfs and giants may be naturally procured, so the Devill with more facility can, by divine permission, promote the decrease or encrease of the human stature, by applying actives to passives, which is the judgment of Jordanus and others. Delrio saies, there is no doubt but the Devill may make pigmies, and prohibit men from ever comming to the just stature of a humane body, as we see by man's artifice, to-wit, by giving them burnt wines, and enclosing them in little pots, those little dogs, wherewith women are so delighted, are procured, and parents greedy of gains, very wickedly, with certaine medicaments, cause their children's growth to be stunted, that they prove dwarfes. But he cannot make a giant of a pigmy; for he thinks that the devill cannot so extend the bones of a little man to make them of a giant-like magnitude." P. 502.

This is a most comfortable assurance; for, in our present condition, an irruption of Brobdignagians is far more to be deprecated than any swarm of Lilliputians which could be poured upon us. The positive evil, in itself, of the second, would not be nearly so great as that occasioned by the first, and assuredly the dignity of our nature would be exposed by it to much less violation and dishonour.

We subjoin a single "Recreation" of such easy process, that almost any reader may determine for himself whether or not it be really effectual.

"To set an horse's or asse's head on a man's neck and shoulders, cut off the head of a horse or an asse (before they be dead, otherwise the virtue or strength thereof will be lesse effectuall) and make an earthen vessell of fit capacity to containe the same, and let it be filled with the oyle and fat thereof, cover it close, and daub it over with lome; let it boile over a soft fire three daies continually, that the flesh boyled may run into oyle, so as the bare bones may be seen; beat the hairs into powder, and mingle the same with the oyle, and anoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seeme to have horses or asses heads. If beasts heads be annointed with the like oyle made of a man's head, they shall seeme to have men's faces, as divers

authors soberly affirme. If a lamp be annointed therewith, every thing shall seeme most monstrous. . . . If you beat arsenick very fine, and boile it with a little sulphur in a covered pot, and kindle it with a new candle, the standers by will seeme to be headlesse." P. 516.

A brief notice of an unhappy class of beings, *liberi suppositi*, Changelings, concludes this *Scene;* beings, by "the legerdemain" of whom Sir Thomas Browne confesses himself more puzzled, than by any other delusion wherewith the devil deludeth man. Our readers may not perhaps be aware that little more than a century has elapsed since a Changeling was publicly exhibited in London. The following is a transcript of some original printed hand-bills still preserved in the British Museum.

"A changling child. To be seen next door to the Black Raven in West Smithfield, during the time of the fair, being a living skeleton, taken by a Venetian Galley, from a Turkish vessel in the Archipelago: this is a fairy child, supposed to be born of Hungarian parents, but changed in the nursery, aged nine years and more, not exceeding a foot and a half high. The legs, thighs, and arms, so very small, that they scarce exceed the bigness of a man's thumb, and the face no bigger than the palm of one's hand; and seems so grave and solid as if it were threescore years old. You may see the whole anatomy of its body, by setting it against the sun or by holding candles behind it. It never speaks, but when passion moves it, it cries like a cat: it has no teeth, but is the most voracious and hungry creature in the world, devouring more victuals than the stoutest man in England. *Vivant rex et regina.*"

From the concluding benediction, there can be no doubt that this exhibition took place in the reign of William and Mary; and it is equally clear that the following advertisement relates to the same child.

"To all gentlemen and ladies. There is to be seen at Mr. Hocknes, at the Maremaid, near the King's Bench, in Southwark, during the time of the fair, a changling girl, being a living skeleton, taken by a Venetian galley, in the Turks country, in the Archipelago: this is a fairy girl, supposed to be born of Hungarian parents, but changed in the nursery, aged about nine years, one foot and a half high. The legs, thighs, and arms, so very small, that they scarce exceed the bigness of a man's thumb, and the face no bigger than the palm of one's hand; and seems so grave and solid as if it were threescore years old. She is likewise a mere anatomy. *Vivant rex et regina.*"

Another, though not absolutely a changeling, has many of the characteristics distinguishing that race, and must assuredly be included in it. The hand-bill is without date.

"Advertisement. In Bridge's-street, in Covent-Garden, over against the Rose tavern, is to be seen a living fairy, supposed to be a hundred and fifty years old, his face being no bigger than a child's of a month; was found sixty years ago; looked as old as he does

now. His head being a great piece of curiosity, having no scull, with several imperfections, worthy your observation."

Bulwer's volume concludes with "An Appendix exhibiting the pedigrees of the English gallant." In this part of his work he forcibly reminds us of Stubbes, in his "Anatomie of Abuses;" and each appears to write with a similar bitter, biting spirit of Puritanism. Bulwer's object is to trace the fashions of his times, each in its course, to some of the barbarous costumes which he has described. For this purpose he enumerates the sugar-loaf hats, square caps, city flat caps, women's French hoods, rackets, periwigs, masks, painting, black patches, pendents, auricular bravery, cob-web-lawn-yellow-starched ruffs, bombasted, slashed, pinked and cut doublets, filthy and apish breeches, trunk hose, great vardingales, hip-gallantry, forked shoes, square toes, chioppines, and other pedestral vanity. For all this he ingeniously finds parallels not very creditable to civilization.

From Bulwer's extravagance some illustration is thrown upon one portion of the history of human knowledge. He lived in an age of great learning and of little judgment; at a time when there was a voracious appetite for information, and when fact and fiction were indiscriminately gorged and devoured by all who sought for the reputation of learning.

Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. XXII. Part I. pp. 203.

The result of the labours of this Society, from the 16th of November, 1826, to the 15th of November, 1827, has just been given to the public, and which may be thus briefly described. Observations upon a Household Book of King James the Fifth of Scotland, by Mr. Ellis; an Account of the Army with which Richard the Second invaded Scotland in 1385, and a Copy of the Instructions given by Henry the Eighth to the Usher and Sewer of his Chamber, to inquire into the Conduct of a suspected Traitor, communicated by Mr. Nicolas; an Account of the Remains of a Roman Bath, near Stoke in Lincolnshire, "by Edmund Turnor, Esq. F. R. and A. S. S.," for such is the designation affixed to his name in two places; Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative of the Earl of Sandwich's Attempt upon Berghen in 1665, communicated by Mr. Ellis; Observations upon Four Mosaic Pavements discovered in the County of Hants, by Sir Richard Hoare; Observations on Monumental Stones in the North of Scotland, by

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Mr. Logan; Observations upon the History of Hand Fire-Arms, by Dr. Meyrick; Description of the Engravings on a German Suit of Armour made for Henry VIII., by Dr. Meyrick; Memoir upon the King's Jewel House, with an Account of the ancient Rights of its Master and Treasurer, by Sir Gilbert Talbot, communicated by Mr. Ellis; "Itinerarium Johannis Regis Angliæ," communicated by Mr. Hardy; a copy of a MS. Tract addressed to Lord Burghley, illustrative of the Border Topography of Scotland, A. D. 1590, communicated by Mr. Ellis; Report of the Commissioners to inquire into the Amount of Booty taken at Cadiz in 1596, communicated by Dr. Meyrick; an Account of a Visit to the Monument, usually considered as Druidical, at Carnac in Brittany, by Alexander Logan, Esq.; and Observations on several Circles of Stones in Scotland presumed to be Druidical, by James Logan, Esq., F. S. A. Edinb.

Mr. Ellis's paper on the Household Book of James the Fifth is a well written analysis of its contents, and evinces that he took some trouble to illustrate the different entries to which he refers. The MS., which is in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen, has the following title at the beginning, "Rex. Regina. Liber Domicilii supremi domini nostri Regis ac Mariæ Reginæ, inchoan. die subscript. de Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo octavo. David Wod de Crage compotorum rotulatore." From Mr. Ellis's description of the MS. it appears to resemble the Northumberland Household Book more closely than any similar work which has been printed. It contains an account of the food consumed by the royal household, with the prices; it states where the king was at various times within the period which it embraces; and is, Mr. Ellis says, a valuable record of the manners and expenditure of the Scottish court, though of the former he has adduced very few instances to prove the correctness of his remark. The account of Richard the Second's army in 1385 shows the number of men at arms and archers furnished by the different peers and bannerets mentioned, the aggregate of which is, agreeable to one MS., 4660 men at arms and 7224 archers, and according to another, 4640 men at arms and 7124 archers. Henry the Eighth's Instructions to the Sewer and Usher of his Chamber exhibit a curious example of the system of espionage which that monarch occasionally adopted. These officers were both natives of the west of England, and were ordered to repair into Cornwall,

"not as being thither sent for the compassing of any matter to them committed, but as to visit their friends, and pass their time with the same in that country, using themselves after such secret fashion and manner, as they be not espied to intend any purpose other than as before expressed;"

but they were to act as spies upon a William Kendall; to in-

quire what number of servants he kept, the extent of his fortune, and whether he was popular or not; whether he had used any expressions as to the Marquess of Exeter being heir apparent to the throne, and whether any of the Marquess's servants had "reported that he should at length wear the garland." The result of their inquiries was to be entered in a book with all other particulars. If Kendall was not arrested, they were to take measures to bring him before the king, wherever his majesty might be. It is presumed that this document affords the only evidence which has been found, that an attempt was considered to have been made to elevate the unfortunate Courtenay to the throne, though it is well known that he fell a victim to Henry's jealousy and suspicion. We doubt, however, whether either of these articles communicated by Mr. Nicolas would be worth printing in the transactions of such a Society, if its labours and funds were properly directed; and probably they were not communicated with a view to publication.

We are not aware in what the Roman remains near Stoke, supposed to have been a bath, differ from any other remains of the same kind, or what is the utility of plate I., on which eighteen fragments of bricks or tiles are engraved. If any positive conclusion is to be drawn from them, it is, that a dog had been there, as some of the tiles are said to be marked with the impression of dogs' feet; but whether this be important, as showing that the said bath was intended for those faithful quadrupeds, instead of their masters, or as it establishes that dogs are no modern creation, neither Mr. Turnor nor the Society inform us. Sir Gilbert Talbot's narrative of the Earl of Sandwich's attempt upon Berghen, in 1665, is a valuable historical document, and if it has not been printed before, of which we have some doubt, it is deserving of publication, though, as Bishop Burnet says he had a copy of the MS. in his hands[1], and has cited it largely, the facts which it details throw no new light on the history of that transaction. The monumental stones on which Mr. Logan has written several pages, are undeserving of attention in any other work than in an account of the parish in which they stand. No less than four plates are occupied with engravings of them: yet, and we speak advisedly, the Society had no means of ascertaining whether the sculpture on these stones was the work of the tenth or the eighteenth century. The said stones are in Aberdeenshire, and are about six feet high, two or three in breadth, and are marked with men on horseback, birds, deer, dogs, fish, and some indescribable kind of ornaments. Of what utility is it to know that a

[1] History of His Own Time, ed. 1753, vol. i. pp. 311–314.

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variety of stones so marked exist in a part of Scotland? what do they illustrate? or what information do they afford? The individual who sent the drawings gives no explanation of them beyond the wildest conjectures, nor is any attempted by the erudite Society in whose name they are put forth; but, because no one knows any thing about them, they must, forsooth, be druidical! This communication is a brilliant specimen of the species of research which has so justly brought antiquarian literature into ridicule. Mr. Logan styles them "these mysterious and symbolical vestigia." Symbolical of what? but we must refer to the volume for Mr. Logan's learned hypothesis, and shall content ourselves with expressing our opinion that the marks on the stones, represented in plates IV. and V. were made by some peasant within the last century. It is not a little singular that a "fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh" should have communicated an account of remains in Aberdeenshire to the Society of Antiquaries of London, of which "learned body" he is not a member. We would ask, if these papers have ever been submitted to his Scottish brethren? If not, Mr. Logan has surely treated them very ill; and if they have been offered to them, how comes it that the "Archæologia" has the honour of giving them to the public? We know that when these papers were brought before the council of the Society of Antiquaries, to decide whether they should be printed, one of the members not only raised the doubt which we have done, as to the utility of publishing them at all, but ventured to inquire what proof the officers possessed that the whole was not a hoax? No reply was given, but the consideration of the articles in question was postponed to the next meeting of the Council; and in the mean time care was taken that the person who proved himself so disqualified to be a member of that Council as to doubt on such a subject, should not be eligible to be present.

Few are ignorant that Dr. Meyrick has devoted a large portion of his life to the study of ancient armour, that his collection, or rather his son's, is considered to be of great value, and that he has printed three imperial quarto volumes on the subject. These, it might be expected, ought to contain all that could be said about armour of all kinds; but there are no limits to the space over which a man may canter when mounted on his hobby; and as the Society of Antiquaries find paper and print gratis, this learned gentleman has on divers occasions availed himself of such advantages to indulge his propensity for writing on weapons offensive and defensive; so that that peaceful assembly has long resounded with an account of all the instruments of human destruction. We have now nearly fifty pages entitled "Observations upon the History of Hand Fire-Arms and their Appurtenances," which the doctor has commenced with gratifying his unfortunate

habit of puffing Mr. Skelton's "Specimens of Arms and Armour;" a kind of puff indirect, since the literary department, that is, the book itself, and a very valuable one it is, being by Dr. Meyrick, he could not with decency praise it in any other manner, than by lauding the artist for his engravings. If we mistake not, however, all the drawings from which Mr. Skelton has engraved the plates, were by Dr. Meyrick himself; hence the observation, that Mr. Skelton has "executed the plates in a manner, both for taste and fidelity, highly creditable to his talents as an artist," is a sort of puff reflective, of which the doctor is, we believe, the inventor. The paper before us is undoubtedly a useful one, and since it does not occur where it ought to be found—in the "Critical Inquiry"—it is better that even these accoucheurs of literary abortions should, comparatively speaking, have brought so respectable an infant into the world, than that it should never have seen the light. If Dr. Meyrick has, as we suppose he must have, exhausted the subject of armour, he will thank us for stating how he may enjoy another gallop upon his jaded Pegasus, with utility to the public and credit to himself, namely, by giving an index to his three ponderous volumes, and thus rendering the information, which he has there collected, of practical use. The next paper is likewise by the indefatigable Dr. Meyrick; but the Society ought not to have been put to the expense of engraving thirteen plates, neither of which afford even the slightest illustration of English history, and which, as works of art, are unworthy of a place in any respectable publication. A suit of armour was, it seems, discovered in the Tower, which on examination proved to be engraved with the legend of St. George and of some other saints; but of what service it is to the world, or even to antiquaries, to present them with graphic representations of these legends, no one, excepting an armour collector, can imagine. Thus it is that zeal gets the better of judgment; but it is discreditable to the Society to indulge any man's favourite pursuit at the heavy costs which must have attended these useless plates. They are accompanied by seven pages of letter-press, which exhibit some amusing specimens of "laboured trifling." On the border of the hood of one of the figures are the letters A. M. A. R.; and as every thing must be explained, and the letters in question not dovetailing with any of the learned civilian's theories, he assures us that they "simply represent a portion of an inscription not intended to be intelligible!"

Lest a part of the costume of one of the group should not receive the attention which, in Dr. Meyrick's eyes, it deserves, the reader is gravely reminded, "that the executioner has tucked up the sleeve of his right arm, and wears a boot on his left leg!!!"

and a conjecture follows, which, for its originality, depth, and importance, throws the labours of Newton into shade. Upon the clothes or weapons of the different figures introduced into these engravings, various marks occur resembling letters, which baffle the doctor's penetration, though he hazards all sorts of conjectures. At last he luckily finds an L on the jacket of one of the flagellators of poor St. Barbara, and which produces the following remark:

"The small D on the bagpipes has, I conceive, no particular import; but the very large L upon the jacket of one of these persons seems to demonstrate that the artist intended to convey a particular meaning, which in his time was so popular as to be self-evident. I confess, it strikes me as a political sarcasm of the day, aimed at the King of France. The subtle Duke of Milan had been the first who endeavoured to excite in Maximilian a desire to invade Italy, in order to induce this emperor to assist him and the Venetians, in 1498, against their enemies. In 1508, Pope Julius the Second followed this up by sending ambassadors to him, to solicit, in concurrence with the Venetians, in the most urgent manner, that he would march his troops against the French, who had taken Milan, and were attacking Genoa. Germany was therefore, at this time, in a state of exasperation against Louis XII., for what the agents of the pope represented as unchristian-like acts. On the 5th April, 1510, this active pontiff sent, as a present to Henry, a golden rose, his principal badge, with a letter sprinkled over with odoriferous musk, anointed with holy oil, and blessed by his hands, complimenting him, by not merely urging him to join the alliance, but to become its chief. It seems, *therefore*, to me highly probable, that when the artist placed the letter L in so very conspicuous a manner on the castigator, he demonstrated very effectually the contempt and derision in which his countrymen then held the French monarch." P. 112.

Upon this rich example of a commentator's acuteness it would be impertinent in us to say a single word; and we will only remark that, until Dr. Meyrick convinced us of our mistake, we considered that it was the castigat*ed* rather than the castigat*or* who is usually held in contempt. If an explanation *must* be given of the said letter, we will hazard one, which, if it does not display all the erudition and ratiocinative powers evinced by a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, will, we flatter ourselves, possess the greater merit of probability. May not the said L on the executioner's jacket be the initial of Lictor?

Dr. Meyrick thus concludes his article on the subject:

"These *curious details* have been hidden from the light ever since the Restoration; but whether that was then purposely done to countenance the expression in the inventory reported to be made for Henry VII., or, what I think far less probable, at the time of the civil wars, for their protection, may be a matter of doubt. I trust,

however this may be, you will coincide in the opinion, that there can be no hesitation in determining on their being worthy the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries." P. 113.

Of their inspection, this suit of armour might be worthy, but certainly not of forming the subject of fourteen plates at their expense. It is amusing to observe, that Dr. Meyrick is really of opinion that the armour was blackened, in order that no armour connoisseur might find that the description in the inventory was erroneous; a circumstance which, we believe, he has himself proved over and over again occurs with the greater part of the armour in the Tower. The Memoir upon the King's Jewel-House, with an account of the ancient rights of its master, is of very little interest. In the letter which accompanies it, Mr. Ellis announces "to his lordship and the Society, that the particulars relating to Colonel Blood's theft of the crown are preserved," and which formed the advent of the memorable communication to his lordship and the Society on that affair, which was noticed in a former part of this work [1]. The tract, with a map illustrative of the Border Topography of Scotland in 1590, likewise communicated by Mr. Ellis, is a useful article; but no such term can be applied to the "curious document," with which, through "the kindness of our worthy member, my friend Mr. Lemon," and "by Mr. Secretary Peel's permission." Dr. Meyrick has filled four sheets, entitled, "A Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the amount of booty taken at Cadiz in 1596, with the charges preferred in consequence by Sir Gelly Meyricke against Sir Anthony Ashley, and the answers of the former to the recrimination of the latter." In this article not a single fact occurs worthy of preservation, and it was not until we arrived at the conclusion that we could even guess at the cause of its insertion. The following is however a sufficient explanation:

"These details, which show better than any general description the state of society in England before the nature of our constitution was defined, and the liberty of the subject secured, have appeared to me as coming within the limits of that illustration of history which is the object of the Society of Antiquaries, and their internal interest has therefore outweighed the reluctance which I had hitherto felt to submit to their notice matter which, in some degree, concerns *my own family* [2]."

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[1] N. S. vol. i. p. 514.

[2] In what way Sir Gelly Meyricke was connected with Dr. Meyrick's family, it would, we believe, be difficult for him to show. We fear he has been infected with the genealogical principles evinced in the histories of the Carlisle! and *Bland!!* families, where every body of the same name is called the *ancestor* of the author in the one case, and of the illustrious "dedicatee" in the other, though the only common ancestor of either of them, and of the persons mentioned in those most valuable works, was Adam!!!

A more solemn piece of nonsense was never written, for the article has about as much to do with the "liberty of the subject," or "the English constitution," as with the great wall of China; and if the hero of it had not borne the same name as the individual who has induced the Society to print it, it might possibly have remained unnoticed in the State-Paper Office for ever. We have next an extract from the common-place book of the brother of the before-mentioned Mr. James Logan, containing "Conjectures" on the monument at Carnac in Brittany, which is followed by a second paper on some Stones, said to be Druidical, in Scotland, by that gentleman, as worthless as the former; and which concludes this part of the volume.

We have purposely deferred alluding to the paper communicated by Mr. Hardy, entitled, "Itinerarium Johannis Regis Angliæ, a table of the movements of the court of John, King of England, from his coronation, May 27th, 1199, to the end of his reign, selected [compiled] from the attestations of records preserved upon the rolls in the Tower," because it is of more historical importance than either of the other articles. We shall allow Mr. Hardy to explain the utility of his compilation in his own words, omitting however the inflated sentence with which he has had the bad taste to commence his remarks:

"It was in this reign that the Court of Common Pleas was fixed at Westminster. Until this period the suitors were compelled to follow a court, ever attendant on the King, during all his expeditions. The inconvenience resulting from this cannot adequately be conceived without referring to the Itinerary, where it is shown how short a time that vacillating monarch continued in any one place. Of the first ten years of his reign, more than four were spent abroad, and during the space of one year, we find that he changed his residence upwards of one hundred and fifty times. The inconvenience, therefore, consequent on so wandering a court as this, was very burthensome, and called so loudly for redress, that John was obliged to consent to the insertion of that article which forms the eleventh chapter of the Great Charter, and enacts that, 'Communia placita non sequantur curiam regis, sed teneantur in aliquo loco certo.

"The Itinerary also enables us to ascertain where the King was at any period throughout his reign; and thus, to decide whether a charter or any other public instrument be authentic or spurious, by comparing the time and place of its 'teste' with the table.

"A decided proof of the number of miles it was possible to travel in those early times, may be gained from this work. We perceive from it, that the court very constantly travelled between thirty-five and forty miles a day, and on particular occasions a distance of fifty miles was traversed, which, from the then existing mode of travelling and the badness of the roads, appears almost incredible. Matthew Paris, who wrote about forty years after the reign of John, remarks, that he travelled 'citius quàm credi fas est.' One instance out of the

many that could be adduced will, I think, be quite sufficient to show the correctness of the foregoing statement. I find that the court was at Marlborough on the 19th of November, 1200, and on the 23rd of the same month, at Lincoln, about one hundred and fifty miles distant; but the cause of this expedition is easily accounted for by reference to Hoveden, who mentions that the King of Scotland was to do fealty to John at Lincoln, on the 22d of *November*. The story related by historians, that King John was accessary to the murder of his nephew Arthur at Rouen on the 3rd of April, 1203, seems strengthened by the fact which appears in the Itinerary, that John was actually there on that day; it could hardly be possible that the murder of a prince, and that prince his nephew, could have taken place in the castle in which he was, without his having been privy to it.

"It is not my intention to enumerate the various purposes which this Itinerary will serve, nor to enter into a detail of what happened during these unsettled times; but it may not be amiss to compare with the Itinerary a notice of Hoveden's, who occasionally mentions where the court celebrated certain feasts, and where the King was upon particular occasions; by which I shall be enabled to account for some of Hoveden's apparent disagreements.

"In Hoveden we find the following passage: 'In the year of grace 1200, which was the second of the reign of King John, the King was at Bures in Normandy, on Christmas-day, which feast fell on Saturday, being the first Christmas-day after his first coronation.'

"Now, in the first perusal of this, we should imagine that we had discovered a gross error in Hoveden, since it appears difficult to comprehend how Christmas-day, 1200, could be the first Christmas after John's accession to the throne, which took place in the month of May, A. D. 1199; and how the King could celebrate his Christmas feast at Bures in Normandy, and at Guilford at the same time (see the Itinerary, 25th December, 1200). But this is easily accounted for by the recollection that Hoveden reckoned his Dominical year from Christmas to Christmas, consequently the 25th of December, 1199, would, according to his computation, be the first day of the year 1200; but it may be asked (allowing the above position to be true) how can the second year of John's reign be said to have commenced on the first day of the year 1200, while five months were wanting to make his first year complete? I imagine Hoveden does not mean to say that the King's second year commenced on Christmas-day, 1200, but that the year 1200, of which he was then going to relate occurrences, would be the second year, and therefore calls it his second year, as composing the greater part thereof.

"The Itinerary here presented to the reader, discovers two curious historical facts connected with the reign of John, the mention of which here may not be deemed irrelevant, as they have never been before noticed by any author.

"The first is, that although Richard the First died on the 6th of April, 1199, the reign of John did not commence until the 27th of the May following, as appears by all the rolls in the Tower; conse-

quently there was an interregnum for a period of seven weeks between the death of Richard and the accession of John.

"The second is, that there is considerable variation in the length of the years of John's reign, some of which are longer and some shorter than a solar year, which was occasioned by his inauguration having taken place on a moveable feast, that of the Ascension, and the duration of the year having been reckoned from one Ascension-day to another; for instance, the first year of his reign commenced on the 27th of May, 1199, and ended the 18th of May, 1200; his fifth year began the 15th of May, 1203, and ended the 6th of June, 1204; and so on, each year differing from the last, according as the feast of the Ascension fell earlier or later." Pp. 125—7.

Upon these statements we shall offer a few comments. Mr. Hardy is mistaken in saying, that "the two historical facts" have never been before noticed by any author. The common error, with respect to the date of the accession of John, was pointed out in the first Report of the Committee appointed to search for documents touching the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, presented to the House of Lords in July, 1819[1], and both the facts in question are fully described in a note to the "Quarterly Review[2]." In July following, a writer in a monthly publication, after calling the attention of historians and antiquaries to the circumstance, and referring to the "Quarterly Review," compiled a table, showing the commencement and termination of every year of the reign of John, calculated from Ascension-day to Ascension-day in each year[3]. In the opinion of Mr. Hardy, that this Itinerary, by showing where the King

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[1] Page 55, and note 20, p. 455.

[2] Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1826. No. LXVIII. p. 297.

[3] Vol. XCVI. Part II. p. 27. Mr. Hardy is slightly wrong in his examples. He says the first year of the reign of John began on the 27th May, 1199, and ended on the 18th of May, 1200; and that his fifth year began on the 15th of May, 1203, and ended on the 6th of June, 1204. John's first year began on the 27th May, 1199, and ended on the *seventeenth* of May, 1200; and his fifth year began on the 15th of May, 1203, and ended on the *second* of June, 1204. This mode of calculation occasionally causes great confusion, as in the 3, 5, 8, 11, 14, and 16th, of John, several days of the month of May, in two succeeding years of our Lord, occurred in the same year of the King's reign. For example:

Aº. 3 R.R.	Ascension-Day,	1201	(3 May)	to	Ascension-Day,	1202	(May 22).
5	- - -	1203	(15 May)	-	- -	1204	(June 2).
8	- - -	1206	(11 May)	-	- -	1207	(May 30).
11	- - -	1209	(7 May)	-	- -	1210	(May 26).
14	- - -	1212	(3 May)	-	- -	1213	(May 22).
16	- - -	1214	(8 May)	-	- -	1215	(May 27).

Hence every day, from the 4th to the 22nd of May, 1201, and from the 4th to the 22nd May, 1202, occurred in the 1st John, and no document dated on any day from the 4th to the 22nd May, 1 John, can be attributed with certainty to the right year of our Lord; and so with respect to the years above mentioned.

All documents, dated between the 6th April and Ascension-day in each year, have been referred to the wrong year of our Lord by those who have not been aware of this mode of computation.

was at any period, will enable us to decide whether a charter, or any other public instrument be authentic or spurious, by comparing the time and place of its "teste" with the table, we cannot fully coincide; for we do not consider it to be sufficiently established, that the monarch was actually present at the places at which documents were tested. This subject has frequently occupied our attention, and Mr. Hardy's table will afford us much assistance in the inquiry, into which we shall perhaps shortly enter, with the hope of deciding the point; but we confess we are at present very doubtful of the correctness of that gentleman's theory, and recommend great caution before a document be deemed spurious, simply because the teste does not agree with his compilation. Our impression now is, that the King was always present at the place where a document is tested, excepting when it is said to have been tested at Westminster, or at his usual residence. If it be proved that the monarch was actually present at the places mentioned in records, we do not know of a more important illustration to English history, than a similar table of every monarch's reign would afford; and in that case, we should earnestly entreat Mr. Hardy to undertake it.

In endeavouring to reconcile Hoveden's statement, that John celebrated his Christmas at Bures in Normandy on Christmas-day after his accession, with the Itinerary, Mr. Hardy has omitted to avail himself of evidence, which we have seldom found to deceive us, namely, the day of the week mentioned by chroniclers; the utility of which, in his future researches, we take the liberty of pressing upon him. Hoveden says the Christmas-day of which he speaks, fell on a *Saturday*, and which was the case in 1199. Of the importance of *dates* in historical investigations, we have long been convinced, and we consider the attention to the subject which he displays as the surest promise of future excellence in a young antiquary. Mr. Hardy may be assured, that he has communicated the most valuable paper to this part of the twenty-second volume of the Archæologia; but the following additions to his table, compiled from a reference to some of the documents in the "Fœdera," prove, we fear, that he has not availed himself of all the information within his reach. As the last edition appeared by authority, we presume that the dates of the testes there given to the various documents may be depended upon.

TABLE IN THE ARCHÆOLOGIA.	TESTE OF DOCUMENTS IN THE FŒDERA.
Anno I. 17 *June.* No place mentioned	17 June "Apud Sorham." p. 76.
30 —— No place mentioned	30 —— "Apud Karentem." p. 76.

Anno I.	28-31 *August.* Rup. Andel.(Roche Andeley)	30 August. "Apud Rothom." p. 78.
III.	6-7 *May.* Winton 9-14 —— Port. (Portsmouth)	11 May. "Apud Pontem Arch." p. 84.
	17 *April.* Aurival 22-26 —— Andeley	18 April. "Apud Molmell." p. 83.
IV.	1-14 *Nov.* Saumur 20-30 —— Chinon	2 November. "Apud Chinomen." p. 87.
V.	9 *April.* Portchester 11-12 —— Portsmouth 13 —— Winton	11 April. "Apud Winton." p. 88.
VII.	8 *Feb.* Doncaster 8-13 —— Ebor' 14 —— Snaresb' (Knaresborough)	8 February. "Apud Sarebur." p. 94.
	2-5 *May.* Lambeth 7-9 —— Westminster 11-14 —— Winton	8 May. "Apud Porcestre." p. 92.
X.	19 *June.* Bristol 20 —— Winterbourne	20 June. "Apud Bristol." p. 101.
XIV.	20-26 *May.* Lambeth 27 —— Wulnemere 30 —— Odiham	24 May. "Apud Odiham." p. 106.
XV.	13-14 *June.* Audingeburn (Aldingbourne Sussex)	13 June. "Apud Bellum." (Battle) p. 113.
XVI.	15 *June.* Auncenis 18 —— Andeg' (Anjou)	17 June. "Apud Andegavum." p. 122.
	9-12 *July.* Rupel' (La Rochelle) 13-19 —— Coignac 14 —— St. Jean d'Angely 15-16 —— Niort 17 —— Berl'o	15th July. "Apud Rupellam." p. 123.
	26-29 *April.* Clarendon	28 April. "Apud Corf[1]." p. 120.

[1] In comparing the testes of the various documents cited above, as they stand in the old and new editions of the Fœdera, we have been struck with the great variation in the dates of instruments in the reign of John, in the former and the last edition of that

The plates of the "Vetusta Monumenta," which accompany this part of the Archæologia, consist of a plan of the ancient palace of Westminster by the late Mr. Capon; of two plates of the obelisk at Forres, in Morayshire, about which we are told by the director that, "in the absence of all authentic evidence, and of any inscription to guide us, it would be fruitless to inquire at what particular era, or to celebrate what particular event, it was erected," though he does not add of what use it was to engrave two views of it; and of drawings of "two swords of state belonging to the Earldom of Chester," communicated by Mr. Ormerod above *nine years* ago, but which swords are in no way remarkable.

Thus, a Society containing above eight hundred gentlemen, who have each brought forward three or more credible witnesses to attest that he was "well versed in the history and antiquities of this and other countries," and with funds amounting to above two thousand five hundred pounds per annum, has in one year been able to produce only two hundred and three quarto pages, consisting chiefly of mere transcripts of unimportant documents, or of worthless essays upon still more worthless subjects, the mere printing of which, with the plates, have cost more than eight hundred pounds! We are aware that the publications of the Society are about to become the subject of consideration with the officers, for it is idle to

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work. The utmost attention is said to have been paid by the editors of the edition published by authority of the Government, in comparing the various documents with the originals; hence we suppose the variations are *corrections*; but it is important that the fact that so much difference exists should be more generally known. Of these variations the following are a few examples:

EDITION 1704.	NEW EDITION.
Vol. I. p. 120. Litteræ Vicecomiti Lemovicen. "Teste, &c. 30, die Junii."	"xxv. die Junii." p. 80.
p. 150. Litteræ Vicecomiti Thuwarc, de Othone Imperatore, de servitio Com. Boloniæ, &c.—"Teste, &c. quarto die *Aprilis*."	"iv. die Maii." p. 105.
p. 171. The article entitled "Forma Pacis inter Regem et Sacerdotium," "Teste meipso, apud Doveriam, *decimo tertio die Maii* anno regni nostri decimo *quinto*."	Has a different title, and among other alterations, "Teste meipso, apud Dovre anno regni nostri decimo *quarto*." p. 111.
p. 173. De Pecunia in custodia Magistri Militiæ Templi posita, &c.—"Teste meipso, apud Corf, 27 die Junii, &c."	"Teste, &c. xxii. Junii."
p. 173. Litteræ de credentia, Comiti Flandriæ.—"Teste meipso, apud Beram, 27 die Junii."	"Teste, &c. xxvi. Junii."
p. 213. Litteræ Berengariæ, sæpius dictæ, &c.—"Teste, &c. apud Divisas, 8 die *Julii*."	"Teste, &c. viij. die *Junii*."

speak of the Council, they being the mere *automata* of the officers, and we most earnestly entreat them, as the first step towards elevating the character of the institution, to suspend, if not to abolish, the "Archæologia" and "Monumenta Vetusta." If they refer to these volumes, and impartially examine the merits of the various papers inserted, they will find that, with very few exceptions, they have formed the place of refuge for essays of no value to any human being but their authors; that they have been the receptacle for absurd conjectures upon unimportant facts; for ridiculous attempts at deciphering the scribblings, or explaining the rude drawings of some herdsman upon the stone on which he sat to watch his flocks, and which were considered ancient, because they were unintelligible, or, to use the felicitous definition of a Fellow of the Society in the volume before us, because they were "inscriptions not intended to be intelligible." Against the perpetuation of this folly, in the name of common sense, we protest. We entreat the nobleman who *condescends*,—and we use the term not in reference to his rank or official situation, because these confer no lustre upon literature, but to his talents and character,—to preside over the institution, to render its proceedings consistent with the age in which we live. The demand for knowledge of all kinds is loud and irresistible; and history —history not adulterated by the hypotheses or meretricious ornaments of those who write it—was never more fully appreciated, or more ardently sought. The most valuable materials for history are yet in manuscript, or concealed under the repulsive garb of monkish Latin; and it is to the publication of the one, and the translation of the other, that the funds and labours of a Society of Antiquaries ought to be directed. We could cite MSS. of the greatest historical interest, which would employ those resources for many years; and is there any man who will compare the utility of printing them, and of publishing translations of our early chroniclers, with the trash which for more than half a century has been put forth under the title of the Archæologia? We may be told, that for the learned such translations would be superfluous; but have the unlearned, the great mass of the English population, no claims upon a Society instituted for the advancement and diffusion of historical literature? Is it to cater alone for the wants of those who are able to read the early chroniclers in the original, a class from which the most elegant scholars, and those best acquainted with the French language, must be equally excluded, instead of being animated by that feeling which is every where abroad, and which inculcates, that the streams of knowledge, like the purest element, should be open to all who will drink; that the intellectual thirst shall be as easily slaked as the natural; and that

no man may seek and be refused? For this purpose, with respect to science, societies are daily created; it ought, then, to form the object of the institution incorporated for the promotion of a branch of knowledge honoured in all lands and in all ages—the history of our country—to increase and diffuse it, whilst, by the publication of important MSS., it will augment the stores of the best informed historian and antiquary. Let it do this rather than create an asylum for bricks and potsherds; and by making our countrymen, generally, acquainted with the moral and political condition of their ancestors, teach them, to appreciate the free and liberal government under which they live; to contrast the institutions for improving the minds and alleviating the miseries of their fellow-creatures, for which this age and country are distinguished, with the total want of the one and partial existence of the other in former times; above all, let it enable them to trace the gradual advancement of science and the consequent decline of superstition; the equal progress of education and the fall of bigotry; the general prosperity of the country, and its emancipation from political bondage: to compare the happiness of the community at large, under a popular monarch, with the misery which was experienced under warlike tyrants; and thus convince them, that the "good old times" were times of slavery and ignorance, and that the best "times" this country ever knew are the present.

Let the Society of Antiquaries labour to extend information which must produce such important results; and it will redeem itself from the obloquy which it has unfortunately deserved. This is a period when to be useless will be deemed to be little short of being mischievous; and its Fellows may rest assured, that the Argus of this country, the press, will not fail to discover, and, when discovered, to expose, in a manner which will command attention, the "laborious nothings" and "learned triflings" upon which so much money is now wasted, and which are published in the name of a Society consisting, it is true, of a great majority of persons, whose names, as individuals, it would be the bitterest satire to speak of in connexion with literature, but among whom are some men whom it is an honour to be acquainted with, and whose literary reputation is established on the firmest foundation.

Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre; quibus accedit Tractatus de Metro, in quo traduntur regulæ a scriptoribus medii ævi in versibus Leoninis observatæ; e codicibus MSS. in Biblioth. C. C. C. Cantab. asservatis, primus eruit ediditque Jac. Nasmith, A.M. ejusdem collegii socius.

The Itineraries of Simon Simeon and William Worcestre, with a Treatise upon Leonine verse, &c. Cambridge, 1778, 8vo. pp. 388.

Dr. James Nasmith[1], during his residence at Corpus Christi or Benet College, Cambridge, examined and classed the very valuable manuscripts bequeathed to their library by Archbishop Parker in 1575; and, in the course of his researches, considered the three articles, in particular, concerning which we are about to treat, as worthy of transcription, and of being published in one volume. Their subjects are different, but each of considerable interest to the antiquarian reader; and as the book itself had a confined circulation, and is become rare, we do not hesitate to offer a copious analysis of its very curious contents.

The first in order is the Itinerary of Simon Simeon, called in English Fitz-Simeon, from Ireland, and probably Dublin, to Jerusalem, where it is concluded, and remains a fragment. He was a minorite of the rule of St. Francis, of a convent established in Dublin, from which city he tells us that, in company with another friar of the same order, called, from the art he professed, Hugh the Illuminator, he commenced his arduous pilgrimage, on the 15th of April, 1322[2], and the fifteenth year of King Edward the Second. The journal is written in Latin, with many monkish rather than classical phrases, but which seem to rise to a degree of eloquence, as exerted upon several occasions. He commences his narrative in a style considerably pompous for a humble mendicant and pilgrim, and boasts of "having despised the summit of honour, because he was inflated with the seraphic ardour of visiting the Holy Land[3]."

During the twelfth century, pilgrimages from Europe to Jerusalem had become frequent; and the institution of the

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[1] That gentleman published a new and enlarged edition of Tanner's Notitia Monastica in 1787, and died in 1808.

[2] xvii Kal. Aprili, A. D. milesimo cccxxii.

[3] Under an impression that a translation, rather than quotations from the original, may be more acceptable to many of our readers, we have given the subjoined as a specimen of Simeon's Latin style:

"Culmine honoris spreto ac aliis noxiis morarum dispendiis totaliter sublatis, agredi cum idea devotionis, nudum Christum in studio, devotissimæ peregrinationis terræ sanctæ currere atque discurrere cupientibus, &c. Symon Simeonis et Hugo Illuminator, ordinis Fratrum Minorum professores, seraphicis inflati ardoribus versus terram sanctam."

Knights Hospitallers had taken place, and that of the Knights Templars soon followed: the first to receive the pilgrims when arrived at the Holy Sepulchre, and the second to guard them through Palestine from the injuries which they might receive from its infidel inhabitants [1].

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[1] To such of our readers as may be inclined to an actual inspection of the MS. Itineraries of travellers into Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, we present the following slight *catalogue raisonnée* of several which are found in the English libraries, having, for the purpose of comparison, pored over them with certain perseverance.

I. The earliest MS. is probably that of Bernard, a Spanish monk, A. D. 970, in company with two other monks. "Itinerarium trium Monachorum, scilicet Bernardi, duobus fratribus sociati, Vincentio de Benevento et altro Hispano, nomine Stephanus." They sailed from Benevento to Alexandria, and having obtained a passport, they immediately commenced their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Passing up the Nile (*per fluvium Gihon*) they came to Damietta, and through the desert to Gaza, and from thence by the usual route to Jerusalem. The convents, as they occurred, and their reception in them, are the only circumstances mentioned; but not the slightest account of the country, with regard to its antiquities or natural history. The most memorable thing they mention is the perfect security from any insult from the natives, in which they travelled. At the close are described the Holy City, with its surrounding wall of eighty-four towers, and some of the adjacent places. The MS. is fairly written, of a much later date. *Cotton. Plut.* 25. *B.* 163. Mabillon has printed it among his "Acta."

II. The next, *MS. Cotton, A.* 6, is a well-written MS. of 163 pages 4to. "Itinerarium et Gesta Richardi Regis Angliæ, Philippi Regis Franciæ, et Frederici Imperatoris Allemanniæ. Author Ricardus canonicus S. Trin. London." This Richard was an Augustin canon, who attended the King of England, probably as a chaplain and secretary. It gives a very minute and curious account of the march of the allies, and their engagements with Saladin, in the third crusade, in 1191, to which his observations are solely confined. Short and distinct notices are given of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, &c.

III. Our countryman, Sir John Mandevylle, commenced his journey the same year with Simon Simeon, as he tells us "I, Sir J. Mandevyll, that went out of the country, and passed the sea in the yeare of our Lorde M.CCC.XXII. I have completyt this boke, and do wryte it, in the yeare of our Lorde M.CCC.LVI., at thirty-three yeare from my d'parture from this countrey." *MSS. Cotton. Titus, C.* xvi. It is a well-written quarto of the date, containing 132 pages. The first printed edition is in a small 4to., 1568, embellished with various wood-cuts of reliques, and monstrous birds and beasts. See the last in 8vo. 1727. It must be allowed, that our worthy knight was not a little credulous, no less concerning the reliques which he saw, than the monsters and other *incredibilia* which he learned from the Coptic monks, and which he does not pretend to have seen. Aware that the English take less delight in marvellous relations than the orientals, he cites the perfect approbation of the Pope, to whom, upon his return through Rome, he had exhibited his journal. He tells us, that he saw at Constantinople, "the crosse of our Lorde Jhesu Chryste, and the coat withoute semes, which ys clept *tunica inconsumpta*," and adds, by way of illustration, that the cross preserved at Cyprus is that of the good thief Dymas.

In the third volume of the *Retrospective Review*, p. 269—293, so ample an account of "Sir John Mandeville, Knight, and his voiage and travaile," is given, as to preclude the necessity of any further remark.

IV. A Survey of Egypt and Syria, in the year 1422, by Sir Gilbert De Lannoy, Knight, translated from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Rev. J. Webb, M.A. F.S.A. and published in the 21st vol. of the Archæologia, p. 281—444. A perfect knowledge of the subject and successful investigation in the dissertation and notes, deserve the thanks of every reader. The MS. is in the French of that age. It was the result of a journey undertaken by the command of King Henry V. to make a correct report of the state of the ports and military positions in Egypt, previously to a projected crusade, upon which that monarch was firmly resolved, when prevented by death, in the castle at Rouen, in 1422. The commission appears to have been very ably performed, and the descriptions of places are copious and accurate.

XUM

The Crusades originated in 1095, in the preaching of Peter the Hermit, then newly returned from the sacred enterprise; and the *fiat* of the Vatican, issued by the Popes Gregory VII. and Urban II. with the promise of a plenary redemption from the pains of purgatory, held forth an imperative inducement to all ranks and degrees. The princes and nobles of every country in Europe felt an irresistible impulse to visit and recover the Holy Land. Men, women, and children were enrolled under the banner of the Cross; and, like the countless sands of the desert, when elevated by a whirlwind, which are soon dissipated; this ungovernable rabble was reduced and nearly destroyed by fatigue, disease, and famine, ere they had performed their vow, and few only returned to see their native land. In the six successive crusades the pilgrims were not necessarily attached to the armies. Of these, the last took place in 1291, thirty-one years only before this itinerary commences—and that was decisive. The Latin cities and churches were then destroyed by the Soldan, but the Holy Sepulchre was spared: as it is remarked by Gibbon, "a motive of avarice or fear still opened the Holy Sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims; and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast, which had so long resounded with 'the world's debate.'"

So many volumes have been compiled to form a history of these expeditions that, if all were collected, they would occupy many pages in the catalogue of a library. We have alluded to these circumstances merely as a necessary preliminary to an investigation of Fitz-Simeon's MS. with respect to that part of the world at the precise period when he undertook the journey. The three chief ports by which there is an access to Palestine are in Egypt: Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta. The pilgrims from our own country usually passed to the south of France, and proceeded to Rome either by land or sea, and from thence to Loretto, and down the Adriatic; and having touched at Cyprus or Candia, landed at Alexandria: sometimes to Venice, without having visited Rome. Those from Constantinople sailed through the Archipelago to Rhodes, and from thence to a more eastern part of Egypt. But the greater number appear

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V. William Wey, fellow of Eton College, who died in 1474, had twice made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His Itinerary is extant in the Bodleian Library (MSS. No. 565), and contains, at the beginning of it, directions to succeeding pilgrims, how to facilitate their perilous journey, and avoid the dangers incident to it.

The first book ever printed concerning Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, was "Peregrinatio Bernhardi de Briedenbach. Moguntiæ, 1486." It is illustrated with wood-cuts of Venice, Rhodes, &c. probably one of the earliest attempts.

Marco Polo's travels were published in 1818, with most judicious notes.

to have crossed the desert from Cairo, and to have entered Palestine from the south. The pilgrims' mode of travelling through the European kingdoms was on foot, and their peculiar habit insured for them alms and protection; yet in some instances the vow of poverty was evaded. This habit, or, as our earlier poets style it, the "weedes of a pilgrim," was composed of a tunic of coarse gray cloth with full sleeves, fastened by a girdle; a large hat turned up in front, having a cockle-shell or escallop attached to it, to help himself to water; and his scrip or wallet depending from his back; a staff, or rather crutch, with an iron ferule, supported his weary steps over the sands of the desert. Spenser gives a minute description of such a votary:

"A silly man, in simple weedes foreworne,
And soiled with dust of the long dried way;
His sandals were with tiresome travel torne,
And face all tanned with scorching sunny ray;
As he had travelled many a summer's day,
Through boyling sands of Arabie or Inde;
And in his hand a Jacob's staff, to stay
His weary limbs upon; and eke behind
His scrip did hang, in which his needments he did bind."

F. Q. b. i. c. iv. st. 35.

The proper distinction between a pilgrim and a palmer has not been always made. A pilgrim (*peregrinus*) was the devotee who had reached Jerusalem; and a palmer (*palmifer*) was he who, having accomplished his vow, exhibited, upon his return, a branch of palm bound round his staff, in honourable proof of it.

After this brief view of the subject, we shall now introduce the pilgrims to our readers, adverting to such parts only of their journal as may appear worthy of notice; and we shall not apologize for offering a translation of such extracts, on the score of unusual phraseology and obscure Latin. It should be considered, that this MS. is perhaps the very earliest itinerary into the East that had been committed to writing by an English pilgrim, and which communicated to the ecclesiastics information respecting Egypt and Palestine, on which they could rely, beyond oral and uncertain tradition. Having made their vow, they could thus anticipate what they had to see and to endure.

So numerous have been the travels into the East published since the introduction of printing [1], that, remembering those only,

[1] Of the scientific travellers into Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, England can proudly reckon Sandys, Graves, Maundrell, Pococke, Shaw, Sibthorpe, Browne, and Clarke, and these offer a competition with Sonnini, Savary, and Denon, or their able precursors Niebuhr and Norden. Dr. White's translation of the description of Egypt by Abdol-atlif in 1206, is the most authentic among the Orientals. Ægyptiaca, 4to., 1801.

XUM

a want of novelty and a recurrence of description may immediately strike a modern reader. But let it be remembered, at the same time, that the customs, and even the local features, of those countries, visited in 1322, have remained nearly immoveable to the year 1828. Whilst every thing fluctuates in Europe, the Levant has changed nothing. The same public and private buildings, as to their construction, are still seen; the same domestic manners and dresses prevail; men and women in the same costume throng the streets and the public resorts; and the good friars Simon and Hugh should be esteemed as the original authors of this information, and not as the repeaters of it.

True it is, that their own, or even other European countries, appeared to contain little to be noted by most of these travellers. They traversed them, in their journeys, from one convent to another, merely enumerating the towns through which they had passed, or the shrines and reliques before which they had devoutly bowed; no description of buildings, no local peculiarities, appear to have attracted their attention, at least not in such a degree as to have induced them to commit any account to MS. If pilgrims, they were occupied only in worshipping reliques, having Canterbury or Jerusalem chiefly in view. We may conclude that Hugh the Illuminator was a joint compiler of the journal, till they were separated at Cairo by his untimely death, and that works of art more particularly engaged his attention.

In their passage through England, their route is barely noted from Chester to Litchfield—to St. Alban's and London. At Litchfield they surveyed with wonder the most beautiful church of St. Chad, its most lofty steeple of stones, its works of painting and sculpture, with its exquisite furniture and decorations. When arrived at London, the stupendous church of St. Paul, with its spire five hundred feet high, filled them with amazement.

" Venimus Londoniam civitatem, quæ est inclarissima et opulentissima inter omnes civitates quæ solis ambitu continentur. Circa medium ipsius civitatis, versus mare, est ecclesia Beati Pauli Apostoli, miræ magnitudinis, in cujus medio est campanile illud famosissimum et incomparabili dignitate coronatum, quum habet in altitudine pedes, ut asseritur, quingentos: et in eadem ecclesiâ, ad orientem, est capella B. Virginis imperialissima, in quâ quotidie missarum solempniis veneratur,

" We arrived at London, which is of all cities the richest and most celebrated under the whole course of the sun. About the middle of it, toward the sea (the Thames), stands the church of St. Paul the Apostle, of wonderful greatness, in the centre of which is a spire most famous, and crowned with incomparable dignity, and which rises, as they assert, to the height of 500 feet: at the east end is the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, most imperial, in which the mass is celebrated daily; where the English,

ubi jubilantes Anglici sive angelici Lumbardorum clamantium atque Tuetonicorum ululantium harmoniâ recisâ, notulas geminant philomenicas, et cherubicos concentus Mariæ personant, atque tripudiosos."—P. 4.

or rather angelic, choir, singing joyfully; and instead of the harmony of bawling Lombards, or the German howlings, hymns, as harmonious, and lightly trolling o'er the tongue, like those of cherubs, resound in honour of the Virgin Mary."—But our language will not admit the whole hyperbole.

The chapel of the Blessed Virgin, and the new mode of celebrating mass there, gave them especial delight. In Ireland nothing of the kind existed; and, of course, their wonder could only be expressed by superlative epithets. The Tower of London, and the Bridge, as remarkable for the number and wealth of its inhabitants, are slightly mentioned. In the neighbouring city of Westminster, they visited the Abbey, in which the Kings of England are buried, and among them Edward the First, who is styled a king most resembling the Macchabees, and who was associated with St. Louis in the last crusade. There likewise were two bells, the finest, both as to weight and sound, in the whole world. Adjoining to the convent is the celebrated palace, in which is that far-famed chamber, upon the walls of which are depicted all the wars related in the Bible, with descriptions written in French, in the most perfect style of decoration. The next remarks occur at Canterbury, where their devotion is paid to the shrine of Thomas à Becket, "whose body is enclosed in a chest fabricated with gold, enriched as the gate of Jerusalem with pearls and flaming jewels, and even crowned with an imperial diadem. There is nothing like it under the moon, according to the assertion of the monks." They proceeded to Dover, and soon landed at Whitsond-Bay, near Boulogne, pursuing their journey through Beauvois, halting only at St. Denis to see the nail which had been taken from the Holy Cross. Paris, even as compared with London, engrosses all their praise[1],

[1] Venimus civitatem inclytum Parisiensem, quæ est populosissima inter omnes civitates quæ fidem Christianam confitentur. After admiring the number and height of its towers and churches, they describe Notre Dame, "cujus portæ occidentales nimiâ varietate sculpturarum atque turrium altitudine decorantur." p. 8. Of the University their praise is unbounded: "ibi summe viget scientia theologica et philosophica, quum ipsarum nutrix est, et aliarum liberalium artium mater, et magistra justitiæ, atque libera morum norma, et breviter omnium virtutum moralium atque theologicarum speculum et lucerna." What a model this for a modern university! Upon an island, formed by two branches of the Seine, stands the palace of the Kings of France, with the holy chapel, richly painted with the Bible historics. The reliques were then, *as now*, the objects of the royal care and protection; the real crown of thorns, and a very large cross (*magna et gloriosa crux*) taken out of that of Calvary, "quæ a predicto rege singulari diligentiâ custodiuntur." p. 8.

and it is not easy to distinguish whether the higher encomium be bestowed upon the University or the reliques preserved in the sacristy of Notre Dame. They were diverted from their intended route into Lombardy on account of the Milanese war then raging, and sailed down the Saone and Rhone to Lyons and Nice, where they again embarked, and, landing at Ravenna, they passed through Placenza, Parma, Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, and arrived at Venice on the 29th of June, 1322, O. S.[1] A bare enumeration only of these places is given, but still it is an object of curiosity to mark the highway from England to Jerusalem. Their observation of Venice is subjoined, as it refers to several objects which have been described by many other travellers, in succession, to the present day[2]. Having determined to sail down the Adriatic from Pola[3], they appear to have steered closely to the Dalmatian coast, stating the different islands and ports near to which they passed in the course of their voyage, till they landed at Crete, and reached the city of Canea on foot, where their admiration of its beauty was strongly excited. The island of Crete, then in the possession of the Venetians, appeared to them as a region of delight. They admired the cities of Canea and Candia. "The first situate at the base of a mountain, thickly covered with groves of cedar, as tall as those of Libanus, of which the houses were entirely built, and used likewise for fuel, from which issued a fragrance like that of paradise or a preparation of a druggist (paradisus Dei et opus pigmentarii)."

Describing local customs, Candia is memorable for the conduct of its widows:

"Ubi Latinorum mulieres, velut Januensium, auro, margaritis,

"Where the women of the Roman Church, like those of

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[1] "Vigiliâ Apostolorum Petri et Pauli."

[2] "Quæ quamvis sit totaliter in mari sita, tamen nomine suæ pulchritudinis et munditiæ merito inter arcturi sidera et micantes pleiades poscit collocari. In ipsâ requiescunt corpora sanctorum, quorum *corpora sunt integra et incorrupta Marcæ evangelistæ*, Zachariæ prophetæ, et patris S. Johannis Bapt. cujus os est apertum usque hodie." p. 11. With respect to the body of St. Mark, it had been purchased at Alexandria in 829, from the Saracens, and brought to Venice. It has been lost or concealed of late years, so that the detached thumb only is now exhibited to devout or admiring travellers. The church and place of St. Mark are then described, with the adjoining palace of the Doge and his *manegerie*, "in quo continue ad ipsius gloriam et civium magnificentiam *leones vivi* nutriuntur." "Et in porta occidentali dictæ ecclesiæ sunt *duo equi cupreî* consimiliter per omnia relucentes." Fitz-Simeon must certainly mean two pair of horses, as they have not been divided. The history of their several migrations is very singular. The four horses in bronze are said to have been cast by Lycippus; given by Tiridates, King of Armenia, to Nero, who placed them on his triumphal arch at Rome; removed by Constantine to his new city; taken by the Venetians from Constantinople in 1204; and, after having remained as above mentioned during six centuries, conveyed to Paris by Buonaparte, to decorate his arch of Triumph in the Place Carousel; and, lastly, restored to their former station at Venice, in 1816.

[3] "Infra octavas Virginis assumptionis Spolam navigavimus."

et ac aliis gemmis coruscantibus communiter ornantur; et quum illarum aliqua viro semel suo est orbata, raro vel nunquam tenditur nuptui, nec veste nuptiali ornatur, sed velo nigro et viduali; nec cum viro incedit, nec gradum in ecclesiis, nec alibi cum ipsis possidet; sed semper facie velatâ, et singultatibus plena, loca solitaria ubique petit, et hominum velut serpentium consortia vitare, non desistit."—P. 16.

Genoa, are commonly adorned with gold, pearls, and brilliant jewels; and, after having lost husband, they seldom or never are again married, but wear a black veil as widows, nor do they ever walk with a man, or sit upon the same seat, either in the church or elsewhere. Perpetually heaving sighs, and in a mourning habit, the widow seeks solitary places, and constantly flies from the society of men as she would from that of serpents."

The Jewish women at Candia have a remarkable costume, which is likewise adopted by those of the Greek church. "They wear a singular dress, resembling the surplices of choristers, having collars without hoods, which on the inside are curiously embroidered with gold. They bear ear-rings of gold of a large size, of which they are very vain." The abundance and the luxury of the fruits and provisions excite the gratitude of our pilgrims, yet they do not refrain from making an observation, which is indeed applicable to every city in the Levant. "These cities, viewed from the sea, are all beautiful, yet, upon landing, we find their streets filthy, narrow, and crooked, and most vilely paved[1]. Their boast lies in their ships, galleys, and horses." "There, too, is the body of St. Titus, so frequently mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles." Our pilgrims have fallen into an error; for, in fact, Titus is not once mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. He was appointed bishop of Crete by St. Paul, and left there; and the Epistle was sent to him afterwards for his guidance[2].

They speak of Mount Ida (the *Troadas* mountain) as being inaccessible, excepting by a narrow road, yet having a plain on the summit, wide enough to contain 10,000 Greeks; which produced all the necessaries of life excepting salt and iron, and was then under the government of Alexius, who maintained, in consequence of the natural fortifications, a dominion which was held in defiance of the Venetians. The whole island was represented by the sailors to be 500 miles in circumference. From Crete they departed[3] on the 10th of October, O. S. and arrived at Alexandria on the 14th, 1322[4].

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[1] "Quæ quamvis sint in aspectu navigantibus pulchra, barerias tamen habent viles, immundas, strictas, angulosas, et in vilissimo pavimentatas." p. 17.

[2] "In ipsâ dicitur esse corpus beati Titi episcopi, Pauli discipuli et Cretensium patroni, de quo in epistolis Pauli et Actubus Apostolorum mentio sæpe habetur." p. 17.

[3] "Die Lunæ infra octavas Sancti Francisci."

[4] "In festo Sancti Calixti Papæ."

A wider field was now opened for their observation; and the details become much more interesting, from the frequency and importance of the objects, which were altogether new to them, and of which there is fair reason to conjecture the first minute knowledge was communicated by them to our own countrymen, at least to the ecclesiastics.

They were now in a city where the inhabitants professed a religion which they had previously been taught to consider as the most odious imposture, and that most repugnant to the Christian faith[1]. They were persecuted and reviled as they passed through the streets, followed by a rabble who shouted, "These are the dogs and hogs who do not believe that Mohammed is the prophet of God!" At sunset they were relieved by the amirayl or governor (*admiraldus*), who placed them in the khan belonging to the merchants of Marseilles. There were several others. They were soon hailed by the loud voice of the muezzin, who was crying the stated hour of prayer from a high gallery. A more unfair misrepresentation of the form of invitation than what is here given will rarely occur in any book of travels. There cannot be a more simple form of address, expressing only the monotheism and mission of Mohammed, than that really used[2]. The other is best concealed under a learned language.

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[1] "Inter præfatas vero portas fuimus a transeuntibus pro nomine Jesu consputi, lapidibus percussi, et aliis contumeliis et opprobriis a mane usque ad horam sextam saturati." p. 20.

[2] After allowing the neatness which prevails in the interior of the mosques, they add, "Item quælibet earum habet unam turrim altam, ad modum campanilis (*Menhareh*) et turris deambulatorum externum, quo stant eorum sacerdotes et clerici velut speculatores ad prophetam suum certis horis, viz. Machumetum porcum vilissimum laudandum et ad populum in ejus laudibus excitandum; ubi inter alia laudant clamorosis vocibus et magnificant quod unâ nocte cum mulieribus novem et nonaginta vicibus turpiter operatus est, quod factum inter alia ejus miracula excellentissimum et gloriosum reputant; et quod uxor cujuscunque semel ab eo dilecta et concupita, nunquam cum viro suo poterat tare, sed cum necessaliter dimittere et ad lectum concupiscentis prophetæ indilate properare." p. 23.

The words really chaunted are these, which have never been altered, and are thus pronounced, "*La Illāhu illa llāhu.*" There is no other God but God. "*Wa Muhammedu ābduhu wa rasouluhu.*" Mohammed is his servant and his messenger. Before the first prayer at day-break, the muezzin adds only, *Es salath'u khayo-'unn, minn-enewm.* Prayer is to be preferred to sleep. *Hayy'e al'es salalh!* Come to the temple of salvation.

Many extracts are given, professedly from the Koran, if the Koran be meant by "secundum quod continetur *in libello de doctrinâ porci vilissimi Machumeti;*" and sometimes "*hæc Machumetus porcus, mulierum amator.*" But upon comparing the passages quoted from particular chapters with Sale's translation, they will be found to be totally unaccordant, either as to the letter or subject. It is therefore probable, that these interpolations (more especially those which respect the Mohammedan Paradise) were gathered from the Sonnhet, or commentary, and communicated to Fitz-Simeon by some rabbinical Jews, or the Coptic Christians.

Peter, abbot of Clugny, gave the first MS. Latin translation of the Koran in 1350.—Arrivabene into Italian, 4to., 1547; Du Ryer into French, 1683; Marracci, Arabic and Latin, 2 vols. folio, Padua, 1698; Sale into English, 4to., 1734.

The first edition of it, in Arabic, published 1530.

The Jacobitæ, or Coptic Christians, are said to be very numerous in Egypt. A large monastery of them, under the rule of St. Macarius, was established in the Desert. Their doctrines are condemned by Fitz-Simeon as heretical. Amongst other abominations, they read the Epistles and Gospel in two languages, received the sacrament seven or eight of them at a time, standing round the patriarch, and both eating and drinking, never use confession, and marry within the prohibited degrees, reject extreme unction and prayers for the dead, "et multas alias ceremonias habent, quas nunc pro silentio recommendamus." The head of the Coptic church is the Patriarch of Alexandria, who claims to be the successor of St. Mark.

We will now attend to topographical descriptions, remains of antiquity, natural history, and the manners and habits of the Egyptians in the fourteenth century. It will then be conceded that very little novel information, as merely relative to facts, has been communicated to the present day. The route taken by pilgrims to Jerusalem is submitted in a note [1]. Alexandria was, at that period, fortified by a double wall, and many towers, full of warlike engines, which are now levelled by dilapidation, or buried under hills of sand blown from the desert. The celebrated Pharos [2] has shared the same fate, and is now succeeded by a small Turkish fort. Of the catacombs [3] described by subsequent travellers a slight notice only occurs, and of the obelisks called Cleopatra's Needles, none at all. The bazars and streets have only one general description, which is applied to all the towns in which they rested, and which is equally just in modern times. As may be expected, the orthodox Franciscan is lavish in his abuse of Mohammedans, and schismatical Jews or Christians [4]. They next took boat up the Nile to Cairo, observing that the river Gihon, one of the four which enclosed Paradise, is the same. Landing at Fowa, the excessive amenity and profusion of fruits and flowers were continued on its banks, till they

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[1] Route of the Pilgrims: Cairo, up the Nile. Ghisah, Pyramids, Matarieh (Heliopolis). Belbeis (the land of Goshen). Salahieh (the Desert). Gazaro (Gaza in Palestine). Askelon, Hebron, Jerusalem. These are the principal stations only. Sandys, a well-known English traveller, left Cairo, March 4, 1611, and arrived at Jerusalem, March 21; Belon, October 29, and came to Jerusalem, November 8, 1537. Many pilgrims from the south of Europe landed at Jaffa (the ancient Joppa), and those who had traversed the desert from Cairo were fain, upon their return, to embark from the first-mentioned port.

[2] Cives in introitû portûs ejus turrim altissimam super rupem construxerunt, in quâ continue stant speculatores, quæ suâ altitudine navigantes dirigit ad portum salutis." p. 28.

[3] "Cemeterium ingentissimum et in *maximâ parte edificatum*." p. 28.

[4] "*Hic falsarius veritatis, primogenitus Sathanæ, Machumetus*," p. 33; but the vituperative epithet most frequently repeated is *Mulierum amator*; and an assertion which he makes at page 44 is really too horrible.

arrived at Cairo[1]. A comparison is made with Paris, and Fitz-Simeon states it to be then twice as extensive, and four times as populous, as the French capital. On account of the want of pavement, and the dirty streets, asses for hire, to the amount of thirty thousand[2], stand in the broader places, as walking is seldom practised, and no carriages are in use. He speaks of the riches of the city as being beyond his powers of description; nevertheless he gives a catalogue, which offers a curious comparison between the splendid wealth of Cairo and that of London, in the fourteenth century, as it respects the possession of luxuries, or the knowledge of ornamental or useful arts.

"But in describing the riches of this city, we must chiefly remark that they consist in gold and silver, cloth of gold and silk, and in cotton and linen woven into various patterns; resplendent jewels, pearls, and other precious stones, vases of gold, silver, and brass, skilfully and admirably engraven by Saracenic workmanship; balsam, oil, honey, pepper, sugar, and divers valuable spices. The shops are made conspicuous by cups of glass most elegantly ornamented, which are of the common manufacture of Damascus, beside other innumerable articles of ornament; and concerning these we forbear to write, because they could not be included in any description, on paper, or in conversation[3]."

Cairo was then the grand mart of the East. The castle, or rather palace and camp of the Soldan, stands upon high ground above the city, and its origin is attributed by the Jews to Joseph, whose well is still preserved, more than two hundred feet deep, the water of which is drawn up by two wheels, worked by oxen. Fitz-Simeon overlooks it, and probably never entered the walls.

What were the decencies practised at the tables of mendicant friars, in their convents, we know not; but the mode of the Soldan's daily dinner fills our travellers with disgust[4].

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[1] "New or Grand Cairo (Kaherah) is situated on the east of the Nile, which devolves its majestic flood at some little distance. The suburbs, however, Misr'el attik'eh, and Bulak, or the port, form two points of contact with the river."—Browne's Travels, p. 46. Babylon (civitas Babiloniæ) is said to be a suburb of Cairo by Fitz-Simeon.

[2] "Sunt triginta millia asini conductitii, qui nihil aliud faciunt nisi volentibus per civitatem vel extra, *asinare*." Equus asinus, Hasselquist.

[3] "De divitiis autem ipsius civitatis, quæ precipue in auro et argento, pannis aureis et sericis, bombacinis et lineis vario modo textis, gemmis nitentibus, margaritis et aliis lapidibus pretiosis, vasis aureis, argenteis, æreis, opere Saracenico artificialiter et incomparabiliter sculptis, vitreis pretiosissime ornatis, quæ communiter fiunt in Damasco; balsamo, oleo, melle, pipere, succura, speciebus diversis; et aliis jocalibus innumerabilibus relucent, scribere prætermittimus, quia non possint capi cartâ nec sermone explicari." p. 43. Coffee had not then been introduced from Æthiopia. It was first drunk at Constantinople in 1554.

[4] "Soldanus semper comedit, sicut faciunt cæteri omnes legis diabolicæ, satis brutaliter in terrâ; et nunquam cibus paratur pro eo in castro, sed extra in civitate; nec in curiâ ejus mensa ponitur nec sedile, nec mappa reperitur, sed loco mensæ ponuntur tabulæ rotundæ, artificiose de auro vel argento fabricatæ, et aliquantulum a terrâ elevatæ, super

"The Sultan always eats, as do all others under that diabolical law, sitting on the ground, like brutes. His meals are not provided for him in the castle, but without, in the city; nor is his table laid in the court; neither seat nor napkin are found; but, in their stead, round tables of gold or silver, wrought with much art, and raised only a little from the ground, on which the viands are placed, in large dishes, composed of earthen ware, before those who sit around them. Rejecting all forms of politeness, they feed like the vilest dogs and hogs, licking their fingers and befouling their beards, and commit many inexplicable brutalities, until perfect repletion."

The equal administration of penal justice at Cairo, under the Soldan Nasr' Mohammed, merits and receives a very high commendation.

"In that city, as indeed throughout all Egypt and India, so sublimated is justice, that nobles and villagers, youths and gray-headed men, and strangers, whatever be their religious profession or condition, all redemption laid aside, are subject to the infliction of equal punishment; and this more particularly, when the criminal is guilty of death." P. 48.

Of course, the convents in Cairo were duly visited. That of our Lady of the Cave, with the miraculous well, which issued forth, by her prayers, when, with Joseph and the infant Christ, she fled from the persecution of Herod, and the nunnery of the order of St. Macarius, then lately destroyed, are both mentioned.

A meagre account is given of the Pyramids, which, according to rabbinical tradition, were the identical granaries built by Joseph for the reception of corn against the years of famine, and that they were constructed by the Jews[1]. These stupendous

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quas ponunt cibaria in scultellis terreis magnis et amplis coram circumsedentibus, de quibus, omni urbanitate præcisâ, sicut canes et porci vilissimi comedunt, manus suas lingentes, et barbas proprias fedantes, et *alias brutalitates inexplicabiles continuè facientes*, quousque fuerint repleti." Throughout the whole Ottoman empire the Mohammedans still conduct their dinner in a similar manner; but Simon has uncandidly omitted their very frequent lavations.

[1] "Ad tria miliaria ultra insulam (*Gizah*), ad radicem deserti, sunt illa granaria quæ fecit Joseph, de quibus scribitur Genesi; et sunt tria, quorum duo sunt tantæ magnitudinis et altitudinis, quod potius a remotis videntur montium cacumina quam granorum custodilia: tertium vero, licet non sit multum magnum nec altum in comparatione ipsorum, tamen in formâ et figurâ in nullo discrepat. Ipsa vero sunt in parte inferiori, quadratissima et amplissima, et in parte superiori prout plus ascendunt magis stricta, et sic stricta quod, observatâ quadratudine, cacumen cujuslibet se valde strictum demonstrant et acutum." p. 51.

Of these stupendous artificial masses there are many scattered about the land of Egypt, particularly those of Gizah, about three hours' journey from Cairo, and near the supposed site of the ancient Memphis; and others of less magnitude at Sakkarah and Dashoor. To these the examination of many scientific travellers has been chiefly directed, as is well known to such of our readers as take interest in the antiquities of Egypt.

The largest pyramid is attributed to King Cheops. It is placed upon a rocky eminence, of about one hundred feet above the level of the Nile. From the base, where the accumulated sand has been removed, it is 498 feet and a fraction high, as it has

buildings have afforded ample matter for conjecture and inquiry; but, according to both Sandys and Graves, they could not owe their origin either to the manual labour or the skill of the Jews, who were solely employed either in making, or building with, bricks, and in these none of that material is seen. Besides, they had but few chambers, and those of no capacity. We must not blame the pilgrims for a want of curiosity in not attempting to examine the interior. The aperture of that of Cheops was originally concealed; it was first opened about the year 1000, and superstition concurred with other causes to prevent such an investigation. The perseverance of modern travellers has supplied ample information, with many a contradictory opinion, such as, whether the large pyramid was hewn out of a granite rock, or constructed over one of a conical shape. The immense cemeteries built over with innumerable tombs, and extending over several hundred acres, are next mentioned.

On the 22nd day of October[1], 1322, the companions were separated by the death of brother Hugh the Illuminator, who fell a sacrifice to the diseases of the climate. He was buried in the church of St. Macarius. Fitz-Simeon's lamentation upon this unhappy event is expressed in a style singularly impassioned and rhetorical, and much at length[2]. But the obligation of his vow

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been measured step by step. According to Graves, there are 207 grades; to Davison, 206; and to Grobert, 208, of irregular heights, which originally, as it has been conjectured, were covered with slabs of polished porphyry. The area of the base encloses eleven acres, and each side of the square is 693 feet English. The aperture was closed, and was not in the middle, being 353 feet from the N. E. corner, and 396 from the N. W. The porphyry passage, and the royal chamber, have been minutely investigated; and that this pyramid was a sepulchre, is an opinion which has been generally received by those who have treated of it, from Herodotus down to Denon. But there is one dissentient, the author of a treatise concerning the cubit or sacred measure, entitled, "Finis Pyramidis," whose conjecture is very ingenious, if not conclusive*. He observes, that the hollowed chest of black granite, which is highly finished, but without hieroglyphics, was the sacred measure both of space and capacity; that it is in length, inside, exactly four cubits (7f. 296 English), which, multiplied by 100, is the exact mensuration of each side of the pyramid itself; and that a tenth part of the length of this chest is the foot universally adopted by the Egyptians, and the Greek and Roman architects. He adds, that this hollowed stone was never covered with a lid, nor contained a body, and that therefore it was not a sarcophagus, and could not have been conveyed through the narrow ascending passage.

According to the measures given by the French Savans, the basis of the three great Pyramids (Cheops, Cephrenes, and Micerinus) are to their perpendicular height as three to five.

[1] XI. Kal. Novembris.

[2] "O vos Romipedes et Peregrini! qui transitis per viam! Væ, væ, et pro mortuo in Egyptiorum littore, *magdalenice* (like Mary Magdalene) in mœroris laqueos incidi, et in lachrymarum gurgite impegi, et pro Joseph prædicto *jacobitice* (like the patriarch Jacob) descendere ad inferos concupivi," &c. &c. p. 59.

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* "*Finis Pyramidis*, or Disquisitions concerning the Antiquity and Scientific End of the Great Pyramid of Gizah, and of the First Standard of Linear Measure. By the Rev. T. Gabb, 8vo. 1805.

prevailed over grief, however poignant; and he made the first preparation for his journey to Jerusalem by soliciting a firhman, or letters of protection, from the Soldan, through the agency of three dragomen, or interpreters, who, as at the present time, must be secured by a large present [1]. He says that they were renegadoes, though secretly Christians; one of them a knight-templar (*miles de ordine Templariorum renegatus et uxoratus*), and that they lived magnificently. We will now leave our pilgrim to prepare for his arduous expedition, and advert to several subjects to which he directed his observation, and prove how trifling a difference the lapse of five centuries has occasioned between his descriptions and those of our latest travellers.

With respect to the remains of antiquity, after the Pyramids, the Obelisks only attracted their notice, and that very slightly; indeed, the temples of Tentyra and Thebes lie in Upper Egypt, and were out of their route. At Alexandria the two obelisks, one of which is prostrate, and the column called Cleopatra's Needle, appear to have been confounded—"two pillars of red stone, lofty and large." He speaks of two pillars at Matarieh (Heliopolis), one of which only is now erect [2].

The great and peculiar object in the natural history of Egypt is the river Nile. Fitz-Simeon's description is curious [3]:

"This is a great and famous river, of the length of which there is no termination, which is navigable from the Mediterranean sea to Upper India, where dwells Prester John (Presbyter Johannes), at the distance, it is said, of seventy-four long days' journey: and this river

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[1] "Quum omnes a Soldano gratias volentes, vel ad eum accessum habere, necesse est ut manus eorum inunguant affluenter *olco Florentino* (*golden sequins*) et eis dona largissima largiantur." p. 62.

[2] "Lapides quadrati," squared and monolithic. Few monuments which owe their original either to the ingenuity or pride of man have lasted so long as obelisks. In point or antiquity they equal the Pyramids. Kircher states (Œdipus Ægyptiacus) that there were twelve pyramids at one time standing at Rome, all of which had been brought from Egypt, and principally from Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes. That alluded to by Fitz-Simeon, by the name of St. Peter's Needle, is probably that once in the circus of Nero, and now erected in front of that cathedral. The four which now attract the notice of travellers are this at Matarieh, the ancient Heliopolis; the other mentioned by Fitz-Simeon having disappeared; two still standing at Luxsoor, the ancient Thebes; and Cleopatra's needle at Alexandria; originally, another was placed as those at Luxsoor, but is now prostrate. The general height of these is sixty or seventy feet English, of a single stone, and with a base of eight feet. They are engraven with hieroglyphics on each of the four sides, which have employed the learned to decipher, and none with greater success than Zoega, "De Obeliscis," and Hammer's translation of "Abukre Bin Washi's Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters Explained." 1806.

The first was brought to Rome by Augustus, and erected in the Campus Martius for his Egyptian triumph. It was made by order of king Sesostris, 1100 years before the Christian æra; and having lain on the ground for many centuries, was again set upright, in the Monte Citorio, by Pope Pius VI. in 1792.

[3] "Flumen illud ingens et famosum nomine Wyon (Gihon) quod est unum de illis quatuor quæ de Paradiso egrediuntur, et hodie Nilus ab Ægyptiis nuncupatur testante Josepho." p. 34. See a very able and satisfactory elucidation of this primæval tradition, Archæologia, vol. xxi. p. 372.

is, to navigate the most pleasant, in transit the most delightful, in fishes the most productive, and in birds most abundant, in wholesomeness most efficacious and sweet; delicious to drink, never noxious nor offensive, but in every respect adapted to the nature of man. It would be worthy of all commendation, excepting that it is the retreat of most noxious animals, which resemble dragons, for they devour both men and horses if they should meet with them in the river, or upon its banks, and they are called crocodiles (cocatrix) by the natives. It is to be remarked, that all the rivers in the land of Egypt have their origin in the Nile, and are derived from it." P. 36.

"The surface of this river, during the greater part of the year, equals that of the land; and so has the Uncreated Wisdom disposed it, that its overflowing happens once in every year, namely, in the month of July, eight days before the feast of St. John Baptist (1st July), and begins to decrease about the feast of St. Dionysius and Rusticus (9th of October) as it is said, and supplies the want of rain and showers by its beneficial effects. At other seasons the natives draw water from the Nile, by means of pitchers placed on wheels, which are worked by oxen, and thus a perfect irrigation is performed[1]." P. 98.

Of the plenty and excellence of the various fruits, his admiration never ceases.

"The water distilled from roses is the most excellent of any, and is at the very point of perfection." P. 39.

Were the Egyptians acquainted with the Oriental method of extracting the attar or quintessence, as it is now practised by the Orientals? or did it originate with them?—He enumerates the fruits.

"In their gardens and orchards there are the cane, from which sugar is made, the trees which bear cotton, which are small and low, throwing out the pods as a rose does its flowers, most lofty date trees, melons, oranges (arungis), &c. Beside these, be it known there are apples of paradise, which, in my judgment (salvo meliori) are of incomparable goodness; they are oblong, and, when ripe, of a blue colour, beautiful to look at, exquisite to smell, mellifluous to taste, and, when cut across, they show the sign of the crucifixion most clearly. But they are not like apples on a tree, but grow on a shrub, which is called 'musa[2].'" P. 35.

He speaks of "the canes from which sugar is made." P. 34.

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[1] We learn from Browne (p. 67) that the Mokkias or Nilometer has a graduation, which is far from accuracy. The report made from it depends on the will of government, which at the beginning of the increase generally exceeds the truth, and afterwards falls short of it.

"The well-known and fertilizing level of the Nile is sixteen cubits, or about thirty feet English; and consequently, the length of the cubit has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodotus."—Gibbon.

[2] Musa Paradisaica, the plantain-tree. According to Hasselquist, this fruit is now become extremely scarce at Cairo, where it is kept for ladies of the first quality. Forskal, Flora Ægyptiaca-Arabica, 4to. 1775.

XUM

Sugar is indigenous in Egypt. The prophet Jeremiah (chap. vi. v. 20) speaks of the "sweet cane from a far country;" and Lucan describes one of Pompey's auxiliaries as drinking the juice, "dulces ab arundine succos." The crusaders are said to have introduced this plant into the Morea, Rhodes, and Sicily, from Egypt and Palestine, in the twelfth century. There are two opinions as to whether it was taken to South America and the adjacent islands, or whether it be the spontaneous growth of that soil. The botanical name is "arundo saccharifera." Pliny has described "saccharon" as indigenous in Arabia and India, of a hard and brittle substance, used only in medicine (l. xii. cap. 8). A few miles from Cairo is Matarieh, the ancient Heliopolis. He visited the celebrated garden there, of which he speaks as follows:

"There is that famous vine which was formerly said to have been in Engaddi, which distils the balsam, carefully guarded by thirty men, because it is the source of the greatest wealth of the Soldan. It in no respect resembles other vines, for it is a small, low, and light tree, odoriferous, and resembling a corylus or hazel-nut, and the leaves are like those of the water-nasturtion (nasturcium aquaticum)[1]."

An account of the miraculous well which sprang up for the solace of the Virgin Mary, and the worship paid to it by all Christians, is then given.

"The stem of the balsam-tree is small and short; generally speaking, it does not exceed one foot in length, from which the former branches, having been cut down, twigs spring up, which are from two to three feet long, but they never produce fruit. The keepers of the garden bring Christians there, who, with knives or sharp stones, cut or bruise the tops of these twigs, in many places, but always in the sign of a cross. These soon distil, through these wounds or fractures, the balsam into glass bottles; and the keepers assert that it is richer, and drops more abundantly, when the incision is made by a Christian than by a Saracen." P. 49.

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[1] Mr. Webb, in his note upon the garden of Matarieh, in De Lannoy's MS. above mentioned, has thrown much light upon the subject of the "Balm." It flourished in Judea at Gilead, at Matarieh near Cairo, and at Mecca: at the two last places probably by transplantation. It obtained the name of "Balsamum Indiacum," and was considered by Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Pliny, and even the Arab physicians, to have been indigenous there. In Genesis (chap. xxxv. v. 25) we are told that the merchants who purchased Joseph of his brethren, were conveying balm from Gilead into Egypt; and Jacob's present (chap. xliii. v. 11) is "a *little* balm," which proves its high price. Bruce gives an excellent figure of this shrub in his last volume, and derives it from Abyssinia. Strabo (v. 2. p. 778) from Sabæa. The date of its earliest introduction at Matarieh is involved in obscurity. The Saracen princes cultivated it with much care. Towards the end of the fifteenth century it had nearly disappeared through neglect; but when the Turks gained the country, the plantation was renewed. Belon, in 1530, found the garden to contain not more than ten trees; and in 1615, Sandys saw one only, "the whole remainder of the store." The Venetians are said to have purchased it with its weight in gold. The orientals still trust to it as a panacea; but in Europe it has fallen into disesteem, and its miraculous powers are utterly denied. Fitz-Simeon decides upon the origin of the plant, "quæ olim dicitur fuisse in Engaddi," p. 48.

XUM

With respect to birds and beasts, Fitz-Simeon particularises the carrier-pigeons, and the artificial method by which chickens are produced in surprising quantities.

"There is a long and narrow house, in which, by means of fire, chickens are produced from hens' eggs without the natural means (absque gallis et gallinis), in numbers which cannot be counted. And in this house the earth is raised on either side to about the height of an altar, extended through the whole length of it, in which stoves or ovens are skilfully made to receive an innumerable quantity of eggs, to which an uniform and temperate heat is continually applied, both day and night, during twenty-two days, so that about that period, from all these eggs come forth chickens in so great a quantity that they are sold by the bushel, like wheat[1]: in proof of which fact we saw, in the streets, the herdsmen of those chickens feeding two or three thousand of them, with the corn that had fallen from the loaded camels." P. 55.

Of the use of the carrier pigeon at Rome, which was probably borrowed from Egypt, mention is made by Pliny[2].

"The governor of Alexandria and all the other ammirals along the sea coast have tame pigeons, which are sent to them in cages, by the Soldan, from the castle at Cairo, where they are bred: so that, whenever any circumstance may happen which requires to be instantly made known, they despatch one with a letter tied to his tail, which never rests till it has reached Cairo, and by these means the Soldan and his ammirals are mutually informed." P. 19.

The extreme value of the ger-falcon is thus noticed:

"The Soldan gives, without exception, to every man who brings him a live ger-falcon, three thousand drachms, which are worth a hundred and fifty florins, and half that sum for a dead one, with great thanks." P. 40.

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[1] It is curious to compare the account of this process given by one of the most intelligent of modern travellers, in 1796, with the above by Fitz-Simeon. "The mode (he says) of hatching eggs without incubation is almost peculiar to Kaherah (Cairo). The Egyptians found that the eggs hatched by hens are uncommonly unprolific; whereas, of those hatched in ovens, not one third part is lost. The ovens where these eggs are placed are of the most simple construction, consisting only of a low arched apartment of clay. Two rows of shelves are formed, and the eggs placed on each, in such a manner as not to touch each other. They are slightly moved five or six times in twenty-four hours; and the whole time they are in the oven does not exceed twenty-two days, when the chickens free themselves from the shell. All possible care is taken to diffuse the heat equally throughout; and there is but one small aperture, large enough to admit of a man stooping. During the first eight days the heat is rendered great, and during the last eight it is gradually diminished, till at length, when the young brood is ready to come forth, it is reduced to almost the state of the natural atmosphere. At the end of the first eight days it is known which eggs will be productive. Those who have eggs to be hatched bring them to the master of the oven, and contract to pay so much a hundred; and when the chickens appear, he receives his money on delivering them. Those which have not succeeded are required to be produced. The oven is public property." Browne, p. 77, 78.—Sandys is equally particular, p. 125; and Belon, p. 227.

[2] Nat. Hist. l. x. p. 178.

These trained birds were brought from Arabia [1].

Fitz-Simeon's description of animals peculiar to, or indigenous in Egypt, are not unfrequently minute, and have scarcely a variation from those of subsequent travellers. The crocodile, the camel, the ass, and the gazelle or antelope, are noticed [2]. The extraneous animals, likewise, as preserved in the menagerie at Cairo, attracted his attention.

"Near the Soldan's castle is a place where he keeps his elephants. We saw three, each of which was tied by the neck and legs to a wooden post, with a very strong iron chain, which, without doubt, are monstrous and not pleasant to look upon, yet, by reason of their excessive bulk and height, appear to be possessed of the great strength which the Scriptures testify [3]. And near them we saw another beast, which is called giraffek, in appearance most beautiful and graceful, having a hide in all respects resembling that of a deer, and an extremely long neck, which, as it walks, it carries most erect, and although not bulky, he exceeds any horse in tallness, particularly in his fore part, his fore legs being much higher than his hinder ones [4]."

Concerning the much agitated question of slaves, our pilgrim

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[1] Falco Jerax. A bird employed in ancient times in Thrace in fowling and hunting, according to Aristotle. In Syria seven different kinds of hawks are employed. They are taught to fly at herons, partridges, and quails, &c. One sort is used in hunting the antelope. The birds strike at the prey, and thus impede the game until the dogs come up. Russel's Hist. of Aleppo.

[2] Sketches of the natural history of the sheep, buffalo, and goat are likewise given. He says, "that Egypt produces buffaloes of wonderful size and height, and sheep as large as calves, a certain species of which have tails of a semi-rotund shape, very broad and woolly, weighing seventy pounds (septuaginta libra ponderantes), which must be an error, for twelve pounds is the usual weight. He is likewise particular respecting the feeding and loading of camels. The provender commonly given them, when in caravan, is a meal made by grinding the kernels and stones of the date together. "Cameli quandoque vivunt de lapidibus seu ossibus quæ in dactilis reperiuntur." p. 40. See Belon, p. 212.

[3] "Quantæ fortitudinis, sicut sacra Scriptura testatur." Quære, in what part of the Bible are they mentioned?

[4] Cervus Camelo-pardalis. Linnæi Syst. Nat. p. 65. n. 1. Hasselquist says that it is found in the shady and thick woods of Sennaar and Ethiopia. It is so rare that Buffon questioned its existence. Two centuries after the above mentioned, Belon saw another in the same menagerie at Cairo. Two young ones were taken by the troops of the Bey of Egypt, when the mother was shot in the desert of Sennaar. They were first brought by a caravan to Cairo, and afterwards sent to Alexandria, and were then presented by the Bey to the Kings of England and France. The choice fell by lot to the French consul, who chose the taller of them, then twelve feet high, which is now at Paris. The other, which is a male, arrived safely in 1827, and is now in good health in his Majesty's menagerie at Windsor. This wonderful animal has been seen, in the south of Africa, to have attained to the height of nineteen feet.

It may be remarked, that a royal menagerie was very early established in England.

In the Rotulus Familiæ, in the 18th of Edward I., 1290, there occurs "Pro duobus buss. ordei empti ad *Camelum*, per totam hebdomad. xd."—For two bushels of barley bought for the camel, for the whole week, tenpence. *Archæolog.* vol. xv. p. 357. Of the lions kept in the Tower we have the following notices:

Rotul. Pat. 15 Edw. 3^{ij}. 2 p. m. 3. "Robertus Bowyer de Doncastre custos *Leonum*, &c. infra Turrim Lond.," and Id. 5 Ric. 2^{di}. m. 16. "Johannes de Evesham unus valectorum camera Regis custos *Leonum* ac valectus armorum Regis infra Turrim Lond. ad pl'itu' Regis."

makes an extraordinary assertion, which may not be unacceptable to those who favour the abolition of them in the colonies.

"It is worthy remark, that with respect to the slaves or Christian captives at Cairo, and in every country subject to the Saracens, we must not listen to the false tales of raving women (mulierum delirantium) who have reported that they are harnessed like oxen to the plough, and flogged, and that they are employed like beasts (bestialiter) in tilling the ground: whilst, in fact, though they are deprived of their liberty, they are well enough off (stant competenter bene), especially masons, carpenters, and other artificers, and whom the Soldan encourages by affording bread and money, according to their earnings; with sufficient humanity, he gives both bread and money to other slaves, with their wives and children; so that, in my opinion, many of them, as far as regards the necessaries of life, are in a better condition than they were in their own country. Still, they grieve much (ad doloris cumulum) that they cannot return to their own country, nor keep the Lord's day, because the Saracens keep the sixth day, which they are likewise bound to observe." P. 56.

We must compress some curious information respecting the dress then worn by the ladies of Cairo, observing only, that it is very minutely given, and corresponds precisely with that of Sandys, who saw them three centuries afterwards. The hennah, or rose-colour dye for the tips of the fingers, was used from the earliest period[1]; and golden clasps, for the upper part of the arm, and above the ancles, with rich pantaloons of silk.

We will now resume the itinerary from Cairo to Jerusalem. Our now solitary pilgrim began his journey on the first of December, 1322, with two camels and a Saracen camel-driver, with whom he concluded a bargain for seventy-five drachms, and proceeded through the sandy desert, where the Israelites sojourned during forty years, and which is of great extent. There they were soon overtaken by the Soldan, his court and soldiers, "so great and terrible a multitude, that they were spread over the plain, with their horses, mules, asses, and camels, for the space of five miles; as a proof of the truth of which, as we heard from many, not less than thirty thousand people accompany him in hunting, and many live animals are taken likewise, to serve them for food." The two hired camels were laden with tents, bread, water, and victuals. His companions were, Simon, another friar, and John, a boy. They encountered the Bedouin or wandering Arabs, but received no injury from them. The route appears to have been exactly that

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1 "Ungues manuum et pedum habent tinctos." p. 32. Of an extraordinary application of the powder of the Hennah, by women in the baths, see Belon, p. 302. "Et femoralibus sericis pretiosissimis, auro contextis, utuntur communiter." p. 31. Compare this costume with that of the ladies of Cairo, mentioned by Dr. Clarke, Travels, vol. iii. p. 101, 8vo. 1817.

which forms the only communication between Cairo and the Holy City, and has not been much varied by subsequent travellers, down to the present day; and Browne had good reason to observe, that " many travellers will be found imperfect, both in the Arabian names and the topography."

The first station of consequence which they reached was Belbeis, as Sandys says, situate in the land of Goshen. The tract between the desert and the sea Fitz-Simeon describes as being of the greatest fertility[1], and the town very large, and abounding in all necessaries. Catara and Salahieh, the next stages, are of a similar description. They entered Palestine at Gazara, the Gaza of the Philistines, remarkable for the exploits of Samson, which was a maritime city of great consequence from that period to the æra of the crusades. It lies about four miles from the sea, with environs of scarcely credible fertility in fruits and flowers. Fitz-Simeon allows, with gratitude, that, by the good government of the Soldan, khans, large buildings for the reception of the caravans, are placed at the end of every day's journey through the Desert, which protect travellers from being plundered by the Bedouin Arabs, " who lie in wait for pilgrims as a lion in his den for prey." The ancient Hebron did not immediately occur on the journey; but he turned a few miles out of the road, in order to visit a double sepulchre, which he asserts to contain the remains of Adam, and the three Patriarchs, with their wives. The valleys at the roots of the mountains, in Upper Palestine, excite a devout admiration; although it is very generally agreed that the immediate vicinage of Jerusalem is rocky and barren. They halted at a convent of schismatic Greek monks, under the altar in whose church the cross was hewn for the crucifixion. With great exultation Fitz-Simeon then hails his arrival at the Holy City. " Venimus civitatem sanctam Jerusalem[2]!"

Mount Sion, the site of the ancient city, first attracted his notice, overlooking the modern town, and surrounded by the valley of Josaphath, and deep fosses, excavated from the rocks. There stood the Tower of David (turris famosissima et impe-

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[1] Venimus villam magnam, nomine Belbeys, quæ distat de La Kair per unam dietam regalem, et est sita ad radicem deserti, inter quam et mare est quædam contrata pulcherrima quæ in copia bladi summa gaudet et floribus decoratur." p. 64.

[2] Fitz-Simeon has neglected to mark the day of his arrival at Jerusalem. Belon calculates the route to Jerusalem at ten days' journey, proceeding with the usual expedition. The Earl of Belmore, accompanied by his lady, son, and other friends, accomplished the same journey in twenty-one days, from the 25th of March to the 14th of April, 1818. Richardson's Travels along the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 238, 8vo. 1822. The usual progress made across the Desert by a caravan of camels, rarely exceeds three miles in an hour, so that a day's journey may be estimated, under all circumstances, at thirty-six miles.

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rialissima David) rebuilt by the Saracens, as it now stands, about an arrow's cast from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Fitz-Simeon's account of that and other sacred remains would suffer from abridgment; we will, therefore, offer a translation [1].

"This is a large and beautiful church, the nave of which is spherical like a pigeon-house, excepting that it is constructed upon columns in the inside, and has an ambulatory which surrounds it. In the centre, there is a small chapel of marble, which contains the glorious sepulchre of our Lord, of nine palms only in length, and is covered with a single slab of white marble. It can neither be touched

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[1] The large church of the Holy Sepulchre had undergone the memorable alteration from the invention of the Cross by the Empress Helena, when she caused it to be built over the *supposed* identical spot, to the year 1808, when the cupola above the sepulchre was destroyed by fire, but the sepulchre itself remained uninjured. It has since been re-erected by the Greek patriarchs at a great expense, but with plain stone, in a style very inferior to the original structure, which was decorated with columns of porphyry, and floors of marble and mosaic. The new chapel encloses the tomb of Christ, and near it all that remains of Mount Calvary, with the holes into which the three crosses were fixed. It stands at the western extremity of the church; and the cupola is 150 feet high, and 58 in diameter. Mr. Turner, in his Tour in the Levant, has given a minute admeasurement of all the holy places and memorable spots to which the observation of the devotee or incredulous visitant is directed by the Franciscan monk who exhibits them.

Sandys is more particular than Fitz-Simeon, but it is not within in the compass of a note even to allude to a bare enumeration of so many as are supplied by divers travellers.

Of late years a very strict topographical investigation has been made by men of great intelligence and curiosity among our own countrymen, who can by no means allow either the locality or genuineness of the present sepulchre to have been the real site of our Saviour's sufferings and his temporary burial. Dr. Clarke decidedly says that "what is called the Holy Sepulchre is mere delusion, a monkish juggle; that there was in fact, neither crypt nor *soros*, resembling a Jewish place of burial, beneath the dome of that building; that we must look elsewhere for our Saviour's tomb." Vol. iv. p. 336. Two other gentlemen who, soon after him, compared the traditional with the actual appearance, confirm his sentiments, upon the clearest evidence, and by the most cogent arguments."—Turner's Tour in the Levant, 3 vols. 8vo. 1820. Richardson's Travels along the Mediterranean, 2 vols. 1822.

The guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre is equally divided between the Greek and Roman churches. The Armenian, Coptic, and other Oriental Christians, do not aspire to it, but have small oratories within the sacred enclosure. This precedence is annually disputed at Easter, when it is determined by the first lighting of a torch by the holy fire, which is exhibited by the Patriarch of Jerusalem through an aperture in the wall. The tumultuous and disgraceful contests which take place among the pilgrims, who amount to many hundreds, is utterly scandalous to that religion, whose last benediction was peace, and that too upon the very ground, where they believe the great sacrifice to have been offered. Dr. Richardson, who was a spectator of this profanation at Easter, 1818, gives an account of it, in which it is difficult to discover, whether the indignant or the ludicrous feeling prevails. "This year it happened, that the day on which the festival was to be celebrated by the Romans interfered with that on which it was to be celebrated by the Greeks; and we witnessed all the tug of war, the biting and scratching, the pommelling and the pelting, the brick-bats and clubs, the whimpering and the mewling of extatic, spawling, palpitating monks, fighting for their chapel like kites and crows for their nests." Vol. ii. p. 326. Mr. Turner had an opportunity of ascertaining the exact number of pilgrims in 1815: Greeks 2000, Armenians 1655, Copts 500, Syrians 50, beside Roman Catholics who had preceded them, and 500 poor pilgrims, who were excused the tribute paid to the Turks. Vol. ii. p. 198.

nor seen but through three small holes, which are in the eastern side of the chapel. On the outside, on the north, contiguous to the chapel itself, is a lamp, which is constantly attended and kept lighted by a caloyer (a Greek monk) with an associate; and opposite to it, on the south side, there is a lamp within the said chapel, which every holy-sabbath day (Easter day) is lighted up, without fail, with fire sent from above, to the glory of Christ, who lives and rises again, for ever and ever, amen!" P. 71.

The gates of this church are placed in the south side of it, the most easterly opening to a cloister or quadrangle of stone, entirely paved with white marble; in about the middle of which our Lord rested, as he bore his cross to execution. On the eastern side of these gates, and within the church itself, is Mount Calvary; on the summit of which there is a round hole, on which the cross of Christ was fixed. There are eighteen steps to ascend to it, and from the uppermost of them to the opening are ten feet, where it is said that our Saviour's blood ran through the fissures of the rock. Toward the south, it is evident where the rending was made at the time of the crucifixion equally from the top to the bottom, where, as is asserted, the head of Adam was found, and an altar is erected near. From the lowest of these steps, towards the east, as far as the gate of the subterraneous church which leads to the spot where the Empress Helena discovered the true cross, are eleven paces, and from the gate itself to the first step, seven feet. Descending for thirty-nine steps, there is a beautiful chapel, built upon four columns of marble. There are two altars, one at the east, and the other on the north side. Fitz-Simeon then continues his very minute mensuration of every part of the Holy Sepulchre, and notices a round hole, into which Christ placed his finger, saying, "This is the middle of the world." Every stone has some legend annexed to it, as recording a particular circumstance of the crucifixion. He barely mentions the large convent of Franciscans still subsisting, in the church of which they exhibited the head of St. James the Apostle. In another church is elevated, upon four columns, the stone concerning which the women said, "Who shall roll back the stone for us?" He next is about to direct our attention to the great mosque of Caliph Omar, on the site of Solomon's temple, when the manuscript abruptly closes. Whether this manuscript were left incomplete, as occasioned by the death of its author, or whether it be a mutilated copy, we have no means of ascertaining. It is barely probable that a manuscript which communicated information upon a subject so interesting to those about to undertake the pilgrimage should not have been often copied, and preserved in conventual libraries, but this alone has reached us.

If, in the few accounts by the earliest religious travellers after the first crusade, we are disappointed by the unprofitable read-

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ing of merely the names of places on the route, and that we may search in vain for valuable information of any kind, a comparative praise is fairly due to Fitz-Simeon. None of his precursors approach him in any degree. We should not estimate his work with reference to what he has omitted to notice [1], but by that which he has detailed with a certain accuracy of observation; and we must read with indulgence, or pass over, the legendary stories which he mingles with his more valuable narrative, as characteristic of his peculiar profession, and of the age in which he lived. We shall be forcibly struck with the exact accordance of his description of many objects of curiosity with that of modern and enlightened travellers, although he was born in an æra of obscurity and superstition. But it must be remembered that these observations were made of a country where no lapse of time has effected either abrogation or change in the uniformity of its manners and customs.

Memoirs of Zehir-ed-din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself, in the Jaghatai Turki, and translated, partly by the late John Leyden, Esq. M.D., partly by William Erskine, Esq., with Notes and a Geographical and Historical Introduction: together with a Map of the Countries between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and a Memoir regarding its Construction, by Charles Waddington, Esq. of the East India Company's Engineers. London, 1826. 4*to.*

In noticing the travels of Bernier in India, principally with a view of displaying the romantic nature of history in the East, we made a sketch of the Mogul dynasty from the popular and current sources of such materials. The remarkable incidents of the life of Baber, with the rest of his race, were touched upon. His autobiography, however, while it is naturally infinitely more minute than the scanty works which relate to this remote period, also shows that great errors have prevailed respecting the situation and conduct of the founder of the Mogul empire. A copy of this most curious piece of biography, which was so scarce as only to have been indistinctly heard of by Sir William Jones, in spite of all his researches, having fallen into good hands, a translation was undertaken by the indefatigable Dr. Leyden. When he died, this formidable task was left unfinished, and Mr.

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[1] Fitz-Simeon does not mention the Sphynx, though he passed within sight of it, nor the mummies. He is silent with respect to coffee, opium, and tobacco, now so essential a luxury to the inhabitants of Egypt; but it should be recollected that the use of them had not then universally obtained.

Erskine, who appears to have been fully competent to complete it, by his industry, learning, and intelligence, has now produced a work to the world, edited in all respects in a manner worthy of the subject, of its great author, of the strange and striking incidents it describes, and the great results which followed his achievements. We propose to amplify our former selection of characteristic examples of Eastern story from the rich stores laid up in this volume.

At the death of Omer-Sheikh, the father of Baber, he was only twelve years of age. It was at this early period of life, and in the year A. D. 1494, that he entered upon his career as king of Ferghâna, a country of Great Bucharia or Mâweralnaher, lying on the river Sirr or Jaxartes. When the accident occurred to Omer-Sheikh which deprived him of life, his dominions were on the point of being invaded by his brother, the king of Bokhara and Samarkand; so that the young prince succeeded to a war as well as to a throne. The principal nobles joining, however, heartily in his cause, the uncle, after some fruitless attempts, finally retreated to his own dominions. An uncle by the mother's side, a Khan of the Moghuls, made a similar hostile inroad, and with like success. At the age of twelve it may be supposed that many of the cares of royalty did not rest on the shoulders of Baber; and yet, in his own account of all subsequent transactions, he reasons concerning his own motives, and divides the shares which others took in them, in a manner which would lead to suppose that with the name he assumed the power of sovereignty. Of his early prowess we have numerous instances: before he attained the age of nineteen, he had lost and won cities and districts of great name and vast importance; perhaps he was as early in the council as in the field. At the age of fifteen he "mounted," as he phrases it, and laid siege to Samarkand, which he finally succeeded in reducing. Of this celebrated city Baber gives a pleasant and particular account; for it is his practice, and in his hands a good one, to make no acquaintance, or to visit no country, without drawing its portrait; a task he performs with a fidelity, spirit, and fulness of information, which would surprise those who in oriental writing expect only florid figures and violent metaphors. When Baber got possession of Samarkand and its provinces, the city had sustained a severe siege, and was found destitute of supplies either of money or provision. Until harvest nothing was to be expected for the subsistence of the soldiers, and they were no sooner reduced to some distress than each began to think of returning home. They commenced desertion by twos and threes: Baber had reason to fear that he should be left alone in his conquest; and at length the fugitives openly expressed their intentions, and in direct terms refused to remain. At this critical mo-

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ment, Andejân, Baber's capital, from which he had fitted out his expedition, was claimed by some principal nobles for Jehangîr, Baber's brother, and as the request was refused, they broke out into open rebellion and laid siege to Andejân. Unluckily, Baber happened at this moment to fall into a severe fit of sickness, and, though repeatedly pressed by his friends in Andejân to come to their succour, his malady utterly prevented him from moving. His begs and cavaliers despairing of his life, began to shift for themselves: the intelligence arriving at Andejân, produced a similar feeling there; and thus was the youthful prince left to perish on a sick bed in the very heart of his conquest, while elsewhere he was in the act of losing his hereditary domain. The letters came from his mother and other friends, imploring aid; and some mitigation of the malady permitting him to arise from his couch, Baber made a great effort, and, after a reign of a hundred days in Samarkand, left that city to succour his capital. On his route he ascertained that Andejân had been surrendered on the very day he left Samarkand: thus was he by one stroke deprived of all his territories. "I now," says he, "became a prey to melancholy and vexation; for since I had been a sovereign prince, I had never before been separated in this manner from my country and followers: and since the day that I had known myself, I had never experienced such grief and suffering." A few followers still adhered to his fortunes, and he made an attempt to recover Samarkand in vain. In smaller expeditions he had various success; and thus actively employed the interval of his exile and distress, until he was invited by one of the rebel nobles to take possession of a principal town in his hereditary dominions. Other places were obtained by force, and ultimately Andejân itself was regained, and Baber entered his capital after an absence of two years, and in his seventeenth year. The chief cause of Baber's misfortunes had existed in a body of troops in his service, of the Moghul race, which must be carefully distinguished from the Tûrki: both are called by us, Tartars; but in features, character, manners, and language, a broad distinction exists. Baber was connected with both races, but he every where expresses his hatred of the Moghuls; and on this occasion he does not forget to attribute the villany of the rebels to their being of that detested nation. On the recovery of Andejân, these Moghuls, who had left him at Samarkand, were found in the town. They quickly broke out in another mutiny, and marched to join Tambol, a powerful noble, who at this time was maintaining the claims of Baber's younger brother to his throne. He had just before defeated one of Baber's armies, and it becoming necessary to resist his progress, Baber assembled another army, and put himself at the head of it. On this occasion he fought

his first battle. The enemy was routed and a number of prisoners were taken, "whose heads," says the auto-biographer, "I ordered to be struck off." For some time Baber was harassed by the operations of this Tambol, who ultimately joining with Sheibâni Khan, the Uzbek Tartar, a powerful chief, who seized upon the whole country, and proved the great enemy of Baber's early life, succeeded in driving the young prince once more from his capital. Though inferior in experience and in power, Baber's activity and spirit of enterprise enabled him to make a formidable resistance to the invaders of his rights. When deprived of his hereditary kingdom, he made more than one attempt on Samarkand, and in the end succeeded in regaining this city, over which a part of his family had reigned for the last one hundred and forty years. We will let Baber describe this exploit himself.

"One or two days after seeing this dream, I went from the fort of Asfendek to that of Wasmand. Although I had once already set out to surprise Samarkand, and, after reaching the very suburbs, had been obliged to return, from finding the garrison on the alert; nevertheless, placing my confidence in the Almighty, I once more set out from Wasmand on the same enterprize, after mid-day prayers, and pushed on for Samarkand with the greatest expedition. Khwâjeh Abdal Makâram was along with me. At midnight we reached the bridge of the Moghak at the Khiawân (or public pleasure-ground), whence I detached forward seventy or eighty of my best men, with instructions to fix their scaling-ladders on the wall opposite to the Lovers' Cave, to mount by them and enter the fort; after which they were to proceed immediately against the party who were stationed at the Firôzeh-gate, to take possession of it, and then to apprize me of their success by a messenger. They accordingly went, scaled the walls opposite to the Lovers' Cave, and entered the place without giving the least alarm. Thence they proceeded to the Firôzeh-gate, where they found Fâzil Terkhân, who was not of the Terkhân Begs, but a Terkhân merchant of Tûrkestân, that had served under Sheibâni Khan in Tûrkestân, and had been promoted by him. They instantly fell upon Fâzil Terkhân, and put him and a number of his retainers to the sword, broke the lock of the gate with axes, and threw it open. At that very moment I came up to the gate and instantly entered. Abul Kâsim Kohbur did not himself come on this enterprize, but he sent his younger brother Ahmed Kâsim with thirty or forty of his followers. There was no person with me on the part of Ibrâhim Terkhân; but, after I had entered the city, and while I was sitting in the Khanekâh (or convent), Ahmed Terkhân, his younger brother, arrived with a party of his retainers. The citizens in general were fast asleep, but the shopkeepers, peeping out of their shops, and discovering what had happened, offered up prayers of thanksgiving. In a short time the rest of the citizens were apprized of the event, when they manifested great joy, and most hearty congratulations passed on both sides between them and my followers. They pursued the

Uzbeks in every street and corner with sticks and stones, hunting them down and killing them like mad dogs: they put to death about four or five hundred Uzbeks in this manner. The Governor of the city, Jân Vafâ, was in Khwâjeh Yahîa's house, but contrived to make his escape, and rejoined Sheibâni Khan.

"On entering the gate, I had instantly proceeded towards the college and Khanekâh, and, on reaching the latter, I took my seat under the grand Tâk (or arched hall). Till morning the tumult and war-shouts were heard on every side. Some of the chief people and shopkeepers, on learning what had passed, came with much joy to bid me welcome, bringing me such offerings of food ready dressed as they had at hand, and breathed out prayers for my success."

Soon after this second capture of Samarkand, Baber drew out his forces to meet Sheibâni Khan in the field. In a battle, which Baber confesses was precipitated by his own rashness, he suffered a severe defeat, and escaped himself from the scene of carnage, accompanied by a few followers, with great difficulty. The results of this unfortunate engagement were, that he was deserted by many of his adherents, and that Samarkand was closely besieged, and ultimately reduced to such a state of distress, that Baber could no longer hope to maintain it against the ruthless Sheibâni. Baber resolved to escape previous to the surrender of the town. Of this adventure he gives the following interesting account.

"About midnight I left the place by Sheikh-Zâdeh's gate, accompanied by my mother the Khanum. Two other ladies escaped with us, the one of them Bechega Khalifeh, the other Mingelik Gokultâsh: my eldest sister Khanzâdeh Begum was intercepted, and fell into the hands of Sheibâni Khan, as we left the place on this occasion. Having entangled ourselves among the great branches of the canals of the Soghd, during the darkness of the night, we lost our way, and after encountering many difficulties, we passed Khwâjeh Didâr about dawn. By the time of early morning prayers, we arrived at the hillock of Karbogh, and passing it on the north below the village of Kherdek, we made for Ilân-ûti. On the road, I had a race with Kamber Ali and Kâsim Beg. My horse got the lead. As I turned round on my seat to see how far I had left them behind, my saddle-girth being slack, the saddle turned round, and I came to the ground right on my head. Although I immediately sprang up and mounted, yet I did not recover the full possession of my faculties till the evening, and the world, and all that occurred at the time, passed before my eyes and apprehension like a dream, or a phantasy, and disappeared. The time of afternoon prayers was past ere we reached Ilân-ûti, where we alighted, and, having killed a horse, cut him up, and dressed slices of his flesh. We stayed a little time to rest our horses, then mounting again, before day-break we alighted at the village of Khalileh. From Khalileh we proceeded to Dizak. At that time Tâher Dûldai, the son of Hâfez Muhammed Beg Dûldai, was governor of Dizak. Here we found nice fat flesh, bread of fine

flour well baked, sweet melons, and excellent grapes in great abundance; thus passing from the extreme of famine to plenty, and from a state of danger and calamity to peace and ease:—

(*Turki.*)—From famine and distress we have escaped to repose;
We have gained fresh life, and a fresh world.

(*Persian.*)—The fear of death was removed from the heart;
The torments of hunger were removed away.

"In my whole life, I never enjoyed myself so much, nor at any period of it felt so sensibly the pleasures of peace and plenty. Enjoyment after suffering, abundance after want, come with increased relish, and afford more exquisite delight. I have four or five times, in the course of my life, passed in a similar manner from distress to ease, and from a state of suffering to enjoyment: but this was the first time that I had ever been delivered from the injuries of my enemy, and the pressure of hunger, and passed from them to the ease of security, and the pleasures of plenty."

For some time the unfortunate prince kept himself concealed among the hills of Uratippa. His place of retreat was Dehkat.

"The inhabitants, though Sarts, have large flocks of sheep, and herds of mares, like the Tûrks. The sheep belonging to Dehkat may amount to forty thousand. We took up our lodgings in the peasants' houses. I lived at the house of one of the head men of the place. He was an aged man, seventy or eighty years old. His mother was still alive, and had attained an extreme old age, being at this time a hundred and eleven years old. One of this lady's relations had accompanied the army of Taimur Beg, when it invaded Hindûstân. The circumstances remained fresh in her memory, and she often told us stories on that subject. In the district of Dehkat alone, there still were of this lady's children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren, to the number of ninety-six persons; and including those deceased, the whole amounted to two hundred. One of her great-grandchildren was at this time a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, with a fine black beard. While I remained at Dehkat, I was accustomed to walk on foot all about the hills in the neighbourhood. I generally went out barefoot, and, from this habit of walking barefoot, I soon found that our feet became so hardened that we did not mind rock or stone in the least. In one of these walks, between afternoon and evening prayers, we met a man who was going with a cow in a narrow road. I asked him the way. He answered, Keep your eye fixed on the cow; and do not lose sight of her till you come to the issue of the road, when you will know your ground. Khwâjeh Asedûlla, who was with me, enjoyed the joke, observing, What would become of us wise men were the cow to lose her way?"

For some time he led a wandering life among the mountains, occasionally making an expedition against the enemy; and at other times amusing himself wth the composition of verses, an exercise of which he was pa ticularly fond. Wearied with inactivity, he joined his two uncles, Khans of the Moguls, who

found it necessary to withstand the common enemy, Sheibâni. When commanding an expedition against the forces of Tambol, a chieftain already spoken of, Baber appears to have suffered a surprise, of which he gives a picturesque description. It is, however, scarcely more so than a vast number of similar rencounters, which are recorded in these Memoirs with wonderful life and spirit.

"Just before the dawn, while our men were still enjoying themselves in sleep, Kamber Ali Beg galloped up, exclaiming, 'The enemy are upon us—rouse up!' Having spoken these words, without halting a moment, he passed on. I had gone to sleep, as was my custom even in times of security, without taking off my *jâmâ*, or frock, and instantly arose, girt on my sabre and quiver, and mounted my horse. My standard-bearer seized the standard, but without having time to tie on the horse-tail and colours; but, taking the banner-staff in his hand just as it was, leaped on horseback, and we proceeded towards the quarter in which the enemy were advancing. When I first mounted, there were ten or fifteen men with me. By the time I had advanced a bowshot, we fell in with the enemy's skirmishers. At this moment there might be about ten men with me. Riding quick up to them, and giving a discharge of our arrows, we came upon the most advanced of them, attacked and drove them back, and continued to advance, pursuing them for the distance of another bowshot, when we fell in with the main body of the enemy. Sultan Ahmed Tambol was standing, with about a hundred men. Tambol was speaking with another person in front of the line, and in the act of saying, 'Smite them! Smite them!' but his men were sideling in a hesitating way, as if saying, 'Shall we flee? Let us flee!' but yet standing still. At this instant there were left with me only three persons: one of these was Dost Nâsir, another Mirza Kûli Gokultâsh, and Kerimdad Khodâidâd, the Turkoman, the third. One arrow, which was then on the notch, I discharged on the helmet of Tambol, and again applied my hand to my quiver, and brought out a green-tipped barbed arrow, which my uncle, the Khan, had given me. Unwilling to throw it away, I returned it to the quiver, and thus lost as much time as would have allowed of shooting two arrows. I then placed another arrow on the string, and advanced, while the other three lagged a little behind me. Two persons came on right to meet me; one of them was Tambol, who preceded the other. There was a highway between us. He mounting on one side of it as I mounted on the other, we encountered on it in such a manner, that my right hand was towards my enemy, and Tambol's right hand towards me. Except the mail for his horse, Tambol had all his armour and accoutrements complete. I had only my sabre and bow and arrows. I drew up to my ear, and sent right for him the arrow which I had in my hand. At that very moment, an arrow of the kind called Sheibah struck me on the right thigh, and pierced through and through. I had a steel cap on my head. Tambol, rushing on, smote me such a blow on it with his sword as to stun me; though not a thread of the cap was penetrated, yet my head was severely wounded. I had ne-

glected to clean my sword, so that it was rusty, and I lost time in drawing it. I was alone and single in the midst of a multitude of enemies. It was no season for standing still; so I turned my bridle round, receiving another sabre stroke on the arrows in my quiver. I had gone back seven or eight paces, when three foot soldiers came up and joined us. Tambol now attacked Dost Nâsir sword in hand. They followed us about a bowshot. Arigh-Jakân-shah is a large and deep stream, which is not fordable every where; but God directed us aright, so that we came exactly upon one of the fords of the river. Immediately on crossing the river, the horse of Dost Nâsir fell from weakness. We halted to remount him, and, passing among the hillocks that are between Khirabûk and Feraghîneh, and going from one hillock to another, we proceeded by bye-roads towards Ush. When we were leaving these hillocks, Mazîd Taghâi met and joined us. He had been wounded by an arrow in the right leg, below the knee; though it had not pierced through and through, yet he reached Ush with much difficulty. The enemy slew many of my best men. Nâsir Beg, Muhammed Ali Mobasher, Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali, Khosrû Gokultâsh, and Niaman Chihreh, fell on that day. A great many cavaliers and soldiers also fell at the same time."

Amid these contests, Jehangîr, Baber's brother, finding that Tambol retained him rather as a pretence for carrying on war than in order to maintain his pretensions, made his escape, and came to Baber. In conjunction they got possession of the city of Akhsi, which proved more than they could hold. While unprovided for defence, the town was attacked, and we have another of Baber's vigorous sketches of the confusion of the mêlée. The conclusion was eminently disastrous, and gives occasion for a narrative of royal distress scarcely equalled by the many stories respecting the flight of Charles II. or the more romantic wanderings of his nephew. The following extract relates the events that took place in the town.

"In the midst of the town there was an open level green, in which I had posted a body of my men, and passed on. They were soon attacked by a much superior number of horse and foot, who drove them from their ground, and forced them into a narrow lane. At this instant I arrived, and immediately pushed on my horse to the charge. The enemy did not maintain their ground, but fled. We had driven them out of the narrow lane, and were pushing them over the green, sword in hand, when my horse was wounded in the leg by an arrow. He bolted, and springing aside, threw me on the ground in the midst of the enemy. I started up instantly and discharged one arrow. Kâhil, one of my attendants, who was on a sorry sort of steed, dismounted and presented it to me. I got on it, and having posted a party there, proceeded to the foot of another street. Sultan Muhammed Weis, observing what a bad horse I had got, dismounted and gave me his own, which I mounted. At this very instant Kamber Ali Beg, the son of Kâsim Beg, came to me wounded, from Jehangîr Mirza, with notice that Jehangîr Mirza had been attacked for some time past in such force, that he was reduced to the last ex-

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tremity, and had been compelled to retreat out of the town, and take to flight. While still disconcerted by this accident, Syed Kâsim, who had held the fort of Pâp, arrived. This was a strangely unseasonable time for coming; for, at such an extremity, had I retained possession of a fortress of such strength as Pâp, there had still been some resource. I said to Ibrâhim Beg, 'What is to be done now?' He was a little wounded, and I know not whether it was from the irritation of his wound, or from his heart failing him, but he did not give me a very distinct answer. An idea struck me, which was to retreat by the bridge, and breaking it down behind us, to advance towards Andejân. Baba Shirzâd behaved extremely well in this exigency. He said, 'Let us attack and force a passage through this nearest gateway.' According to this suggestion, we proceeded towards the gate. Khwâjeh Mîr Mirân also spoke and comported himself in a manly manner in this extremity. While we were entering the street, Syed Kâsim and Dost Nâsir, with Bâki Khiz, maintained the action, and covered our retreat; I and Ibrâhim Beg, and Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh, had rode on before them. We had no sooner come opposite the gate, than we saw Sheikh Bayezîd, with a quilted corslet over his vest, who just then entered the gateway with three or four horsemen, and was proceeding into the town. In the morning, when, contrary to my wish, he was seized along with those who were with him, they had been left with Jehangîr's men, who, when forced to retreat, carried off Sheikh Bayezîd with them. They once thought of putting him to death, but fortunately they did not, but set him at liberty. He had just been released, and was entering the gate, when I met him. I immediately drew to the head the arrow which was on my notch, and discharged it full at him. It only grazed his neck, but it was a fine shot. The moment he had entered the gate, he turned short to the right, and fled by a narrow street in great perturbation. I pursued him. Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh struck down one foot-soldier with his mace, and had passed another, when the fellow aimed an arrow at Ibrâhim Beg, who startled him by exclaiming, Hai! Hai! and went forward; after which the man, being about as far off as the porch of a house is from the hall, let fly at me an arrow, which struck me under the arm. I had on a Kalmuk mail; two plates of it were pierced and broken from the blow. After shooting the arrow, he fled, and I discharged an arrrow after him. At that very moment a foot-soldier happened to be flying along the rampart, and my arrow pinned his cap to the wall, where it remained shot through and through, and dangling from the parapet. He took his turban, which he twisted round his arm, and ran away. A man on horseback passed close by me, fleeing up the narrow lane by which Sheikh Kayezîd had escaped. I struck him such a blow on the temples with the point of my sword, that he bent over as if ready to fall from his horse, but supporting himself on the wall of the lane, he did not lose his seat, but escaped with the utmost hazard. Having dispersed all the horse and foot that were at the gate, we took possession of it. There was now no reasonable chance of success; for they had two or three thousand well-armed men in the citadel, while I had only a hundred, or two hundred at most, in the outer stone fort; and,

besides, Jehangîr Mirza, about as long before as milk takes to boil, had been beaten and driven out, and half of my men were with him. In spite of all this, such was my inexperience, that, posting myself in the gateway, I despatched a man to Jehangîr Mirza, to request him to join me if he was near, and that we might make another effort. But, in truth, the business was over. Whether it was that Ibrâhim Beg's horse was really weak, or whether the Beg was fretful from his wound, I cannot tell; but he said to me, 'My horse is useless.' Immediately, Sulemân, a servant of Muhammed Âli Mobasher, dismounted and gave him his horse of his own accord, without any body suggesting such a thing to him. It was a fine trait of character in the man. While we remained waiting at the gate, Kûchik Ali, who is now collector of Koel, displayed great bravery. He was then in the service of Sultan Muhammed Weis. He, on another occasion, performed good service at Usi. We continued at the gate, waiting for the return of the messenger whom I had sent to call the Mirza. He did return, and informed us that Jehangîr Mirza had already been gone some time in his retreat. It was no longer a season to tarry, and we also set off. Indeed, my halting so long was very ill advised. Not above twenty or thirty men now remained with me. The moment we moved off in our retreat, a great band of the enemy's troops came smartly after us. We had just passed the drawbridge when they reached the town side of it. Bend Ali Beg, the son of Kâsim Beg, who was the maternal grandfather of Khamzeh Beg, called aloud to Ibrâhim Beg, 'You are always boasting and bragging: stop and let us exchange a few sword-cuts.' Ibrâhim Beg, who was close by me, answered, 'Come away, then: what hinders us?' The senseless madcaps! in such a moment of peril and discomfiture, to think of adjusting their rival claims. It was no time for a trial of skill, nor for delay nor loss of time. We retreated with all speed, the enemy being in full pursuit of us. They brought down man after man as they overtook us."

After losing the greater part of his adherents, Baber got away with only seven friends, for with him his adherents and attendants are always friends and companions. Pursuing a retired and unfrequented path, they emerged from the broken grounds, and reached at length the level country. This was in the afternoon.

"A blackness was discernible afar off in the plain. Having placed my men under cover, I myself, on foot, ascended an eminence to spy what it might be; when suddenly a number of horsemen galloped up the hillock behind us. We could not ascertain precisely how many or how few they were, but took to our horses and continued our flight. The horsemen who followed us were not in all above twenty, or twenty-five; and we were eight, as has been mentioned. Had we but known their number when they first came up, we should have given them warm play; but we imagined that they were certainly followed by a detachment sent in pursuit of the fugitives. Impressed with this notion, we continued our flight. The fact is, that the fliers,

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even though the most numerous, can never contend with the pursuers, though the inferior number. As it is said,

(*Persian Verse.*)—The shout of Hâî is sufficient for vanquished bands.

" Jân Kuli said, ' We must not go on in this way, or they will take us all. Let you and Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh, therefore, select the two best horses of the party, and galloping off together keep one another's horses at speed; perhaps you may escape.' The advice was not a bad one; for, since we could not engage them, this presented a possibility of escape; but I could not consent in such circumstances to leave any of my followers dismounted in the midst of the enemy. At length, however, the party began to separate and fall behind each other. The horse on which I was mounted began to lag. Jân Kuli dismounted and gave me his horse. I leaped from my own and mounted his, while he mounted mine. At this very instant Shahîm Nâsir, with Abdal Kadûs Sidî Kara, who had fallen behind, were dismounted by the enemy. Jân Kuli also fell behind; but it was no season for trying to shield or assist him. We, therefore, pushed our horses to their utmost speed, but they gradually flagged and fell off. The horse of Dost Beg too began to flag, and fell behind; and the horse which I rode likewise began to be worn out. Kamber Ali dismounting, gave me his own horse. He mounted mine, and presently dropped behind. Khwâjeh Hûssaini, who was lame, turned off towards the heights. I now remained alone with Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh. Our horses were too weak to admit of being put to the gallop; we went on at a canter; but the horse of Mirza Kuli began to move slower and slower. I said to him, ' If deprived of you, whither can I go? Come, then, and be it death or life, let us meet it together.'—I kept on, turning from time to time, to see Mirza Kuli. At last, Mirza Kuli said, ' My horse is completely blown, and it is impossible for you to escape if you encumber yourself with me. Push on, and shift for yourself. Perhaps you may still escape.' I was in a singularly distressful situation. Mirza Kuli also fell behind, and I was left alone. Two of the enemy were in sight; the name of the one was Baba Seirâmi, that of the other Bandeh Ali; they gained upon me; my horse began to flag. There was a hill about a kos off, and I came up to a heap of stones. I reflected with myself that my horse was knocked up, and the hill still a considerable way off. What was to be done? I had about twenty arrows left in my quiver. Should I dismount at this heap of stones, and keep my ground as long as my arrows lasted? But it occurred to me again, that perhaps I might be able to gain the hill, and that if I did, I might stick a few arrows in my belt, and succeed in climbing it. I had great reliance on my own nimbleness. Impelled by this idea, I kept on my course. My horse was unable to make any speed, and my pursuers got within arrow's reach of me; I was sparing of my arrows, however, and did not shoot. They also were somewhat chary, and did not come nearer than a bowshot, but kept on tracking me.

" About sunset, I got near the hill, when they suddenly called out to me, ' Where do you intend going, that you flee in this manner?

Jehangîr Mirza has been taken, and brought in; Nâsir Mirza [1], too, has been seized.' I was greatly alarmed at these words; because, if all of us fell into their hands, we had every thing to dread. I made no reply, but kept on for the hill. When we had gone a certain way farther, they again called out to me. This time they spoke to me in a more gracious style than at first. They dismounted from their horses, and began to address me. I did not attend to what they said, but proceeded in my course, and, entering a glen, I began to ascend it, and went on till about bedtime prayers, when I reached a large rock about the size of a house. I went behind it, and came to an ascent of steep ledges, where the horse could not keep his feet. They also dismounted and began to address me in a still more courteous and respectful style, expostulating with me, and saying, 'What end can it serve to go on in this manner, in a dark night, and where there is no road? Where can you possibly go?' Both of them, with a solemn oath, asserted, 'Sultan Ahmed Beg (Tambol) wishes to place you on the throne.' 'I cannot,' I replied, 'confide in any thing of the sort; and to join him is for me impossible. If you are serious in your wish to do me an important service, you have now such an opportunity as may not occur for years. Point out to me a road by which I may rejoin the Khans, and I will show you kindness and favour even beyond your highest wishes. If you refuse this, return by the way you came, and leave me to fulfil my destiny—even that will be no mean service.' 'Would to God,' they replied, 'that we had never come; but, since we have come, how can we desert you in this desolate situation? Since you will not accompany us ,we shall follow you and serve you, go where you will.' I answered, 'Swear then unto me by the Holy Book that you are sincere in your offer.' And they swore the heavy and awful oath."

These men purposely wandered from the correct road, under the pretence partly of ignorance of the way, and partly of danger, and the morning found Baber in the enemy's country, and far from the place to which he wanted to go. Both horses and men were famished. Bandeh Ali agreed to go to a neighbouring town for provision, but returned with only three loaves. "Each," says the emperor, "taking a loaf under his arm, we mounted a retired hillock," where they spent the day in watching.

"It was about noon, when, as far off as the sight could reach, we perceived something that glittered on a horse. For some time we could not distinguish what it was. It was, in truth, Muhammed Bâkir Beg. He had been in Akshi along with me; and in the dispersion that followed our leaving the place, when every one was scattered here and there, Muhammed Bâkir Beg had come in this direction, and was now wandering about and concealing himself. Bandeh Ali and Baba Seirâmi said, 'For two days past our horses have had neither grain nor fodder. Let us go down into the valley,

[1] His youngest brother.

and suffer them to graze.' We accordingly mounted, and, having descended into the valley, set them a-grazing. It was about the time of afternoon prayers, when we descried a horseman passing along over the very height on which we had been hiding. I recognised him to be Kâdir Berdi, the head-man of Ghiva. I said to them, 'Let us call Kâdir Berdi.' We called him, and he came and joined us. Having greeted him, asked him some questions, spoken obligingly and with kindness to him, made him promises, and disposed him favourably towards me by every means in my power, I sent him to bring a rope, a grass-hook, an axe, apparatus for crossing a river, provender for the horses, and food for ourselves, and, if possible, a horse likewise; and we made an appointment to meet him on this same spot, at bedtime prayers.

"Evening prayers were over, when a horseman was seen passing from Karnân towards Ghiva. We called out, 'Who goes there?' He answered us. This was, in truth, the same Muhammed Bâkir Beg, whom we had observed at noon. He had, in the course of the day, moved from the place in which he had lain concealed, to another lurking-place; and now so thoroughly changed his voice, that, although he had lived for years with me, I did not discover him. Had I known him, and kept him with me, it had been well for me. I was rendered very uneasy by this man's passing us; and durst not adhere to the assignation we had made with Kâdir Berdi of Ghiva, by waiting till the specified time. Bandeh Ali said, 'There are many retired gardens among the suburbs of Karnân, where nobody will suspect us of lurking. Let us go thither, and send a person to conduct Kâdir Berdi to us.' With this intention, we mounted, and proceeded to the suburbs of Karnân. It was winter, and excessively cold. They brought me an old mantle of year-old lambskin, with the wool on the inside, and of coarse woven cloth without, which I put on. They also procured and brought me a dish of pottage of boiled millet-flour, which I eat, and found wonderfully comfortable. I asked Bandeh Ali, 'Have you sent any body to Kâdir Berdi?' He answered, 'Yes, I have.' These unlucky perfidious clowns had in reality met Kâdir Berdi, and had despatched him to Tambol at Akshi.

"Having gone into a house that had stone walls, and kindled a fire, I closed my eyes for a moment in sleep. These crafty fellows, pretending an extreme anxiety to serve me, 'We must not stir from this neighbourhood,' said they, 'till we have news of Kâdir Berdi. The house where we are, however, is in the very middle of the suburbs. There is a place in the outskirts of the suburbs where we might be quite unsuspected, could we but reach it.' We mounted our horses, therefore, about midnight, and proceeded to a garden in the outskirts of the suburbs. Baba Seirâmi watched on the terrace-roof of the house, keeping a sharp look-out in every direction. It was near noon when he came down from the terrace, and said to me, 'Here comes Yûsef, the Darogha.' I was seized with prodigious alarm, and said, 'Learn if he comes in consequence of knowing that I am here.' Baba went out, and, after some conversation, returned and said, 'Yûsef, the Darogha, says, that, at the gate of Akhsi, he met a man on foot, who told him that the King was in

Karnân, at such a place; that, without communicating this intelligence to any one, he had put the man into close custody, along with Wali, the treasurer, who had fallen into his hands in the action; after which, he hastened to you full speed; and that the Begs are not informed of the circumstance.' I asked him, 'What do you think of the matter?' He answered, 'They are all your servants; there is nothing left for it but to join them. They will undoubtedly make you king.' 'But after such wars and quarrels,' I replied, 'with what confidence can I place myself in their power?' I was still speaking, when Yûsef suddenly presented himself, and throwing himself on both his knees before me, exclaimed, 'Why should I conceal any thing from you? Sultan Ahmed Beg knows nothing of the matter; but Sheikh Bayezid Beg has got information where you are, and has sent me hither.'

"On hearing these words, I was thrown into a dreadful state of agitation. There is nothing in the world which affects a man with more painful feelings than the near prospect of death. 'Tell me the truth,' I exclaimed, 'if indeed things are about to go with me contrary to my wishes, that I may at least perform my last ablutions.' Yûsef swore again and again, but I did not heed his oaths. I felt my strength gone. I rose and went to a corner of the garden. I meditated with myself, and said, 'Should a man live a hundred, nay a thousand years, yet at last he ———'"

At this interesting point the Memoirs break off, and are not resumed till after the interval of a year. Another break takes place subsequently at a moment of similar danger; so that it has been surmised, since all the copies and all the translations into Persian have exactly the same lacunæ, that the "imperial author derived a sort of dramatic pleasure from working up to a very high pitch the curiosity of his reader or hearer, and leaving the mind in a state of awakened suspense by a sudden break in the narrative." This is improbable generally, and inconsistent with the straightforward and manly character of the writer. It appears that during his lifetime Baber forwarded copies of his memoirs to some of his old friends and companions in arms. It is hardly likely that he would play so childish an experiment on them, the more especially since they were in all probability acquainted with the particulars he is supposed to have kept back. Be this as it may, the Memoirs re-open after the lapse of a year and a half, during a great part of which time it is said that Baber wandered about in great distress. He appears to have reached his uncles, the Khans, though he was unable to prevent their destruction; they were both in this interval put to death by the invader, Sheibâni; and Baber was compelled to take a final leave of his native kingdom of Ferghâna, to which he always in after times refers with a melancholy pleasure. In A. D. 1496, when the Memoirs recommence, Baber is proceeding to visit Khorasan, the most

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polished and enlightened country of the East. Circumstances, however, diverted him to the conquest of Caubul and Ghazni, which kingdoms came into his possession in this year. Passing the country of Khosrou Shah, a powerful chieftain, whom Baber had great reason to abhor, he succeeded in bringing over to his own standard the whole army of the Shah. By one of the strange revolutions peculiar to the East, Khosrou Shah saw himself in a few hours reduced from the highest condition of power and opulence to do homage before a royal adventurer, who had entered his dominions more in the character of a pilgrim than a conqueror. The scene of the Shah's humiliation is very striking.

"Next morning (it was about the middle of the first Rabîa) I passed the Anderâb with a few attendants, and took my seat under the shade of a lofty palm-tree, in the territory of Doshi. From the opposite quarter Khosrou Shah advanced with great pomp and retinue; according to the custom and usage, he dismounted at a considerable distance, and walked up on foot. In approaching to salute, he bowed three times, and as often when he retired back. He also bowed once on the usual inquiries being made, and when he presented his offering; and he showed the same marks of respect to Jehangîr Mirza, and Mirza Khan. This pompous man, who for years had acted according to his own will and pleasure, and who wanted nothing of royalty, except that he had not caused the Khutbeh to be read in his own name, now bent himself for twenty-five or twenty-six times successively, and went and came back and forward, till he was so tired that he nearly fell right forward. The visions of empire and authority in which for years he had indulged, vanished from his view. After he had saluted me, and presented his tributary offering, I desired him to be seated. He sat down, and for one or two *garis* we conversed on various subjects and incidents. Besides being of an unmanly and perfidious character, he showed also great want of propriety, and a sneering turn in his conversation. He made two remarks, in particular, which appeared singular as coming from him, at the moment when his most trusty and confidential servants were going over in troops before his eyes, and taking service with me; and when his affairs had arrived at such a pass, that though a man who in his day had enacted the sovereign, he yet was compelled, sore against his will, to come in this wretched and miserable way, and submit himself in a very paltry manner. One of these was, when I was consoling him for the desertion of his servants; he replied, 'These fellows have already left me four times, and always come back again.' The other was, on my asking after his younger brother, Wali; when he would come, and by what ford he would cross the Amû? he answered, 'If he can find a ford he will come over speedily; but when a river comes down in flood, the fords change; as the proverb runs, 'the river has carried down its fords.'' At the very moment of the change of his fortune and of the desertion of his servants, Almighty God brought these words out of his own mouth. After one or two *garis*, I mounted and returned back to the camp, and he also re-

turned to his encampment. That same day, great and small, good and bad, officers and servants, began to forsake him, and came and joined me with their families and effects; so that, on the morrow, between mid-day and afternoon prayers, not a man remained with him. (*Arabic.*) 'Say, O my Lord! Thou art the King of kings! Thou givest empire unto whom thou pleasest, and takest empire from whom thou pleasest; and increasest whom thou pleasest, and reducest whom thou pleasest: Beneficence is in thy hand; for, verily, thou art powerful over all things.' The Lord is wonderful in his might! A man who was master of twenty or thirty thousand retainers, and who possessed the whole tract of country formerly subject to Sultan Mahmûd Mîrza, extending from Kahlûgheh, which is also termed *Derbend-e-aheni* (the Iron-gate), as far as the Hindû-Kûsh mountains, and one of whose tax-gatherers, named Hassan Birlâs, an aged man, had conducted me, in the surliest manner, from Ilâk to Ubâj, giving me orders how far I was to march, and where I was to encamp; that this very person, in the space of half a day, without battle, without contest, should be reduced to appear in such a state of distress and wretchedness before a needy and reduced fugitive like me, who had only two hundred or two hundred and fifty tatterdemalions, all in the greatest want; that he should no longer have any power over his own servants, nor over his wealth, nor even his life, was a wonderful dispensation of the Omnipotent!"

The possession of Caubul was the first step to the invasion of Hindustan. In the year 1505, Baber assembled an army, and made his first irruption into that country. The fluctuations in Baber's fortunes do not end with this beginning of his prosperous career. The direction of his course towards India was however the cause which led to all his future greatness. After he had fairly gained a footing in Hindustan, success rapidly followed success; and if power, and wealth, and widely extended dominions, could ensure happiness, he would have had it. Even, however, in his highest elevation, he appears to have looked back with deep regret to the scenes of his youth and his native clime: the luxuries of India were despised in comparison of the ruder ways of his own hills. He retained as many of his old companions about him as he could; and since his hands were full of governments, viceroyalties, and honourable commands, it might be supposed not to have been a difficult task. Not so. The brave Tûrki warriors pined like himself for the hardier and more various enjoyments of home, and looked with disgust upon the stifling climate and monotonous character of the new conquest. Baber, in a letter to one of his oldest friends, describes himself as bursting into tears on tasting the flavour of a musk melon, which carried him back to the scenes of his early days. The letter containing this incident was written not above two years before his death: we will make some extracts from it, as the last specimen we are enabled to give from these most curious and interesting Memoirs.

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" To Khwâjeh Kilân, health.

" Shemseddîn Muhammed reached me at Etâwa, and communicated his intelligence. My solicitude to visit my western dominions is boundless, and great beyond expression. The affairs of Hindustan have at length, however, been reduced into a certain degree of order; and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand, when, through the grace of the Most High, every thing will be completely settled in this country. As soon as matters are brought into that state, I shall, God willing, set out for your quarter, without losing a moment's time. How is it possible that the delights of those lands should ever be erased from the heart? Above all, how is it possible for one like me, who have made a vow of abstinence from wine, and of purity of life, to forget the delicious melons and grapes of that pleasant region? They very recently brought me a single musk-melon. While cutting it up I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country; and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it.

" There are several matters necessary to be attended to, a list of which I shall subjoin. Regarding some of them I had previously written you, so that you will be, insome degree, prepared for them. They are as follow:—The castle must be put in a state of complete repair; the granaries must be stored, and provender laid up; the going and coming of ambassadors must be attended to; the grand mosque must be repaired, and the expense provided for out of the tax levied on gardens and orchards. Again, the Caravanserais, and baths, and the large portico of brick, built by Usta Hassan Ali in the citadel, and the unfinished palace, must be properly repaired and completed, after consulting with Usta Sultan Muhammed. If Usta Hassan Ali has already drawn a plan, let him complete it according to that plan. If he has not, you must consult together, and fix upon some beautiful design, taking care that the court be on a level with the floor of the hall of audience. Again, the buildings as you go to Little Kâbul, near Badash-Khâk, must be attended to, and the water-mound of Ghazni must likewise be thoroughly repaired. As for the garden of Hanâwân, it has but a scanty supply of water; a stream, large enough to turn a mill, must be purchased, and led through the grounds. Again, to the south-west of Khwâjeh (Besteh), I formerly led the river of Tûtûn-dereh by the foot of a rising ground, where I formed a plantation of trees; and as the prospect from it was very fine, I called it Nazergah (The Prospect). You must there also plant some beautiful trees, form regular orchards, and all around the orchards sow beautiful and sweet-smelling flowers and shrubs, according to some good plan.

" ' In a letter which I wrote to Abdalla, I mentioned that I had much difficulty in reconciling myself to the desert of penitence; but that I had resolution enough to persevere,—

(*Túrki verse.*)—I am distressed since I renounced wine;
I am confounded and unfit for business,—
Regret leads me to penitence,
Penitence leads me to regret.

" ' I remember an anecdote of Binâi. He was one day sitting by

Mîr Ali Shîr, and had said something witty. Mîr Ali Shîr, who had on a vest with rich buttons, said, 'The witticism is excellent; I would give you my vest were it not for the buttons.' Biâni answered, 'Why should the buttons hinder it? I fear the button-holes are the impediment.' The truth of the anecdote must rest with him that told it me. Excuse me for deviating into these fooleries. For God's sake, do not think amiss of me for them. I wrote last year the tetrastick which I have quoted; and, indeed, last year, my desire and longing for wine and social parties were beyond measure excessive; it even came to such a length, that I have found myself shedding tears from vexation and disappointment. In the present year, praise be to God, these troubles are over, and I ascribe them chiefly to the occupation afforded to my mind by a poetical translation, on which I have employed myself. Let me advise you too, to adopt a life of abstinence. Social parties and wine are pleasant, in company with our jolly friends and old boon companions. But with whom can you enjoy the social cup? With whom can you indulge in the pleasures of wine? If you have only Shîr Ahmed, and Haider Kûli, for the companions of your gay hours and jovial goblet, you can surely find no great difficulty in consenting to the sacrifice. I conclude with every good wish. Written on Thursday, the 1st of the latter Jemâdi.'

"I was much affected while writing these letters, which I delivered to Shems-ed-din Muhammed, and having given him such farther verbal instructions as seemed necessary, despatched him on Friday eve."

Baber died in the forty-eighth year of his age and the thirty-seventh of his reign. This is a short life to have had such a multitude of events crowded into it. And however great the activity of mind which marked the character of Baber, it cannot be said of him, as of some other men of genius, that it "fretted a pigmy body to decay:" for he was remarkable for the vigour and magnitude of his form; his gymnastic exploits were celebrated, and he never entered the field without leaving numerous impressions of his nervous arm. It is to be feared that excess in drinking, to which he became addicted after an early life of the utmost abstemiousness, contributed to hasten his death: the anecdotes of the parties he made for this indulgence undoubtedly contribute to the entertainment of his Memoirs.

In an article like the present, it is impossible to enumerate the various points of view in which these Memoirs are remarkable. They contain copious notices of the literature of the period; they throw much light on geography and on natural history, which was a favourite study with the author; they paint the manners of vast tribes of people imperfectly known, and enable us to ascertain important truths respecting the different races of Tartars; they embrace the whole contemporary history of the period; are crowded with minute, distinct, and spirited characters of the great men of his time; and above all, we have a full and complete picture of a fine frank open-

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hearted Asiatic soldier and king. That this is a character worth examining, may be evident to all who will take the trouble to read Mr. Erskine's summary of it.

"Zahîr-ed-dîn Muhammed Baber was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his age, and one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. He is represented as having been above the middle size, of great vigour of body, fond of all field and warlike sports, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. As a proof of his bodily strength, it is mentioned, that he used to leap from one pinnacle to another of the pinnated ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm, and went leaping along the rampart from one of the pointed pinnacles to another. Having been early trained to the conduct of business, and tutored in the school of adversity, the powers of his mind received their full developement. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve, and before he had attained his twentieth year, the young prince had shared every variety of fortune; he had not only been the ruler of subject provinces, but had been in thraldom to his own ambitious nobles, and obliged to conceal every sentiment of his heart; he had been alternately hailed and obeyed as a conqueror and deliverer by rich and extensive kingdoms, and forced to lurk in the deserts and mountains of his own native kingdom as a houseless wanderer. Down to the last dregs of life, we perceive in him the strong feelings of an affection for his early friends and early enjoyments, rarely seen among princes. Perhaps the free manners of the Tûrki tribes had combined with the events of his early life, in cherishing these amiable feelings. He had betimes been taught, by the voice of events that could not lie, that he was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men; and, in his dangers and escapes with his followers, had learned that he was only one of an association, whose general safety and success depended on the result of their mutual exertions in a common cause. The native benevolence and gaiety of his disposition seem ever to overflow on all around him; and he talks of his mothers, his grandmothers, and sisters, with some garrulity indeed, but the garrulity of a good son and a good brother. Of his companions in arms he always speaks with the frank gaiety of a soldier; and it is a relief to the reader, in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood. Indeed, an uncommon portion of good nature and good humour runs through all his character, and even to political offences he will be found, in a remarkable degree, indulgent and forgiving.

"In the character of the founder of a new dynasty, in one of

the richest and most powerful empires on earth, we may expect to find an union of the great qualities of a statesman and general; and Baber possessed the leading qualifications of both in a high degree. But we are not, in that age, to look for any deep-laid or regular plans of civil polity, even in the most accomplished princes. Baber's superiority over the chiefs to whom he was opposed, arose principally from his active disposition and lively good sense. Ambitious as he was, and fond of conquest and of glory in all its shapes, the enterprise in which he was for the season engaged, seems to have absorbed his whole soul, and all his faculties were exerted to bring it, whatever it was, to a fortunate issue. His elastic mind was not broken by discomfiture, and few princes who have achieved such glorious conquests, have suffered more numerous or more decisive defeats. His personal courage was conspicuous during his whole life, but it may be doubted whether, in spite of his final success, he was so much entitled to the character of a great captain, as of a successful partisan and a bold adventurer. In the earlier part of his career his armies were very small. Most of his expeditions were rather successful inroads than skilful campaigns. But he showed a genius and a power of observation which, in other circumstances, would have raised him to the rank of the most accomplished commanders. As he had the sense to perceive the errors which he committed in his earlier years, so, with the superiority that belongs to a great mind, conscious of its powers, he always readily acknowledges them. His conduct, during the rebellion of the Moghuls at Kâbul, and the alarm of his army in the war with Rana Sanka, bears the indications of the most heroic magnanimity. The latter period of his life is one uninterrupted series of success.

"But we are not to expect in Baber that perfect and refined character which belongs only to modern times and Christian countries. We sometimes see him order what, according to the practice of modern war, and the maxims of a refined morality, we should consider as cruel executions. We find him occasionally the slave of vices, which, even though they belonged to his age and country, it is not possible to regard in such a man without feelings of regret. We are disappointed to find one possessed of so refined an understanding, and so polished a taste, degrading both, by an obtrusive and almost ridiculous display of his propensity to intoxication. It may palliate, though it cannot excuse this offence, that it appears to have led him to no cruelty or harshness to his servants or those around him; that it made him neglect no business, and that it seems to have been produced solely by the ebullition of high spirits in his gay and social temper. We turn from Baber, the slave of such vices, which probably hastened on a premature old age, and

tended to bring him to an early grave, and view him with more complacency, encouraging, in his dominions, the useful arts and polite literature, by his countenance and his example. We delight to see him describe his success in rearing a new plant, in introducing a new fruit-tree, or in repairing a decayed aqueduct, with the same pride and complacency that he relates his most splendid victories. No region of art or nature seems to have escaped the activity of his research. He had cultivated the art of poetry from his early years, and his Diwân, or collection of Tûrki poems, is mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his country. Of this work I have not been able to learn that any copy exists. Many of the odes in it are referred to in his Memoirs, and quoted by the first couplet. A few specimens of his Persian poetry are also given, which show much of that terseness and delicacy of allusion so much admired in the poets whom he imitated. His Persian Mesnevi, which he published by the name of Mabeiin, I have never met with, though Abulfazl speaks of it as having a great circulation; nor have I seen his versification of the tract of Khwâjeh Ehrar, which has been already mentioned [1]. He also wrote a work on Prosody, and some smaller productions, which he sometimes alludes to in his Memoirs. He was skilful in the science of music, on which he wrote a treatise. But his most remarkable work is, undoubtedly, the Memoirs of his own Life, composed by him in the Tûrki tongue. The earlier part of them is written with great spirit, and the whole bears strong characteristics of an ingenious, active, and intelligent mind. No history, perhaps, contains so lively a picture of the life and opinions of an eastern prince. The geographical descriptions which he gives of his hereditary kingdom, and of the various countries which he subdued, have, what such descriptions seldom possess, not only great accuracy, but the merit of uncommon distinctness. The Memoirs, however, will be found of unequal value, according to the periods of which they treat. Some years, particularly in the latter periods of his life, present little more than a dry chronicle of uninteresting events, probably written down as they occurred, and never

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[1] "Abulfazl, in the introduction to the Akbernameh, quotes a few of his Persian verses with approbation. The following quatrain is not unhappy in the original:—

Though I am not related to Dervishes,
Yet I am devoted to them heart and soul.
Say not that the state of a prince is remote from that of a Dervish,
Though a king, I am the Dervish's slave.

"He also gives the following elegant Matlaa—

I know that separation from thee were my death,
Else might I tear myself from this city.
But, while my heart is encircled with the locks of my beloved,
I forget the world and its cares."

re-written, as the earlier period certainly have been. It probably was his intention to have connected the whole, and completed them in the same strain of happy narrative that runs through the first half of them, a design which it is to be regretted that he did not live to execute.

"A striking feature in Baber's character is, his unlikeness to other Asiatic princes. Instead of the stately, systematic, artificial character, that seems to belong to the throne in Asia, we find him natural, lively, affectionate, simple, retaining on the throne all the best feelings and affections of common life. Change a few circumstances arising from his religion and country, and in reading the transactions of his life, we might imagine that we had got among the adventurous knights of Froissart. This, as well as the simplicity of his language, he owed to his being a Tûrk. That style which wraps up a worthless meaning in a mist of words, and the etiquette which annihilates the courtier in the presence of his prince, were still, fortunately for Baber, foreign to the Tûrki race, among whom he was born and educated.

"Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes who are entitled to rank higher than Baber in genius and accomplishments. His grandson Akber may perhaps be placed above him for profound and benevolent policy. The crooked artifice of Aurengzîb is not entitled to the same distinction. The merit of Chengiz Khan, and of Tamerlane, terminates in their splendid conquests, which far excelled the achievements of Baber: but in activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, so seldom the portion of princes, in his love of letters, and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him."

Historical and Antiquarian Magazine.

FOURTH PEERAGE REPORT.

Some delicacy ought, it has been said, to be felt in subjecting the "Reports of the Lords' Committees appointed to search various documents for all matters touching the dignity of a Peer of the Realm," to critical remarks; but we are at a loss to understand upon what grounds their lordships' labours should be exempted from observation. Abounding as they do in statements connected with the interests, either inchoate or perfect, which numerous individuals possess in ancient peerages, it strikes us, that these Reports ought to have been made the subject of examination, as they respectively appeared; that the public attention should have been directed to the learning and research which they occasionally display on points intimately connected with the constitutional history of this country; that the errors they contain should have been refuted; and that the validity of the novel doctrines which they inculcate should have been carefully investigated.

The Reports appeared in the following order:

First Report. Presented to the House 12th July, 1819; ordered to be printed 25th May, 1820, and to be re-printed 17th February, 1823. Folio, pp. 489, with Appendixes.

Second Report. Ordered to be printed 26th July, 1820, pp. 6. These pages chiefly consist of corrections of the former Report.

Third General Report. Ordered to be printed 29th July, 1822, pp. 240.

Fourth General Report. Ordered to be printed 2d July, 1825, pp. 100.

The first Appendix consists of copies of all writs of summons from the 6th John to the end of the reign of Edward the Fourth, pp. 988, and forms two highly valuable volumes. That part of the contents which relate to the reign of Edward the First

will also be found in the first volume of "Parliamentary Writs," recently printed by the Record Commission, and the subsequent part will be included in the other volumes of that work; so that ultimately the contents of the Appendix to the First Report will be wholly reprinted, with the exception, perhaps, of the writs from the reign of John to the accession of Edward the First. The second, third, and fourth Appendixes consist of a few pages only, and contain some of the documents referred to in the Reports.

It is not our intention to take any further notice of the first three Reports, than to remind those who peruse them that the statements which they contain respecting early titles are sometimes erroneous, and consequently that the conclusions drawn from those statements are fallacious; that a decided bias is every where apparent against the principles upon which peerages have been claimed; but that, after allowing for these blemishes, it is impossible that any one can peruse those documents without gaining valuable information on the early legislature of England.

The "Fourth Report" is chiefly occupied with an inquiry into the law of forfeiture as regards dignities: on this subject, however, we shall not offer any observation, but confine ourselves to the inquiry how far the opinions expressed in the following passages relative to baronies by writ are well founded.

"It is observable, that Michael de la Pole, the father, had been summoned to, and sate in Parliament as a baron, in the 39th and subsequent years of Edward the Third, and in the reign of Richard the Second, until he was created Earl of Suffolk; and he would, therefore, according to modern decisions, have gained a dignity descendible to his heirs-general. His son, however, was not restored to that dignity, but only to the dignity of earl limited to heirs-male; as Aubrey de Vere, uncle of the Duke of Ireland, was restored only to the dignity of earl, without mention of his title to the dignity of baron. These circumstances, combined with the fact, that the descendants of many persons summoned to Parliament by writ before the reign of Richard the Second, were not afterwards summoned to Parliament, seem to give colour to the suggestions of former committees, that summons and sitting in Parliament did not originally create a right in the descendants of persons so summoned to require a like writ of summons; and though the descendants of earls, created earls by the crown by patent, or by solemn investiture by girding with the sword, were probably always summoned on the deaths of their respective ancestors, it may be doubted whether anciently their writs of summons, though addressed to them as earls, were not really issued to them, according to the charter of John, as barons, having the name and dignity of earls; as the general assembly of all the lay-peers seems to have been in early times usually denominated an assembly of barons. Perhaps the creation of barons by Letters Patent, which seems to have originated in the reign of Richard the Second, may have been founded on

an apprehension, that the writ and sitting in Parliament did not secure an hereditary right to the descendants of the persons so summoned, and the practice appears to have warranted a doubt on that subject, though the decision on the claim of the dignity of Lord Clifton may be urged against that doubt." Pp. 26-7.

"Letters Patent state the extent of the grant which they create, but a writ of summons is in itself merely personal; and it seems to be only an inference of law derived from usage, which has extended the operation of such a writ beyond the person to whom it was directed. When usage is supposed to have first warranted this inference of law, and to have attributed to the mere issuing of a writ to an individual, even if accompanied by proof that that individual sat in Parliament under that writ, the effect of creating a title in that individual to an hereditary dignity, descendible to all the heirs of his body, is a question which it may be fit for the House deliberately to consider; and to *fix a point of time*, before which the evidence of issue of a writ, and of sitting in Parliament under that writ, shall not be deemed sufficient evidence of the creation of an hereditary dignity of peerage; *otherwise claims may be made which have not been thought of for centuries.* The determination in the case of the Lord Freschville may perhaps afford some guide, but it will not extend to all the cases in which the question may be agitated.

"As many persons have been summoned to Parliament, whose descendants have not been so summoned, it ought perhaps to be distinctly shown when the writ of summons followed by sitting in Parliament was *first* deemed to have created an hereditary dignity, especially if not followed by writs issued to the heirs of the person so summoned in hereditary succession. It has been contended, that anciently the writ and sitting in Parliament of the ancestor gave no right to the heir; but that writs issued to heirs in succession might create a right *by prescription*, and it may be reasonable to infer a right to an hereditary dignity by prescription, from such repeated writs of summons in hereditary succession. The creation of barons by patent, and the forms of such patents, may afford colour for this distinction; and such patents were probably first suggested under an apprehension, that the mere sitting in Parliament under a writ of summons might not create an hereditary dignity.

"The first decision on the subject seems to have been in 1673, on the claim of the dignity of Lord Clifton; and the House, by referring the question to the consideration of the judges, may be considered as having had doubts what ought then to be deemed the law on the subject, and as having treated the question as a question of difficulty. Before that decision the law cannot be deemed to have been clearly settled; but on what ground the judges gave their opinion, that the honour descended from Jervis Clifton to his daughter and heir, does not clearly appear, and if they had before them all the cases in which the heirs of a person summoned had not been afterwards summoned, they must have conceived that those heirs had been unjustly deprived of their right of inheritance, unless they fixed on some point of time when they conceived usage had created a new law on the subject. To such a point of time their opinion does not advert. The

committee, who made the report of 12th July, 1819[1], have supposed that the statute of 5th of Richard the Second might be considered as tending to fix that point of time; and the first creation of a baron by patent is attributed to that prince.

"The committee have endeavoured to form a list of the names of persons summoned to Parliament, whose descendants have not been summoned, or not continually summoned; and they intended to have annexed such list, by way of appendix, to this Report[2]. But they have not been able to complete such list, partly in consequence of the difficulty which they have found in clearly ascertaining which of the persons so summoned had issue-male living at their respective deaths, and who might have been summoned, and which of the persons so summoned had no issue-male, or no issue-male who lived to attain twenty-one, or any sole heir-female through whom the dignity might be claimed. The collection, which has been attempted, has not, therefore, been made sufficiently perfect to warrant the offer of it to the consideration of the House." P. 73, 74.

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[1] "Printed Copy, p. 342. See Report, 29th July, 1822, printed Copy, p. 214. Report, 12th July, 1819, printed Copy, p. 345." The only part of the statements referred to, which it is necessary to copy, is the following: "This grant [of the dignity of a baron by Letters Patent to John Beauchamp in the 11th Ric. II.] by patent, had the effect of insuring the succession to the dignity, according to the terms of the patent, and to confine the title to such heirs as were specified in the patent. From this time, however, it may have been considered, that the descendants of all those who were then peers, and not so created by Letters Patent, might claim the dignity by prescription, if summoned by a general writ; and the apprehension that such would be the effect of a general writ may have led in another case, that of the Baron Vesey, to a specification in the writ of summons of the special heirs to whom it was the King's intention the dignity should descend." Report, 12th July, 1819, p. 342. The opinion of the Committee that, until the 5th Ric. II. a writ to and sitting in Parliament did not create an hereditary dignity, will also be found in Cruise's Treatise on Dignities, ed. 1823, p. 74, and has been advanced on previous occasions. Mr. Cruise's reason, besides those given by their lordships, is, that in the 25th Hen. VI., James Fiennes was summoned to parliament by writ, tested on the *third* of March, and on the *sixth* was, according to Dugdale, "in open parliament by the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, advanced to the degree and dignity of a baron of this realm, by the same title of Lord Say and Sele, and to the heirs of his body." No notice of such creation is to be found on the rolls of that Parliament. The fact is, that in a charter of inspeximus, tested on the 5th of March in that year, a memorandum is recited, which is said to be enrolled on the rolls of Parliament, stating that, with the assent of the peers, the king had created him Baron Say and Sele, but not a word occurs as to whom the dignity was to be limited; and, as the barony of Say, of which James Fiennes was one of the co-heirs, was then in abeyance, it may be inferred, that it was intended to terminate that abeyance by the instrument in question, especially as, two years afterwards, namely, on the 1st Nov. 27th Hen. VI., 1448, John Lord Clinton, the other co-heir of the barony of Say, by deed, under his seal, solemnly granted, confirmed, and ratified to Sir James Fiennes, Knight, Baron Say and Sele, and his heirs and assigns, the name and style of Lord Say, together with the arms of Say. The proceedings, relative to this dignity, cannot therefore be considered to favour the opinion which it is adduced to support.

[2] The Committees allude to the same intention in their Report of July, 1822, p. 98. Thus it is evident, the task was found to be too *laborious* to be performed in more *than three years*, even with the resources at the command of a Committee of the House of Lords. We presume the individuals, to whom the duty of compiling it was delegated, were not paid *by the year?* The expenses which have attended the inquiry, independent of the costs of printing and paper, would, we believe, form a curious statement.

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The most common observer cannot fail to be struck with the fact, that the Committees are disposed to adopt a new view of the effect of a writ of summons, and a sitting under such writ, without having had before them the only evidence which can justify so important an alteration. We have, however, endeavoured to accomplish that which appeared too laborious for their lordships' Committees to complete; and the remarks, which we are about to submit, are founded on an examination of every case in which individuals have been summoned to Parliament before the 5th of Richard the Second, and of the pedigrees of those individuals for one or two descents.

The remark, that "the first decision on the subject seems to have been in 1673, on the claim of the dignity of Lord Clifton," is calculated to create an impression, that the law relative to baronies by writ was previously unsettled, and that the House was then, for the first time, called upon to determine whether a dignity so created passed to the heir-general of the body of the person summoned. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that Lord Coke and subsequent authorities assert that a writ to parliament, and a sitting under such writ, creates a barony, descendible to all the lineal heirs of the person to whom it is addressed; that such has been frequently decided to be the law; and, as Mr. Cruise remarks, "has been confirmed by so many decisions that it is not to be now shaken."

As, however, the Committees seem desirous to limit the period when such shall be considered the law, to the 5th of Richard II., and to deem that all baronies of an earlier period, which have been allowed, were acquired "by prescription, in consequence of repeated writs of summons in hereditary succession," it is important that the grounds on which this opinion was formed should be examined.

It is undoubtedly true that, from the 23rd Edward I. to the 5th Richard II., a great many instances occurred of persons being summoned to Parliament whose heirs were not summoned, as well as of persons being summoned to one, two, or more Parliaments only; but, on the other hand, an equal if not greater number of cases occur in the same period in which the heirs of persons so summoned received writs immediately on the deaths of their ancestors for several generations; hence, if the opinion of the Committees be correct, the persons so summoned on the demise of their ancestors must for one or two generations at least, be deemed to owe their writs to the mere grace of the crown; and, in fact, that, from the 23rd Edward I. to the 5th Richard II., there was not a single baron in the realm who could insist upon being summoned to Parliament: the inference to be drawn from which is, that an hereditary peerage did not exist in this country under the rank of earls until the 11th

Richard II., when the first barony by patent was created. In attempting to refute so extraordinary a doctrine, we feel that we owe some apologies to our readers; for every one who is at all acquainted with the constitutional history of England, must be sensible that such a principle is utterly untenable: but that which would be a work of supererogation under other circumstances, becomes highly necessary when such an opinion is propounded by a committee of the House of Lords.

Upon one or more occasions in the reigns of Edward the First, Second, and Third, a great many individuals received writs of summons who were never before or afterwards summoned to Parliament; and with reference to those occasions, we are fully disposed to admit that such writs cannot be deemed to have created an hereditary barony, or even a barony to the persons to whom they were addressed. The occasions alluded to are, the 22nd and 25th Edw. I., the 3rd Edw. II., and the 16th Edw. III. With respect to the first two, it has been contended that they were not in fact writs to a regular parliament. The names introduced into the lists of the 3rd Edw. II., without being repeated in subsequent lists, are not many; and with respect to the writ of the 16th Edw. III., it is to be remembered, that though it has been always considered a writ to Parliament, the words in the margin are "de *concilio* summonito," and no notice of any Parliament of the 16th Edward III. is to be found on the Rolls of Parliament. In reference to the records of writs of summons to Parliament, it should be borne in mind, when considering whether the occurrence of the name of a person in them once, twice, or thrice only, can be held to be evidence of their having been summoned as barons, that proof exists in several instances of the names of the judges and clerks of the council being inserted promiscuously with the peers; and it is therefore probable that the insertion of the names of parties on one or two occasions only, may be attributed to a similar cause, and consequently that such persons were summoned ex officiis[1]. If then, instead of the sweeping hypothesis that anciently the writ and sitting in parliament gave no right to the heir, or, as we have interpreted the doctrine, that an hereditary right to the peerage under the rank of an earl did not prevail before the 5th Richard II., the Committees had contended that a few writs before the period in question to a person who survived the date of the last writ many years, whose ancestors or descendants were never summoned, and who could not be proved by other evidence, such as the title of baron having been attributed to him by the king in some instrument,

[1] 8th and 9th Edw. II.; 3rd Edw. III.; and 5th Edw. III. *Appendix to the First Report*, pp. 241, 253, 391, 407.

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ought not now to be held as having created any dignity of peerage to him, we should have willingly advocated the same principle, and only have suggested the necessity of their lordships defining as nearly as possible in what cases it would be acted upon. But we strenuously contend against the justice of considering that individuals, who were summoned for a series of years, and who can be proved by other evidence to have enjoyed the honours of the peerage, were not seised of an hereditary dignity, because, for some reason which in all cases it is not possible to explain, his heirs did not receive writs of summons. Upon what principle the heirs of some families were regularly summoned, whilst others were omitted, it is difficult to explain; but in considering the question, the Committees appear to have entirely lost sight of the estimation in which such writs were then held. As it can be shown, that in the reigns of Edward the First, Second, and Third, attendance in Parliament, so far from being coveted as an honour, was avoided as an onerous and disagreeable duty, and that, instead of an individual deeming that, by not being called upon to perform it, "he was unjustly deprived of his right of inheritance," he congratulated himself upon his good fortune, it is difficult to suppose, that a person would, in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, claim a dignity which was productive of so much personal inconvenience; and as there is not a single record of such claim at that period, it must be concluded that a writ of summons to Parliament was not an object of ambition.

It is now, however, viewed in a very different light; and as more than fifteen individuals enjoy peerages created within the period when their lordships consider no hereditary baronies existed, it is impossible to imagine upon what principle a claim could be refused, if founded upon the same right as that from which the noblemen in question derive their honours.

Much more space than we can afford would be required to state all the cases in which persons were summoned, whose heirs did not receive similar writs; but the result of the inquiry has proved that, in a very great majority of instances, the heirs of the persons, whose descendants are not recorded to have been summoned, were minors, or survived their fathers but a very short time, leaving their heirs in their minority; or that their heirs were females. Among the few exceptions, the case of the barony of Chandos is the strongest in favour of the doctrine attempted to be laid down by their lordships. Roger de Chandos is said to have been summoned from the 11th to the 29th Edward III., but died in the 27th Edward III., leaving Thomas his son and heir, aged thirty, who lived until 1375, when Sir John Chandos his son was twenty-six years old: he died in 1428, without issue, leaving his sisters his coheirs.

There certainly does not seem to be any reason why Sir Thomas and Sir John Chandos were not summoned, but many causes might then have prevented it, such, for instance, as their being in the king's service abroad, which the Committees admit would be a sufficient explanation of the omission [1]. This, and one or two other cases, in which the heirs of barons by writ were of full age at the death of their several ancestors, cannot however be considered to prove that they had no right to a writ of summons, when the numerous instances are remembered in which such heirs were summoned. If the writ to, and sitting in parliament of Roger de Chandos, supposing he did so sit, did not create an hereditary dignity to his descendants, how, it may be asked, could similar writs and sittings create an hereditary dignity in the families of Roos, Despenser, Clifford, Abergavenny, Clinton, Audley, Berkeley, De la Warr, Botetourt, Zouche, Ferrers of Chartley, Dacre, Grey de Ruthyn, Willoughby de Eresby, &c., peerages which are at this moment enjoyed by virtue of writs of summons of a date long previous to the 5th of Richard the Second?

That after a long minority the heirs of barons should not be summoned on coming of age, may be explained by the unwillingness which prevailed to perform the duty of attending in Parliament; and a man was not more likely to remind the crown of his right to a writ of summons, than he would now be likely to remind a parish officer of his eligibility to sit on juries or to execute any parochial office. The Committees suggest that the 5th Richard II. is the period at which a writ to and sitting in Parliament first created an hereditary dignity, and ground their opinion upon a statute passed in that year, and the circumstance of the first baron by patent having been created by that monarch. If this opinion be correct, it must be shown that the heirs male of all persons summoned after the 5th Richard II. were regularly summoned on the death of their respective ancestors; and consequently, that such an anomaly as the omission of writs to those heirs is not to be found after that year; but previous to examining how far such is the fact, it is desirable to allude to the statute referred to, and to inquire into the validity of the argument set up in consequence of the creation of barons by patent by Richard the Second.

The statute in question, 5th Rich. II. cap. 4, provides,

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[1] "It ought, however, to be observed, that it has been asserted, and there seems to the Committee reason to believe, that some persons who were earls or barons, have been present, though their names do not appear on the roll of writs of summons for that Parliament, particularly in the cases of persons who, when the Parliament was first ordered to be summoned, were absent on the king's service; in which cases writs may not have been ordered to be issued to them because they were so employed, and therefore could not attend whilst engaged in that employ; and, if before summoned to Parliament, they may have attended without any special writ issued for the purpose."—*Fourth Report*, p. 88.

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that all persons and commonalties who have summons to Parliament, should attend such Parliaments as they are bound to do, and have been accustomed within the realm of England of old times; and that if any one so summoned, whatever might be his rank, "do absent himself and come not at the said summons, except he may reasonably and honestly excuse himself to our lord the king, he shall be amerced and otherwise punished according as of old times hath been used to be done within the said realm in the said case." What there is in these words to justify the opinion that any change then took place in the nature of the baronial dignity we cannot discover. The statute merely provides for a more strict obedience to parliamentary writs, and allows of no other inference than that, about the time of its enactment, the persons summoned to Parliament did not attend so regularly as they ought, and consequently that proofs of sitting are more necessary to be shown for persons summoned from about the 1st to the 5th Rich. II. than at any other time; but that such sittings may be safely presumed at an earlier, and if the statute was efficacious, at a later period. It expressly recites that formerly all persons summoned to Parliament had been accustomed to attend, and it proves what we have before asserted, that so far was such attendance from being voluntary, that fines and punishments were obliged to be used to enforce it; notwithstanding which it was requisite for the legislature, in the 5th Rich. II., to pass a new statute to insure obedience to such writs, or, in other words, to oblige parties to perform the duty of peers of the realm. It is therefore impossible to consider, that persons entitled to a writ of summons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries thought themselves "unjustly deprived of their inheritance," because they did not receive such writs; or to expect that the heirs of barons, on coming of age, would then set forth their pretensions to them in a petition to the crown.

In answer to the suggestion that the cause of the creation of the first baron by patent, in the 11th Ric. II., with limitation to the heirs male of his body arose "from an apprehension that a writ and sitting in Parliament did not secure an hereditary dignity to the descendants of the persons so summoned," it is sufficient to adduce the much more probable explanation given in a former Report by their lordships themselves, and which has been cited in a note to this article[1], namely, that as writs were then held to create a dignity to the heirs-*general* of the parties who received them, it was the obvious intention of this creation to limit the descent of the title to the heirs-*male* of the body of the grantee, and which could not be effected in any other manner. If this was not then held to be the law, in what manner can the forty-five barons, who were summoned in the 11th Ric. II. be considered to have enjoyed

[1] Page 279.

their dignities? Was it by an inference of law derived from usage? From the first writ of summons (excepting that of the 49th Hen. III.) in the 23rd Edw. I. to the 11th Ric. II. only ninety-two years had elapsed, and many of the persons summoned to the latter were the grandsons only of those summoned to the former Parliament, whilst many were the sons of those summoned towards the end of the reign of Edward III.; a period far too short, and a number of generations too few to have created a "right by usage." As, however, it is obvious that the Committees do not mean it to be understood that such right by prescription prevailed until after the 5th Ric. II. they must suppose that all the peers summoned in the early part of the reign of Richard the Second derived their dignity of barons from the first writ addressed to each of them; and hence that if Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster had survived until the 13th Ric. II. he would, in virtue of his patent of the 11th Ric. II., have been considered an older baron than Thomas Lord Clifford, who succeeded his father in 1390, but whose great-grandfather was summoned in the 28th Edw. I.; a position which it is impossible to maintain. Moreover, if a writ of summons and sitting in Parliament did not create a dignity descendible to heirs-general before the 5th Ric. II., it is most extraordinary that the husband of Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of William Baron Boteler of *Wemme*, should have been summoned to Parliament from the 49th Edw. III., six years only after the demise of her father, until his death in the 2nd Ric. II., as Robert Ferrers of *Wemme;* that Sir John Falvesley, and Sir John Heron, the first and second husband of Elizabeth, daughter and eventually heiress of John Lord Say, who died in the 49th Edw. III., should have been summoned to Parliament, who, though not styled Lords Say in the writs, undoubtedly bore that title; that Thomas le Blount, on marrying the heiress of William Lord Leyburn, should have been summoned from the 20th Edw. II. to the 2nd Edw. III., shortly after which he died; that Gerard L'Isle, whose mother was sister and heiress of Henry Baron Teyes, should have been summoned in the 41st Edw. III., and that many instances should exist before the 5th Ric. II., and between that year and the end of the reign of Henry VI.[1], of the husbands, or sons, of the daughters and heiresses of barons by writ having been summoned by the titles of such barons. It is to be lamented that no records are extant which show the precedence allowed to barons in early times; and that almost the only evidence on the subject is the

[1] Cobham, Abergavenny, Burnel, Fauconberg, Fitz-Warine, Audley, St. Amand, Dacre, &c., and in the next or subsequent reigns, Fitz-Walter, Morley, Mounteagle, and numerous others.

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manner in which names are placed on the roll of the writs of summons. We know that these are not always to be depended upon; but as the degrees of peerage are ranked in their proper order, and as the names of those who are considered to be the oldest barons generally stand first, they throw some light on the subject, and support the opinion, that the heirs of barons who were summoned on the demise of their ancestors ranked in the places of such ancestors, and hence that they succeeded to an *hereditary* instead of being created to a *new* dignity; and that Ferrers of Wemme, Blount, Heron, and Falvesley, &c. were allowed a higher rank than could belong to the date of the first writ addressed to them. It would be important, though difficult, to trace the number of persons who were summoned, for the first time, soon after their marriages with the sole or coheiresses of barons: we are aware, however, that they are very numerous.

In considering the creation of Lord Beauchamp by patent in the 11th Ric. II., the Committees seem to have forgotten the fact that no similar creation occurred until the 11th Hen. VI., when Sir John Cornwall was created by patent Baron of Milbroke, a period of forty-six years, during which several barons were created *by writ*, whose heirs were regularly summoned. The reign of Henry the Sixth has been justly described by the Committees as one in which great anomalies took place with respect to dignities; and as there is but a solitary instance of the creation of a baron by patent before the accession of that monarch, and as the heir-male of the person so created was never summoned to Parliament, though, for a short period at least [1], he was purged from the effects of his father's attainder, that case does not warrant the important conclusions which the Committees have drawn from it.

We shall now show that some instances exist of parties having been summoned to Parliament after the accession of Richard II., whose heirs were not summoned.

WILLIAM DE ALDEBURGH was summoned in the 44th, 49th, and 50th Edw., and regularly from the *first* to the *tenth* of Ric. II., and died in 1386, leaving his son William *thirty* years old, who was

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[1] John de Beauchamp of Holt, who was created Baron of Kydderminster, by patent tested 10th October, 11th Ric. II., 1387, was summoned as "John' de Beauchamp de Kydderminster," on the 17th December following, but never afterwards, as he was beheaded early in 1388. John de Beauchamp, his son and heir, was then about ten years old; but as his father was attainted, he of course did not inherit the dignity. In the 21st Ric. II. the attainder of his father was reversed; hence, from that time until the 1st Hen. IV., when the proceedings in the 21st Ric. II. were annulled, and those of the 11th Ric. II. revived, he was eligible to have been summoned to Parliament. His name does not, however, once occur in the writs, though he attained his majority in the 22nd Ric. II. He was escheator for the county of Worcester in the 8th Hen. IV. and 1st Hen. V., and died without issue male in 1420.

never summoned, and died in the 15th Ric. II., leaving his sisters his coheirs.

JOHN FITZ-ALAN, alias ARUNDEL, having married Eleanor, the grand-daughter and heiress of John Lord Maltravers, was summoned from the 1st to the 3rd Ric. II., in which year he died. John, his grandson and heir was *fifteen* years old, and survived until 1421, but was never summoned. John, his son, who was then only *thirteen*, was allowed the Earldom of Arundel in the 7th Hen. VI., but was not summoned either as a Baron or Earl.

ROGER DE BEAUCHAMP, of Bletsho, was summoned from the 37th Edw. III. to the 3rd Ric. II., when he died, leaving Roger, his grandson and heir, then *seventeen* years old. He died in the 7th Hen. VI. but neither he nor his descendants were ever summoned.

JOHN DE CLIFTON was summoned from the 50th Edw. III., to the *twelfth* Ric. II., when he died, leaving Constantine, his son, his heir, then aged *sixteen*, who was summoned in the *seventeenth* and *eighteenth* of Ric. II. He died in the 18 Ric. II. leaving John, his son, his heir, an infant one year old, who made proof of his age in the 4th Hen. V., and lived until the 4th Hen. VI., when he died, leaving male issue; but none of the descendants of Constantine, the second baron, were ever summoned.

WILLIAM DE THORPE was summoned from the 5th to the 14th Ric. II., but nothing is known of his descendants.

RICHARD DE STAFFORD was summoned from the 44th Edw. III. to the 3rd Ric. II., and died in the 4th Ric. II., leaving Edmund, his son and heir, a clerk, thirty-six years of age. He became Bishop of Exeter in January 1395, and died in 1419, leaving his nephew, Thomas Stafford, his heir, thirty years old, who left male issue; but none of the descendants of Richard de Stafford were ever summoned as barons.

These cases are sufficient to establish that, though the instances of the heirs of barons being omitted to be summoned are less numerous after, than before, the accession of Richard the Second, too many precedents exist to justify the inferences of the Committees. In that and former reigns, as well as at a much later period, several examples occur of one, two, three, or more generations being wholly passed over, though each of the parties entitled to a writ attained his majority[1], and their descendants were regularly summoned. Two or three singular cases may be cited of baronies being allowed in the reign of Henry VI. and Edward IV. to the heirs of parties who were summoned once or twice only before the accession of Richard II., and which tend to show the opinions which were then held on the subject.

JOHN DE MOLINES was only once summoned to Parliament, namely, in the 21st Edw. III. 1347, and is supposed to have lived until 1371. Neither William his son, Richard his grandson, William his great-

[1] Clinton, Fitz-Walter, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Poynings, St. Maur, Scrope of Bolton, Welles, West, Dudley, Ferrers of Chartley, Fitz-Warine, &c.

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grandson, nor William his great-great-grandson, who succeeded each other respectively, and survived their majorities, was ever summoned. Eleanor, daughter and heiress of the last-mentioned William, married Robert Hungerford, who was summoned to Parliament as Lord Molines, from the 23rd to the 31st Hen. VI., when he succeeded his father in the barony of Hungerford. As, however, his name appears the last on the roll of the writs of summons, until he became Lord Hungerford, which dignity was not of a more ancient creation than the 14th Hen. VI., and then assumed that title, it may perhaps be inferred, that the barony of Molines of which he was possessed, was deemed to have been *created* by the writ of the 23rd Hen. VI. rather than by that of the 21st Edw. III.

JOHN FERRERS OF CHARTLEY was summoned from the 27th Edw. I. to the 5th Edw. II., 1311, and died in 1324, leaving Robert, his son, his heir, who was summoned to the council in the 16th Edw. III. only. Neither John, his son, Robert, his grandson, nor Edmund, his great-grandson, was ever summoned. In the 1st of Edw. IV. Walter Devereux, who had married Anne, the daughter and heiress of the said Edmund de Ferrers, was summoned as Lord Ferrers, as were their descendants; and in 1677, the crown terminated the abeyance into which the Barony had fallen, in favour of Sir Hugh Shirley, one of the co-heirs, who was allowed the precedence of the writ of the 27th Edw. I., which precedence was likewise enjoyed by his descendant George, son and heir-apparent of George, first Marquis of Townsend. It is deserving of remark, that no record is to be found of John Ferrers, who was summoned in the reigns of Edward I. and II., or of his son, Robert, ever having sat in Parliament.

Several other cases might be cited to prove, that the heirs-general of baronies by writ, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were considered to be entitled to dignities so created before the 5th Ric. II.; but our limits restrain us from mentioning more than those of Audley and St. Amand.

NICHOLAS DE AUDLEY (son and eventually heir of Nicholas de Audley, who was summoned by the doubtful writ of the 25th Edw. I. only) was summoned from the 6th to the 12th Edw. II., when he died, leaving James his son and heir, who was summoned from the 4th Edw. III. to the 10th Ric. II., in which year he died. Nicholas, his son, was summoned from the 11th to the 14th Ric. II., and died without issue in 1392; when John Tuchet, aged twenty, his great-nephew, his sister Margaret Lady Hillary, and his great-nephew Fulk Fitz-Warine, were his heirs. The above-mentioned John Tuchet was summoned from the 7th to the 9th Hen. IV. as "John Tuchet," and died in the 10th Hen. IV. Lady Hillary died s. p. in 1410; and the barony of Audley, unless, which is not probable, it was allowed to John Tuchet by the writs of the 7th and 9th Hen. IV. became in abeyance between James, his son and heir, and his cousin Fulk Fitz-Warine. But there can be no doubt that the abeyance was terminated in the 8th Hen. V., when the said James Tuchet was summoned as "James *de Audley*." As he did not descend from the last baron Audley, there were but three barons through whom he could claim, only one of whom

was summoned after the 5th Ric. II., and he but for five years. The place where the name of James de Audley occurs in the writ of the 8th Hen. V. justifies the opinion that he was allowed the precedence of the writ to Nicholas de Audley in the 6th Edw. II., if not that of the 25th Edw. I. This case is remarkable as being the first example of the termination of the abeyance of a barony.

JOHN DE ST. AMAND (brother and heir of John St. Amand, who was summoned from the 28th Edw. I. to 4th Edw. II.) was summoned from 6th to 19th Edw. II.; his son, Almaric, from the 44th Edw. III. to the 5th Ric. II.; his grandson, Almaric, from 6th Ric. II. to 5th Hen. IV., and died in 1403, S. P. when the Barony fell into abeyance among his daughters and coheirs. In 1449, William Beauchamp who had married one of these coheirs, was summoned as Lord St. Amand.

It is therefore difficult to believe that the doctrine laid down by the Committee was held to be the law with respect to baronies created by writ, *at any period;* whilst the principles which appear to have been acted upon in the cases cited have been since adopted in numerous, and, indeed, in every case brought before the House. They may also be recognised in the celebrated decision relative to a claim to the barony of Talboys, *jure uxoris*, in the reign of Hen. VIII., where the husband of the daughter and heiress of Gilbert Talboys, who is recorded to have been only once summoned to and sat in Parliament, claimed the barony. The right of his daughter to the dignity was admitted, and her husband was only forbidden to use the title because he had no issue by her.

As that case was solemnly argued before the king in person, it may be considered as indicative of what was then the law, and may be fairly adduced to contradict the assertion in the Report, that, until 1673, the law regulating the descent of baronies by writ "cannot be deemed to have been clearly settled," even if the numerous cases in earlier reigns, which have been alluded to, can allow of a doubt on the point.

The inference attempted to be drawn in favour of their lordships' doctrine from the circumstance, that though Michael de la Pole was summoned as a baron by writ from the 39th Edw. III. to the 8th Ric. II., when he was created Earl of Suffolk, and was attainted, "his son was restored only to the dignity of Earl, without mention of his title to the dignity of Baron," merits some attention. The facts are, that the attainder of Michael de la Pole, in the 11th Ric. II., was reversed by Parliament in the 21st Ric. II.[1] when his son, of the same name, was restored to all his father's honours, and was summoned as

[1] Rot. Parl. tome iii. p. 359.

Earl of Suffolk. In the 1st Henry IV., the proceedings in the 21st Ric. II. were annulled, and those of the 11th Ric. II. confirmed, whereby the Earl of Suffolk was stripped of his honours, including, of course, the barony of De la Pole, created to his father in the 39th Edw. III.; but, in the same year, he is said by Dugdale, on the authority of the Patent Rolls[1], to have been created Earl of Suffolk, to him and the heirs-male of his body, failing which, to the heirs male of his father. If the barony of De la Pole is not mentioned in this patent, it remained in the crown, in consequence of the statute of the 1st of Hen. IV.; but it is impossible to understand in what way the circumstance of the crown having withheld one of the dignities, whilst it bestowed the other on the Earl of Suffolk, when it was a mere act of grace to confer either, can, if combined with *any* other fact, "give colour to the suggestions of former committees, that summons and sitting in Parliament did not originally create a right in the descendants of persons so summoned to require a like writ of summons." As well might it be contended that, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, *all* baronies descended to heirs-*male only*, because the heirs-male of the baronies of Lumley and Stafford, both of which dignities originated in writs of summons, but which were forfeited by attainders, were allowed the rank of barons, with remainders to the heirs-male of their bodies respectively; or that, in the time of Charles the Second, all the second sons of barons by writ were shut out from the inheritance, because the barony of Audley was then restored, with limitations so peculiar, that George, the second son of the attainted peer, and his issue, were wholly excluded from the inheritance of the dignity.

The conjecture of their lordships, "that the descendants of earls, created earls by the crown, or by solemn investiture, by girding with the sword, were probably always summoned on

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[1] It is almost certain, from the manner in which their lordships speak of this patent, that they have not referred to it, but allude to its contents upon the authority of Dugdale alone. Much as this practice is to be lamented, it is the more to be regretted in a case where a most important deduction is attempted to be made from it. Dugdale says, that it grants to the earl, "by the assent of all the nobles at that time in Parliament assembled," the manor of Eye, in Suffolk; and also that he and his heirs should be capable of inheriting *all other* the *Lands and Lordships* which belonged to his father, or of any other his ancestors; in particular, that he, and the heirs-male of his body, should enjoy the same title of Earl of Suffolk, &c." No notice of this grant occurs on the Rolls of Parliament; nor is it alluded to by Vincent, in his Catalogue of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue of Nobility. On the Calendar of the Patent Rolls, the grant of the manor of Eye is mentioned, p. 242, but nothing is there said of the earldom of Suffolk. The name of Michael, Earl of Suffolk, occurs in the writs of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and subsequent years of Henry IV., and he was present in Parliament on Thursday the 23rd of October, 1st Henry IV., the day following that on which the Act which deprived him of his honours was passed. *Rot. Parl.*

the deaths of their respective ancestors," is not universally well founded. William de Valence, who was created Earl of Pembroke, by Edward the First [1], died in 1296, leaving Aymer, his son and heir, of full age, who was summoned to Parliament as a *Baron* only, from 1297 until the accession of Edward the Second, notwithstanding that in the 28th Edw. I. he was styled Earl of Pembroke [2].

One or two other passages in the Report require observation. After the uniform practice of ages with respect to baronies created by writ; the definition of the law on the point by Lord Coke, who, in the case of Sir Edward Nevill, in speaking of a writ of summons, expressly says, "If a man be called by writ to the Parliament, he hath a fee-simple in the barony without any words of inheritance that if he sit in Parliament under such writ, his blood is ennobled to him, and his heirs-lineal [3], and that such writ makes him a baron, and hath inheritance therein without the word 'heirs [4];'" and the repeated decisions of the House itself, upon claims to baronies created in that manner, both in the last and present century, nay, even within the last thirteen years, it seems astonishing that a new principle should be attempted to be laid down on the subject. That such is the case, has, we think, been fully shown, by the extracts we have made from the last Report, and if any doubt could be entertained of such intention, the following passages place it beyond dispute.

"A writ of summons is in itself merely personal, and it seems to be *only an inference of law derived from usage*, which has extended the operation of such writ beyond the person to whom it was directed." P. 73.

"The case of the barony of Lisle has been detailed [5] with the view only of impressing on the House the importance of considering the subject fully in all its parts, and with all its consequences, whenever the questions which may arise upon it shall be discussed, and especially to induce the House explicitly to determine, as a rule for its

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[1] Brooke, in which he is not contradicted by Vincent, says, he was created Earl of Pembroke in 1247. Dugdale informs us that he does not find that title applied to him until the battle of Lewes, 1264; but there can be no doubt that he was not created to that dignity until the accession of Edward the First; for, in every document in the Fœdera, in the Appendix to the First Peerage Report, and in those referred to in the Calendar to the Patent Rolls, during the reign of Henry III., he is called "William de Valence" only. Dugdale's authority for saying he was styled Earl of Pembroke in 1264, is Matthew Paris; but if, as is probable, the account there given of the battle of Lewes was compiled after Edward's accession, he would be described by the title he then bore. It is certain that he was Earl of Pembroke in the 3rd Edw. I. (Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 2.)

[2] Calend. Rot. Patent. p. 61. [3] P. 55. [4] Co. 16.

[5] On the manner in which it is related, it was our intention to have commented; but which a want of space induces us to abandon.

guidance in other cases, *whether* a dignity created by writ *is in any, and what respect, a dignity different from one created by patent.*" P. 72.

If this doubt had been expressed by any persons less entitled to respect than a committee of the House of Lords, or less likely, from the fact of its having been printed by that committee, to have an influence which, if issued from any other quarter, it would not for one moment possess, we should have felt some shame in attempting to prove that it is unfounded. It has, we presume, been proved that the practice of allowing dignities to the husbands or sons of the daughters and heiresses of barons by writ, is nearly coeval with the earliest writs of summons extant; that baronies were allowed to coheirs as early as the time of Henry the Fifth; that in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth, a similar practice prevailed, and that more than two or three dignities were then allowed to the representatives of heirs-female; that to prevent a writ of summons having the usual effect of creating a dignity descendible to the heirs-general of the person to whom it was addressed, a special clause was introduced into the writ issued to Henry Bromflete in the 27th Hen. VI., limiting the barony thus created, "to him and the heirs-male of his body;" that there is proof that such was considered the law in the case of Talboys decided by Henry the Eighth in person; and that frequent decisions of the House of Lords, from the reign of James the First to the year 1815, have combined to establish the principle "in a manner not now to be shaken."

The want of proofs to support the Committees' argument is sufficient to show that it is wholly untenable; but there are three passages in the Report before us, which lessen the weight of their lordships' observations on the subject. The Committees have most satisfactorily established that claims to baronies by tenure ought not to be admitted; but it is now, we fear, attempted to annihilate claims to baronies by writ. This opinion is formed from the uniform tone throughout the two last Reports; the adoption of a totally different argument from the same premises; the readiness to admit so well founded and so just a principle as that, "when the confused state of public records, during many years, is considered, it cannot be matter of surprise, that many should have been lost, and indeed there can be no doubt that many have been lost, and therefore the *general current of authority, demonstrating the general opinion of the law, may be considered as sufficient to overrule any doubt which might be founded on* [these two] *singular cases*[1], when the anomalies interfere with the opinions advocated, but rigidly insisting on such proofs, when they are necessary to support

[1] Co. 16.

a claim of peerage; and more than all from the following passages:

"One thing the Committee conceive has been sufficiently shown by this Report, and by that of the 12th July, 1819; namely, the *danger* of going far back into antiquity to establish rights to the dignity of a peer of the realm not sanctioned by continual usage; and of applying the principles established by modern resolutions and decisions to what has passed in earlier times." Third Report, p. 236.

"From these cases the House may judge of the *probable consequences* of allowing, at this day, a claim of the dignity of a baron by tenure." Fourth Report, p. 31.

"Letters patent state the extent of the grant which they create, but a writ of summons is in itself merely personal; and it seems to be only an inference of law derived from usage, which has extended the operation of such writ beyond the person to whom it was directed. When usage is supposed to have first warranted the inference of law, and to have attributed to the mere issuing of a writ to an individual, even if accompanied by proof that that individual sat in Parliament under that writ, the effect of creating a title in that individual to an hereditary dignity, descendible to all the heirs of his body, is a question which it may be fit for the House deliberately to consider; and to fix a point of time, before which the evidence of issue of a writ, and of sitting in Parliament under that writ, shall not be deemed sufficient evidence of the creation of an hereditary dignity of peerage; *otherwise claims may be made which have not been thought of for centuries.* The determination in the case of the Lord Freschville may perhaps afford some guide, but it will not extend to all the cases in which the question may be agitated." Fourth Report, p. 74.

With all proper respect for a Committee of the House of Lords appointed to investigate what was the law which regulated the descent of dignities in former times, we fear that the Committees have rather overstepped the strict line of duty, in inquiring into "*the danger* of going far back into antiquity to establish rights to the dignity of a peer of the realm;" in pausing to consider "what would be *the consequences* of allowing a claim of peerage;" or in being influenced in any degree by the possibility of claims being urged, "which had not been thought of for centuries." With such feelings as these, we submit the Committees had nothing to do. It was their object to ascertain what the law on the subject really is; and this once settled, it might then become a proper subject for consideration whether it should remain or be altered. If an alteration be necessary, the House of Lords alone cannot, we presume, effect even the least change in that law; but, like other changes in established laws, the alteration must be produced by an act of the legislature. The House of Lords, as well as all other courts, is, we are well aware, the interpreters of law, but it cannot, we apprehend, any more than the courts below, when

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called upon to decide what is or is not law, for one moment consider what would be "the consequences" which would attend its decision. A claim to a dignity must be considered with the same attention to the laws relating to such dignities, as a claim to an estate is with respect to those of real property. If the decision upon the claim to either be not according to the existing laws, an injustice is done to the claimant, greater if possible in respect to his claim to a peerage than to land, because neither wealth nor power, not even the crown itself, can recompense him for his loss. It is impossible, therefore, to suppose that one branch of the legislature alone, possesses the power, under the mild term of "fixing a point of time," to change—and an entire change we contend it would be—the law respecting the descent of the most valuable possession to which a man can be entitled, the dignity of a peer of this realm. This is not the place or the occasion to discuss the utility or mischief of a man, now a commoner, acquiring, by the course of nature, a right to an ancient barony in fee, and thus of keeping open an avenue to the honours of the peerage, independent of the prerogative of the crown; but so long as heirs-male of dignities by patent, though such heirs-male may not have "thought of claiming the titles for centuries," are admitted to them on proving their pedigrees, it is difficult to believe that any other ill "consequence" would attend allowing claims to baronies by writ, than what would befall the present barons by patent of modern creation, the placing of a person, now a commoner, over their heads.

Having observed, that the errors, as to facts, are very numerous in these Reports, and that Sir William Dugdale's statements have been copied without reference to the original authorities, it is right that we should adduce such proofs of our assertion as have accidentally presented themselves.

In bringing these errors into notice, as well as in controverting some of the opinions laid down in the Reports, we are most anxious not to be supposed to be actuated by disrespectful feelings towards their Lordships' Committees, or that we are not deeply impressed with the learning and research which in other places those documents display. But we are equally desirous that they should not be over-rated; that the source, from whence they originated, should not give support to opinions in themselves erroneous, or to statements which are unfounded; and this object will be best produced by pointing out some of the many mistakes which occur*, because as every fact is adduced to support some proposition, if the former be proved to be erroneous, the latter must necessarily fall to the ground.

* The errors which are pointed out in the critique on the First Report in the Edinburgh Review, will not be here noticed.

FIRST REPORT.

"The Parliament of which the 'Placita' of the 23rd Edw. I. is preserved in the printed Rolls of Parliament [v. i. p. 138] is a Parliament to which the writs on record do not apply." P. 217.

This assertion is at least doubtful. By writs tested "apud Album Monasterium xxiiij die Junii, 23d Edw. I. 1295," the peers to whom they were addressed were commanded to assemble "apud Westm^r primo die mensis Augusti proximo futuro vel saltem infra tertium diem subsequentem ad ultimum[1]." It is true that there is no record of a Parliament being held on the 1st or 4th of August in that year, but the Placita cited in the Report relates to a Parliament held "apud Westmonasterium in crastino assumptionis beati Mariæ, 23d Ed. I.[2]," viz. on the 16th of August, and which must be the Parliament which was summoned to meet on the 1st or 4th of that month.

"The writs tested at Berwick on the 26th August, 24th Edw. I. to meet at St. Edmundsbury on the morrow of All-Souls following, which was in the *twenty-fifth* year of his reign," &c. P. 219.

The writ in question was tested at Berwick-on-Tweed, 26th August, 24th Edw. I. 1296, and they were to assemble on the morrow of All-Souls following[3], viz. on the 3rd of November, which was in the *twenty-fourth* of Edward I.

"Before this Parliament [13th Edw. III.], however, in the 8th, 9th, and 10th Edw. III., William de Clinton, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover, was summoned to Parliament 'pro Baronibus Quinque Portuum.' In the 11th and 12th Edw. III. William de Clinton having become Earl of Huntingdon, was summoned as earl, without mention of his office; and in this Parliament of the 13th of Edw. III., which met

William de Clinton was summoned to Parliament as a baron before the 8th of Edw. III., namely, in the 4th and 5th of Edw. III.[4] The first time in which he is described in a separate writ as "Constabular' castri sui Dovorr', et custod. Quinq. Portuu' suor'" is on the 8th February, 5th Edw. III.[5], and again in the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Edw. III.[6] Previous to the 5th Edw. III. Bartholomew Baron de Burghersh,

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[1] Appendix to the First Report, p. 64.
[2] Rot. Parl. v. i. p. 132.
[3] Appendix to the First Peerage Report, p. 75.
[4] Ibid. pp. 396. 401.
[5] Ibid. p. 405.
[6] Ibid.

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at Michaelmas, he was also summoned as earl only. The Warden of the Cinque Ports may have been considered as in some measure their representative in Parliament." P. 309.

was so summoned; and on every occasion on which writs were addressed to Clinton as Warden of the Cinque Ports, he was included in the writ to the barons. The Report states, that in the 11th and 12th Edw. III. "he was summoned as earl, *without mention of his office.*" He was created Earl of Huntingdon on the 16th of March, 11th Edw. III., 1337, and his name occurs in the writ tested on the 18th August following, as "Will' de Clynton Comiti Huntynd.;" but he *also* received a special writ, tested on the same day, directed to him as "William de Clynton Comiti Hunt' Constabular' Castri sui Dovorr', et Custodi Quinq' Portuu' suor'[1]," and again in the 12th and *thirteenth*[2], and to the 17th of Edw. III. In the 18th Edw. III. he was summoned as Earl of Huntingdon, and, in the separate writ to the Warden of the Cinque Ports, that title, with the addition of Constable of Dover Castle, is applied to Bartholomew de Burghersh[3], who had been regularly summoned as a *Baron*, from the 5th Edw. III. to the Parliament in question. The committee appear, however, to have overlooked that the writs to the Warden of the Cinque Ports were addressed "vel ejus locu' tenenti," and that the said Warden or his lieutenant were commanded *to cause two barons to be sent from the Cinque Ports;* but there is not a word in the writs which admits of the inference that the Warden or his lieutenant was himself summoned as the representative of the Cinque Ports. It is, therefore, extremely doubtful if the Committees ever read the writs alluded to in the paragraph cited from the Report.

[1] Ibid. pp. 480-481. [2] Ibid. p. 509. [3] Ibid. p. 553.

"John de Cobham was *not* summoned to Parliament until the 24th Edw. III." P. 340.

He was summoned by writ, tested 12th Sept., 16th Edw. III., 1342, with other peers, as well spiritual as temporal, to a *Council*, if it was not in fact to[1] a Parliament.

"Henry le Scrope, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Edward the Second, was summoned to Parliament in the 8th Edw. II., but not afterwards, though he lived till the 10th Edw. III." P. 341, and p. 352.

This personage was summoned to Parliament, *ex officio*, from the 5th Edw. II. to the 9th Edw. III.; but in two writs, namely, those tested 29th July, 8th Edw. II., and 16th October, 9th Edw. II., the names of the barons, judges, and clerks of the council occur promiscuously.

In the account of the Earldom of Arundel, the committee state, that William de Albini, first earl, was succeeded by his son, William, second earl, who was succeeded by his son William, the third earl, who dying S. P. was succeeded by Hugh his brother, the fourth and last earl of that family. P. 410, et seq.

There were *four* William de Albinis, Earls of Arundel, father, son, grandson, and great-grandson, the last of whom was succeeded by his brother Hugh.

"John de Arundel, left by Eleanor de Maltravers, John, *his son and heir*, who was never summoned to Parliament." P. 426.

John de Arundel was succeeded by John his *grandson* and heir.

THIRD REPORT.

"The sons of Ralph Monthermer dying before him, Margaret, a daughter of his son Thomas, was his heir." P. 119.

Ralph Monthermer died about the 18th Edward II., 1324-5. Thomas, his eldest son, was living in the 19th Edward III.[2], and is said to have died in 1340[3], leaving Margaret his daughter his heir. Edward, the second son, was summoned to a Council or Parliament twice in the 11th Edward III.[4]

"John de Sudeley was summoned to Parliament in the 28th Edward I., and in subsequent

John de Sudley was regularly summoned to Parliament from the 28th Edward I. to the *fourteenth*

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[1] Appendix to the First Report, p. 538. Ibid. p. 488.
[3] Dugdale's Baronage. [4] Appendix to the First Report, pp. 473. 476.

years, including the 35th of that king; and he was also summoned in the 1st and to the 4th of Edward II. He died *without issue* in the 10th Edward III., and was succeeded in his possessions by John de Sudeley, a *collateral relation*, who was never summoned to Parliament; but he and his descendants remained in possession of Sudeley till the 41st Edward III., when John de Sudeley, the then possessor, dying without issue, the estate came to his two sisters, Joan second wife of William le Boteler of Wem in Shropshire, a baron of the realm, and Margery, who married Sir Robert Massey. On a partition of the estates of John de Sudeley, in the 41st Edward III., Sudeley was assigned to Thomas Boteler, son of William Boteler of Wem, and Joan Sudeley; and their descendant, Ralph le Boteler, was summoned to Parliament in the 20th Henry VI., as Ralph le Boteler, Chev^r., and afterwards, sometimes as Ralph Boteler de Sudeley, probably to distinguish him from the elder branch, the Botelers of Wem. He was at one time Lord Treasurer of England. Siding with the Lancastrian party, he was compelled to sell Sudeley to Edward IV., and died without issue in the 13th Edward IV., leaving two sisters his heirs. Notwithstanding the sale of Sudeley, he was summoned to Parliament as late as the 12th Edward IV. He was not summoned therefore in respect of the tenure of Sudeley." P. 133.

Edward II.[1] He died in 1336, 10th Edward III., leaving his *grandson*, John de Sudley, son of his eldest son Bartholomew, who died *in vitâ patris*, his heir, then aged thirty years[2]. This John died in the 14th Edward III., leaving John, his son and heir, an infant one year old[3]. He survived his majority six or seven years, and died in the 41st Edward III. without issue, leaving his nephew Thomas le Boteler, son of Sir William le Boteler by Joan his eldest sister, and Margaret his other sister, his heirs[4]. The said Sir William le Boteler was *never* "a baron of the realm." William le Boteler of Wemme, with whom the Committee have confounded him, was his half-brother.

Ralph le Boteler was created Baron of Sudley, *by patent*, on the 10th Sept. 20th Henry IV. 1440[5].

The son of one of his sisters, and the grandson of the other were his heirs[6].

Though summoned until the 12th Edward IV., he never attended Parliament after the accession of Edward, having obtained a license to absent himself[7].

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[1] Appendix to the First Peerage Report, p. 308.
[2] Esch. 10th Edw. III. No. 32; 20 Edw. II. No. 8; and 35th Edw. III. No. 59.
[3] Esch. 14th Edw. III. No. 10.
[4] Esch. 41st Edw. III. No. 54.
[5] Rot. Patent.
[6] Esch. 13th Edw. IV.
[7] Ibid 1st Edw. IV. Part. 3. No. 24.

FOURTH REPORT.

Edmund Mortimer was not summoned to Parliament as a baron. P. 22.	By writ tested at Guildford, 20th Nov. 5th Edward III., 1331, he was summoned "cum ceteris prelatis, magnatibus, et proceribus" of the kingdom, to meet at Westminster in the octaves of St. Hilary following, "habere colloquium et tractatum [1]."
Ralph Dacre, 2nd son of Thomas Lord Dacre, inheriting Gillesland and a large property in the north, had also the title of Lord Dacre, &c.—"His descendants," &c. P. 56.	He left *no* descendants. Humphrey was his *brother* and heir.

The space which we can afford for pointing out some of the numerous errors in the Reports is, however, exhausted: nor have we room to notice the extraordinary omissions of many statements which bear strongly upon the subject of their lordships' inquiry, or of the repeated contradictions and erroneous assertions which occur. Of the latter it is sufficient to point out the remarks, that "*attempts have been made* to use the letters from the barons to the pope in 1301, to prove a sitting in Parliament," and that "*endeavours have been made* to derive from them support to claims of peerage, and especially to claims of peerage by reason of tenure," as we believe that no such "*attempts*" or "*endeavours*," beyond the insertion of an argument in a recent publication that the letter in question offers proofs of sittings in Parliament, have ever been made.

Of the contradictory statements or contradictory inferences from the same premises, it is sufficient to cite the manner in which the effect of a writ of summons is spoken of in the Third [2] and Fourth Reports; the different conclusions drawn from the creation of a baron by patent in the 11th Richard II., pointed out in a former part of this article; and the way in which the Committees speak of the barons' letter to the pontiff, just mentioned, in the First [3] and Third Reports, where it is attributed to the twenty-*fourth* instead of the twenty-*ninth* of Edward the

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[1] Appendix to the First Peerage Report, p. 407.

[2] For example: "The history of this family [Deincourt] seems to confirm the conjecture, that after the establishment of the Commons House of Parliament, as a body by election separate and distinct from the Lords, all idea of a right to a writ of summons to Parliament by reason of tenure had ceased, and that the dignity of baron, if not conferred by patent, was considered as *derived only* from the King's *writ of summons*."—Third Report, p. 218.

[3] Pp. 240-1.

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First, and where its authenticity is said "to be very doubtful [1]," with the appropriation of fifteen pages to it in the Fourth Report, where its authenticity is fully admitted.

Of the omissions, the case of the anomalous descent of the barony of De la Warr is a striking example. The remarks on that dignity occupy four or five pages in the Third [2], and a long paragraph in the Fourth Report [3]; but the unprecedented circumstance of the ancient barony having been allowed to Thomas Lord De la Warr in 1597, though he was not the heir-general of Thomas the eighth baron, father of Thomas the ninth baron who died without issue in 1554 [4], is no where alluded to.

We may, in conclusion, be permitted to express a hope that an Index to the Reports will soon be printed, as the want of it prevents their lordships' labours from being of much utility.

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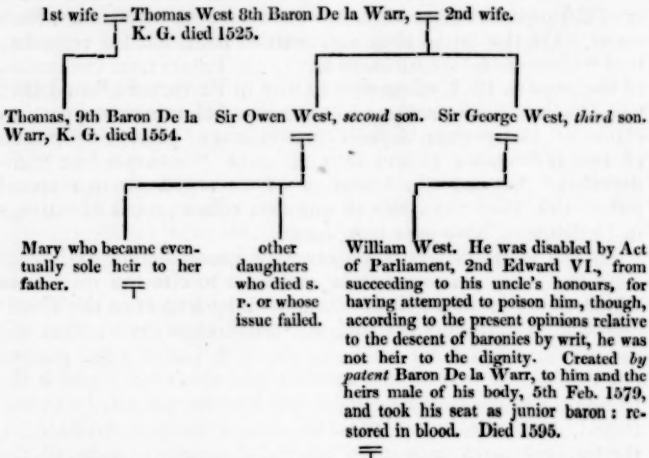
[1] P. 223. [2] Pp. 25. 134 to 137. [3] P. 83.

[4] This case was of so singular a nature, and justifies so serious a doubt as to whether the present heir-general of Thomas Lord De la Warr is not entitled to the original barony, that we shall briefly state it.



Thomas West, son and heir, claimed and was allowed the precedency of the ancient barony, 1597, the House having decided that the inability of his father was personal only.

A quo the present Earl and Baron De la Warr.

SHRINES AND PILGRIMAGES.

THE custom of making pilgrimages to spots of reputed sanctity prevailed to a great extent in the latter ages of paganism, and coupled with a reverence for relics was transferred at a very early period to the christian church. Journeys of this kind to Jerusalem are mentioned in the third century; and in the fourth they are said, by St. Jerome, to have become common from all parts of the Roman empire. The custom of worshipping the relics of martyrs also prevailed in Egypt in the same century, as we learn from Eunapius, who angrily complains that the Christians of Canopus had transferred the homage formerly paid to the Egyptian deities to nauseous collections of bones and relics. It was much later, however, before either practice became established in its full extent, probably not till the time of the crusades. In England there were few shrines or relics of great repute which dated beyond this period. In some of the most celebrated, as that of the Virgin at Walsingham, and the true blood at Hailes, the sacred *matériel* was confessedly imported by the crusaders; while the greatest of all, the shrine of Becket at Canterbury, derived its existence from an event as late as the twelfth century.

The passion of visiting shrines and other sacred places, appears, in the middle ages, to have prevailed pre-eminently in England. In the days of Bede, a pilgrimage to Rome was held to be a "great virtue;" and the number of our countrymen who visited the papal court is said to have excited the sarcastic jokes of the Italians on our catholic enthusiasm. In later ages, the "shadow" of St. James at Compostella was chiefly visited by English pilgrims, and appears to have been set up to divert a part of the inundation which flowed upon Rome. In the number of her domestic shrines England also exceeded all other countries. Thirty-eight existed in Norfolk alone, and to one of these, that of our Lady of Walsingham, Erasmus says, every Englishman, not regarded irreligious, invariably paid his homage. The pilgrims who arrived at Canterbury, on the sixth jubilee of the translation of Becket, are said to have exceeded a hundred thousand[1]; a number which, if correctly given, must have comprised nearly a twentieth of the entire population of the kingdom. Even on the eve of the Reformation, when pilgrimage had much declined, it appears, from the report of one

[1] In the 17th Edw. IV., 1471, the mayor and commonalty of Canterbury, in their petition to have the city paved, state, that from the number of pilgrims, the city "is often times full foule, noyous, and uneasy, as well to all the inhabitaunts of the same, as to alle other persones resortyng therunto." Rot. Parl. v. vi. p. 177.

of Henry's visitors, that upwards of five hundred devotees, bringing money or cattle, had arrived the day before he wrote, at an obscure shrine in Wales[1]. These facts give some idea of the extent to which pilgrimages were carried in this country, and impart a peculiar interest to the subject.

The pilgrimages of the middle ages may be divided into four classes—first, pilgrimages of penance or devotion to foreign shrines; secondly, pilgrimages of the same kind to English shrines; thirdly, pilgrimages to medical and charmed shrines; and fourthly, vicarious pilgrimages for the good of the soul of the principal. Other kinds have been enumerated, but these contain all which had any professed reference to devotion.

The practice of making foreign pilgrimages existed in England from the seventh to about the middle of the fifteenth century. Few persons of any station or wealth failed during that period to engage in these religious tours, and in later ages they were not uncommon among persons in the middle ranks of life. The Wife of Bath, for example, though but a simple cloth-worker, had been as a pilgrim to Rome, Compostella, and Jerusalem; but the expense of such journeys, and the long absence which they required, must generally have confined them to the affluent: although, in that spirit of restlessness which pervaded the middle ages, persons of the lowest rank sometimes engaged in them, and trusted to chance for support.

The professional costume of a pilgrim is usually described as consisting of a long coarse russet gown with large sleeves, and sometimes patched with crosses; a leather belt worn round the shoulders or loins, a bowl and bag suspended from it; a round hat, turned up in front, and stuck with scallop-shells, or small leaden images of saints; a rosary of large beads hanging from the neck or arm, and a long walking-staff (the bourdon), hooked like a crosier, or furnished near the top with two hollow balls, which were occasionally used as a musical instrument.

Before setting out the pilgrim received consecration, which was extended also to the several articles of his attire. On a certain day he repaired to the church, and, after making confession, he prostrated himself before the altar, where certain prayers and masses were said over him, ending with the *Gloria Patri*, *Ad te Domine levavi*, and the *Miserere*. He then arose, and the priest consecrated his scrip and staff, sprinkling each with holy water, and placing the former round his neck, and the latter in his hands. If he were going to Jerusalem, the crosses of his gown were sprinkled in the same way, and publicly sewed upon his garment. The service then ended with the mass, *De iter*

[1] Burnet, i. 242.

agentibus; and, on the day of taking his departure, he was sometimes led out of the parish in procession, with the cross and holy water borne before him[1]. Before commencing his journey, he also settled his worldly affairs, and frequently gave a part of his goods to religious uses. In Blomefield's Norfolk, an instance is cited of a pilgrim who insured the prayers of a religious house, during his absence, by a gift of cattle and corn, and gave the reversion of his estates to it, if he should not return. Such acts of generosity had probably a reference to the protection which the church bestowed on these devotees. During their absence their property was secured from injury, nor could they be arrested or cast in any civil process. The most desperate characters respected the sanctity of their profession, and in some instances have been known, after robbing them by the way, to restore all they had taken from them[2]. The pilgrims to foreign places were compelled, by a law of the 9th of Edward the Third, to embark and return by Dover, "in relief and comfort of the said town[3];" and, in the 13 Ric. II., 1389, at the request of the "barons of Dover," who alluded to this ordinance, the king commanded, that all pilgrims and others, excepting soldiers and merchants, should embark at Plymouth or Dover, and no where else, without special license from the king himself: those, however, who wished to go to Ireland might embark where they pleased[4]. From the reason assigned by the barons for their petition, that "la serche meultz purra estre fait en un port q'en plusours," it may be inferred, that the restriction arose from a desire to check the smuggling, which is said to have been extensively carried on by persons in this disguise[5].

In the order of foreign pilgrims must be reckoned the palmers; a class of men whose real history and condition is little known, though their name is familiar. According to the most probable account, their designation was derived from the palm (the symbol of Palestine), branches of which were often brought home by them, as evidences of their journey. The distinction between

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[1] Fosbrooke, Br. Monachism, 433.

[2] Paston Letters, vol. iii. p. 304.

[3] Rot. Parl. vol. v. p. 568.

[4] Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 275. On the petition of the mayor and commonalty of Dover, in the 4th Edw. IV., 1464, who recite this ordinance and that of Edward the First, but complain that they have been disobeyed, a fine of five marks was imposed on all who should violate them in future. Ibid, vol. v. p. 568. The hospital of St. Nicolas of Calais, called the Maison Dieu, was founded for the support of pilgrims and other poor people, who visited that town "pur eux reposer et refresher en la dite Maison Dieu." Ib. p. 500. The Prior of Plympton stated, in a petition to Edward the First, that William Warwas, Bishop of Exeter from 1107 to 1127, had given his convent some lands at Landeho, in Cornwall, for the support of two canons to celebrate divine service there, to give alms to the poor, "et pur pelryns et autres yleoques herberger." Ibid. vol. i. p. 461.

[5] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. i. p. 12.

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them and ordinary pilgrims has been defined as consisting in the following circumstances: "The pilgrim had some home or dwelling-place; but the palmer had none. The pilgrim travelled to some certain designed place; but the palmer to all. The pilgrim went at his own charges; but the palmer professed wilful poverty, and went upon alms. The pilgrim might give over his profession, and return home; but the palmer must be consistent till he had obtained his palm by death[1]." These distinctions, however, were not invariably preserved; and it would be perhaps difficult to determine any that were so. The profession of a palmer was at first voluntary, and arose in that rivalry of fanaticism which existed in the earlier part of the middle ages. But afterwards, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it was not unfrequently imposed as a penance, and by a law of Henry I., priests who revealed the confessional were punished by these perpetual pilgrimages. In some cases, a variety of severe conditions were added to the sentence. Some who were thus condemned were made to wander about almost naked, carrying rings and chains of iron; and others were bound, in all their journeys, to kneel down at short intervals, and beat the earth with the palms of their hands. There can be no doubt that these forms of penance were actually inflicted; but to what extent, in any particular age, it is impossible to ascertain.

The rise of the domestic shrines of England, and the decline of foreign pilgrimage, are evidences of the milder character which asceticism had begun to wear. The spirit and manner of these pilgrimages differed in many respects from those of the former kind. From their diminished distance and danger, and their greater frequency, they had comparatively little of the same solemn preparation or devotional austerity. Few domestic pilgrims, probably, underwent the ceremony of consecration, or travelled in any peculiar costume. This is evident from Chaucer's pilgrims, who are all equipped in their gayest dresses, and exhibit no distinctive sign of their profession in appearance or spirit. They pursue their journey gaily on horseback, and make it an occasion of mirth and enjoyment rather than of religious mortification.

> "Every man in his wise made hertly chere,
> Telling his fellow of sportis and of cheer,
> And of mirthes that fallen by the waye,
> As custom is of pilgrimes, and hath been many a daye."

It may be inferred from a petition of the Commons to the king in 1435, that pilgrimages were made by persons in their best apparel. They state, that one John Carpenter, a husbandman

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[1] Staveley's Romish Horseleech, 94.

of Brydham, in Sussex, "saying to Isabella, his wyff, that was of the age of xvi yere, and had be maried to hym but xv dayes, that they wold goo togedre on pilgremage, and made to araye hir in hir best arraie, and take hir with hym fro the said toune of Budham to the town of Stoghton, in the said shire, and there murdered horribly his wyff[1]."

These remarks, however, are chiefly true of the customary and periodical pilgrimages. In those which were undertaken spontaneously, from some strong emotion, a severer character prevailed. Mr. Fosbrooke contends, that, in pilgrimages of this kind, it was an essential condition, that the pilgrim should walk his journey barefoot; and there are instances to the last of persons of the highest rank adopting this painful mode of travelling. In one of the pilgrimages of Henry the Eighth to Walsingham, he is said by Spelman to have walked thither barefoot from Barsham, a distance of about three miles; and in the same way, the beautiful Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles the First, was once sentenced by her confessor to make a pilgrimage from Somerset House to Tyburn, and there to do homage to the saintship of some recently executed catholics[2]. "No longer agon then upon St. James his day last past," says Mr. Pory, in a letter to Mr. Mead, dated 5th July, 1626, "those hypocritical dogges made the pore Queen to walke a foot, some add barefoot, from her house at St. James to the gallowes at Tyborne, therby to honor the saint of the day in visiting that holy place, where so many martyrs, forsooth, had shed their blod in defense of the Catholique cause. Had they not also made her to dable in the durte of a foul morning from Somerset House to St. James, her Luciferian confessour riding allong by her in his coach! Yea they have made her to go barefoot, to spin, to eat her meat out of tryne dishes, to waite at the table and serve her servants, with many other ridiculous and absurd penances[3]."

In all pilgrimages of real devotion, the practice of at least walking was common. In one of the Paston Letters, written in 1471, the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk are mentioned as making a pilgrimage together in this way from Framlingham to Walsingham; and it must have been adopted from necessity in the cases in which entire families made pilgrimages with all the children and servants[4]. Some of the above instances, however,

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[1] Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 447.

[2] D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature.

[3] Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, vol. iii. pp. 241-2, from the Harl. MS. 383.

[4] Rot. Parl. vi. 54. John Vivian of Cornwall, gentleman, states, in his petition to the king in 1472, complaining of an assault "that he and Anore his wyffe, her children, and servauntes were in Goddis peas and the kyngs at Tregours within the said counte, and bycause of devotion, come thider on pylgremage to offre in a chapell of the holy apostell Seynt James."

may be said equally to prove the greater severity, or at least decorum, which marked these religious excursions in the upper ranks, and which prevailed at all times, to a degree that would probably not be inferred from Chaucer's picture.

In the pilgrimages of the lower orders, however, his descriptions seem to have been fully justified. A passage quoted by Mr. Fosbrooke, from one of the early state trials, gives us a picturesque idea of the gay and social spirit in which they were conducted. The dialogue occurs between a captious disciple of Wickliffe, in the time of Henry the Fourth, and Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury.

"Also, sir," he says, "I knowe well, that when diverse men and women will go after their owne wills, and finding out a pilgrimage, they will order to have with them both men and women that can sing wanton songs; and some other pilgrims will have with them bag-pipers, so that every towne they come through, what with the noise of their singing and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, that they make more noise than if the king came that waye, with all his clarions and minstrells. And if these men and women be a month in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be half a year after great janglers, tale-tellers, and liars."

To this the Archbishop quaintly replies, that

"Pilgrims have with them singers and also pipers, that when one of them that goeth bare-foote striketh his toe upon a stone, and maketh it to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosome a bagpipe, to drive away with such mirthe the hurte of his fellowe. For with such solace the travaile and wearinesse of pilgrims is lightly and merrily brought forthe."

The object of a pilgrimage was sometimes of a general and sometimes of a particular kind; and the ceremonial which took place on arriving at a shrine differed accordingly. At Boxley and Hailes the pilgrim underwent a sort of ordeal, which was supposed to determine his spiritual state. At the former place he lifted a small wooden image of St. Rumbold, which was artfully pinned to the altar if his offering had been insufficient; and at the latter was shown a phial of the true blood, with a blackened side, which when turned towards him rendered the contents invisible. But these were particular cases; and, generally speaking, a visit to a shrine included nothing more than the ordinary gratification of curiosity or devotion. A tolerable idea of its general nature may be gained from the description given by Erasmus of his visit to Walsingham [1]. His dialogue on this subject is perhaps too fanciful in parts to be implicitly adopted;

[1] Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo.

but there is no reason to doubt the general correctness of its details, the minuteness of which gives it an additional value.

The pilgrims who arrived at Walsingham entered the sacred precinct by a low narrow wicket. It was purposely made difficult to pass, as a precaution against the robberies which were frequently committed at the shrine. On the gate in which the wicket opened was nailed a copper image of a knight on horseback, whose miraculous preservation on the spot by the Virgin formed the subject of one of the numerous legendary stories with which the place abounded. To the east of the gate, within, stood a small chapel, where the pilgrim was allowed, for money, to kiss a gigantic bone, said to have been the finger-bone of St. Peter. After this, he was conducted to a building, thatched with reeds and straw, enclosing two wells in high repute for indigestion and headache, and also for the more rare virtue of ensuring to the votary, within certain limits, whatever he might wish for at the time of drinking their waters. The building itself was said to have been transported there through the air, many centuries before, in a deep snow; and, as a proof of it, the visitor was gravely pointed to an old bear's skin attached to one of the beams. After this, he entered the outer chapel, an unfinished building at the time of Erasmus, who describes the high winds from the neighbouring sea blowing through its open doors and windows. Within this stood the chapel of the Virgin; a small wooden building, with a door in its opposite sides, through which the pilgrims entered and retired. The celebrated image of Our Lady stood within it on the right of the altar. The interior was kept highly perfumed, and illuminated solely by tapers, which dimly revealed the sacred image, surrounded by the gold and jewels of the shrine. The pilgrim knelt awhile on the steps of the altar in prayer, and then deposited his offering upon it, and passed on. What he gave was instantly taken up by a priest, who stood in readiness, to prevent the next comer from stealing it in depositing his own offering. At an altar, apparently in the outer chapel, was exhibited the celebrated relic of the Virgin's milk. It was enclosed in a crystal, to prevent the contamination of lips,

> ——————— "Whose kiss
> Had been pollution unto aught so chaste,"

and set in a crucifix. The pilgrims knelt on the steps of the altar to kiss it, and, after the ceremony, the priest held out a board to receive their offerings, like that with which tolls were collected at the foot of bridges. The sacred relic itself, Erasmus says, was excessively like chalk mixed with the white of eggs, and was quite solid. The image of the Virgin and her

Son, as they made their salute, also appeared to him to give them a nod of approbation.

An incident of a personal kind illustrates the bigotry and intolerance which prevailed at these places. After the ceremony of kissing the sacred milk, Erasmus requested his friend to inquire for him, in the mildest manner, what was the evidence that it was indeed the true milk? The priest appeared at first not to notice the question; but, on its being repeated, his countenance assumed an expression of astonishment and ferocity, and in a tone of thunder he asked if they had not authentic inscriptions of the fact? From the violence of his manner, they expected every instant to have been thrust out as heretics, and were glad to make their peace by a present of money. The inscription which he referred to was found, after some search, fixed high upon a wall, where it was scarcely legible. They contrived, however, to read it; but found it to contain merely a history of this precious relic from the tenth century, when it was purchased by an old woman near Constantinople, with an assurance, from which arose its fame, that all other portions of the Virgin's milk had fallen on the ground before they were collected, while this was taken directly from her breast.

At Canterbury, which Erasmus has also described, there appears to have been less variety of incident. The pilgrim was there chiefly employed in doing honour to the relics of almost countless saints, and pre-eminently to those of Becket. "On the north side of the choir," he says, "the guides opened several doors, and the pilgrim beheld an immense collection of bones of all kinds—skull-bones, jaw-bones, teeth, hands, fingers, &c. which they kissed as they were severally taken out." At his visit an arm was presented to them to salute, with the flesh still upon it, and bloody. In doing honour to the relics of Becket, they kissed the rusty point of the sword that split his skull, and the fissure in the skull itself, exposed for that purpose in a silver case. Near his monument their eyes were gratified with the sight of his hair-shirt, his belt, and trowsers. His neckerchief was also shown them, dirty with his sweat, and spotted with his blood; and even the rags on which he blew his saintly nose, still bearing evidence of their use. Such exhibitions were perfectly consistent with the genius of canonization, and with that love of disgusting subjects, which was not unfrequently mingled with ideas of sanctity.

All pilgrimages to canonized shrines were professedly devotional; but they had often a near relation to some personal want or secular interest of the devotee. This arose from that subdivision of the Romish as of the classical calendar which assigned a tutelary deity to almost every situation or contingency of life; and in consequence filled the country with shrines of a specific

virtue. The superstition here alluded to is quaintly detailed in a passage in Sir Thomas More's "Dyalogue on the Adoracion of Ymages."

"We set," says the interlocutor of the Dialogue, "every saint in his office, and assign him a craft such as pleaseth us. Saint Loy we make a horse-leech; and because one smith is too few at the forge, we set Saint Ippolitus to help him. Saint Appolonia we make a tooth-drawer, and may speake to her of nothing but sore teeth. Saint Sythe, women set to seek their keyes. Saint Roke we appoint to see to the great sickness, and with him we join St. Sebastian. Some saints serve for the eye only, and some for a sore breast. St Germain only for children, and yet will he not once look at them, but if their mothers bring with them a white loaf and a pot of good ale. And yet is she wiser than St. Wylgeforte; for she, good soul, is, as they say, content to be served with oats, peradventure to provide a horse for an evil husband to ride to the devil, for that is the thing she is so sought for; insomuch that women have changed her name, and, instead of St. Wylgeforte, call her St. Uncumber, because they reckon that for a peck of oats she will not fail to uncumber them of their husbands[1]."

The enumeration here given might be carried much further. St. Anne, for example, was supposed to have a peculiar efficacy in recovering lost goods; and St. Leonard in assisting debtors to escape from prison. St. Sebastian was all-powerful against the plague, St. Petronel against fevers, St. Genow against the gout, &c. In the same manner every trade had its patron saint; and even the cat-catcher could hope for no success in his profession, without the kindly interference of St. Gertrude[2]. From the same local and specific efficacy, some shrines that were uncanonized enjoyed a repute little inferior to those which could boast of a celestial patron. A singular shrine of this kind existed at Winfarthing, in Norfolk, containing a precious relic, called "the good sword of Winfarthing." It was efficient in the recovery of lost property, and of horses stolen or strayed, and in the still more important office of shortening the lives of refractory husbands. To obtain its interference in this way, the impatient help-mate was simply required to enter the church on every Sunday through the year, and set up a lighted candle before the relic[3].

The pilgrimages to sanative wells and fountains must be reckoned among those to specific shrines. Springs of this kind, when consecrated, were generally found in the neighbourhood of some chapel, or monastery, of their patron saint, within which

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[1] This convenient saint had actually a shrine in the old cathedral of St. Paul's, and the oats which were deposited at it went to feed the canons' horses.

[2] Fuller's History of Abbies, 331. [3] Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. i. p. 122.

a part of the ceremony usually took place. The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk contained sanatory wells, of various efficacy, at Woolpit, East Dereham, Wereham, Bawburgh, &c. The effect of these wells was probably not always imaginary. In many instances, a medical as well as a religious benefit might arise from the ceremony which the visitor underwent. Thus, at St. Nun's Pool, in Cornwall, celebrated for curing madness, the treatment of the patient might, from physical causes, have this effect. The sanative stream was received into a large square cistern, capable of being filled to any depth. The lunatic was made to sit upon the brink, with his back to the water, and, by a sudden blow on the breast, was tumbled headlong into it. Before he could recover himself, he was seized by a strong man, placed there for the purpose, who lifted him in his arms, and whirled him about in the water till he was completely exhausted. When he thus became quiet, it was supposed that his reason was returning, and in this state he was carried into the neighbouring church, where masses were said over him; and if he recovered, as it is said he frequently did, the honour was given to St. Nun.

In some instances, the imputed efficacy of these wells was of a moral kind. The wells of St. John and the Virgin at Honiley, in Warwickshire, were celebrated for removing the taint of unchastity. The pilgrimages to them were made by both parties after the birth of their offspring. The man bathed in the well of St. John, and the female in that of the Virgin, both being filled from the same spring. Having made this ablution, they went to the neighbouring church, and crept on their knees to the shrines of the respective saints, beseeching them to intercede with our Saviour for their forgiveness. They then made an offering at the altar, and the priest gave each a bottle of the water of the spring, as a preservative against future offences[1]. At many of the wells, however, as at the wishing wells at Walsingham, the ceremony consisted in drinking of the waters, after which the devotee knelt upon the margin, repeating the things he desired, and throwing in pieces of gold. In the ancient form, which was purely pagan, crooked pins only were thrown in "to the genius of the spring," or scraps of the garment of the pilgrim attached as a memorial to the neighbouring bushes. This custom continued to the last at Whiteford and other undedicated wells. But when the waters were rescued from their pagan patron, and placed under the charge of christian saints, it was a natural change to substitute some more valuable gift.

The custom of performing pilgrimages by proxy was perhaps

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[1] Dugdale's Warwickshire, 644.

a consequence of the catholic doctrine, that an individual might, on some occasions, depute his religious duties to others, without detriment to himself. Generally, however, these pilgrimages were performed only after the demise of the person to whom they referred, though a few instances occur of their taking place in his lifetime. Provisions for these post obit pilgrimages are frequently met with in the wills of distinguished persons, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. In the earlier instances, they were commonly directed to Rome or Jerusalem, and in these cases were committed to priests, who were directed to pray or sing masses at all convenient places by the way. But in later ages, like other pilgrimages, they were more commonly made to domestic shrines, and appear to have been intrusted to simple laymen. A pious lady, whose will is printed in Blomefield's Norfolk, provides for a pilgrim to visit, after her death, no less than eight different shrines within that county. It is probable, from the low rate at which these spiritual commissions were generally paid, that the same person undertook several of them at once. In the will of Lady Cecily Gerbridge, in 1418, only ten marks are left for a pilgrim to visit Rome; and in another, that of Gardener, Bishop of Norwich, in 1508, only twenty marks are left for the same pilgrimage, with the condition of singing at Rome there for thirteen weeks[1]. In some few cases, the executors of a will were directed to give certain sums to all pilgrims, without distinction, who were willing to undertake an assigned pilgrimage for the deceased. The same system of vicarious duty prevailed in the crusades; but at first the privilege of deputation was confined to persons of the same rank. A father often bequeathed a crusade to his son, and assigned him by will certain funds for his expenses; and the son, again, perhaps satisfied his conscience by transferring it to his own heirs. This delay, however, arose partly from the long intermission of crusades, in which alone such hostile service could be performed; and the duty thus often continued to be acknowledged for several generations. In the will of Sir Roger Beauchamp, in 1379, he confesses that, by the devise of his grandfather, he was bound to do service in the Holy Land, to the expense of two hundred marks; but having never performed it, he now transferred the duty, with the funds for it, to his grandson, to discharge for him[2].

The practice of making valuable presents to shrines, though not assuming the form of pilgrimages, was very nearly allied to them in spirit. These presents were made annually, or at other periodical intervals, by most persons of rank in catholic ages.

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[1] Taylor's Index Monasticus. [2] Testamenta Vetusta, p. 103.

It appears from the household book of the Earl of Northumberland that he gave donations every year to several popular shrines, and kept a candle constantly burning at some of them, with a provision for a priest to attend it. Edward the First appears to have made periodical offerings to nearly one hundred shrines; and his queen is recorded to have given twelve florins of gold for herself and her son, to the several shrines of Becket at Canterbury, with three florins more for the infant with which her majesty was then pregnant[1]. It was common in sickness for the invalid or his friends to tempt the intercession of a saint by vowing to present quantities of corn, bread, or wax at his shrine, the precise quantity being generally determined by the weight of the patient. In one of the Paston Letters, Margaret Paston informs her brother, that his mother had vowed an image of wax of his weight to Our Lady of Walsingham, and that she was going to the same shrine, on a pilgrimage for him[2]. But the most valuable presents of this kind were those made by bequest. Ladies, at their death, often left their richest dresses and most costly jewels to the shrines of their favourite saint[3]; and it was probably in this way, as much as by pilgrimage, that their immense wealth was accumulated. A most splendid bequest of this kind occurs in the will of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1435. He directs his executors to cause four images of pure gold, each containing twenty pounds, to be made in the likeness of himself in his coat of arms, and holding an anchor between his hands; one to be given to the shrine of St. Alban, another to St. Thomas of Canterbury, a third to Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and a fourth to St. Winifred, at Shrewsbury[4].

One reason, probably, for making gifts in this form, rather than in money, was to ensure their permanent attachment to the shrine to which they were given. To what degree this precaution was necessary is not known—or what was the precise law affecting the property of offerings. At shrines, like that of Becket, it may be supposed, from their immense wealth, that a great part of the presents were preserved; but at many of the lesser ones the priests avowedly claimed the gifts as their own. At the celebrated image of Our Lady in St. Paul's, even the candles set up by devotees were not allowed to burn, but were regularly taken down and carried to a room below the Chapter-House, where they were melted down as a perquisite of the canons[5]. The same appears to have been the case with the offerings at nearly all the shrines in London; and from the loss of this source of revenue, the value of many of the livings was sensibly diminished at the Reformation.

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[1] Liber Quotidianus Garderobæ, Ed. I. p. xxviii.
[2] Paston Letters, III. 25.
[3] Testamenta Vetusta. 240.
[4] Ib. 231.
[5] Dugdale's St. Paul's.

To this cause may also perhaps be attributed the excessive number of rural shrines. Under strong temptations of gain, there will never be wanting persons in any profession to take advantage of ignorance and credulity; and such disinterested forbearance was least of all to be expected in the clergy of the middle ages. The history of one of the absurd relics mentioned in the preceding pages, the good sword of Winfarthing, is probably a fair sample of that of a majority of the shrines, if their origin could be known. This precious relic was originally the sword of a robber, who took sanctuary in the churchyard, but escaped through the negligence of the watchman, and left this sword behind him. It was laid up for many years in an old chest; but the parson and clerk at length striking on the idea of proclaiming it as a relic, drew it from its obscurity, and made a handsome revenue of their device[1]. "The taking up of a man's bones," says Sir Thomas More, "and setting them in a gay shrine, hath made many a saint." The image of the Virgin at Worcester, when unfrocked by the Reformers, was found to be the statue of one of their bishops[2].

Many of the shrines were as mean in external apparatus as they were absurd in purpose. The jealousy of Alexander on the subject of his portrait, might have been adopted at them with good effect. The usual representation of God the Father resembled "an old broken-backed man, with a white head and beard, a wrinkled forehead, large hanging lips, and toothless gums[3]." It is probable, however, that this description might apply chiefly to the smaller shrines. The richer ones were often furnished with great sumptuousness, and, like the magnificent edifices in which they were placed, were well calculated to inspire the awe and wonder of a rude and barbarous people. Many of them were of solid gold, or richly gilt and set with jewels. Tapers were continually burning before them; banners were suspended over them, and sometimes the effigies of knights, in complete armour, stood around them, as if for a guard[4].

There can be no doubt of the injurious effects which, in some cases, arose from pilgrimages, and especially those of the lower orders. In almost every town and neighbourhood, the loose and idle part of the population seem to have been the most persevering pilgrims.

> "Greate lobbies and longe, that loath were to swinke,
> Clothed hem in copès . . and with hooked staves
> Wenten to Walsingham and hire wenches after[5];"

and the interlocutor before quoted in Sir Thomas More's Dya-

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[1] Blomefield's Norfolk, i. 122. [2] Burnet's History of the Reformation.
[3] Brecon's Actes of Christ and Antichrist (1556).
[4] Taylor's Index Monasticus. [5] Piers Ploughman's Vision.

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logue observes, that "the most part that cometh, cometh for no devotion at all; but only for good company to babble thitherward, and drinke dronke there, and then dance and reel homeward. Many that seemeth an honest housewife at home, hathe helpe of a bawde to bring her to mischief as she walketh about upon her pilgrimages." But so far as positive evidence goes, the pilgrimages of the better classes were more severe in their character, or at least more decorous. Instances might occur of their being converted into licentiousness; but they were probably productive, on the whole, of far more good than evil. A part of the imputations under which they lie arose from the conduct of persons who were merely pilgrims in disguise. There were love pilgrims, trading pilgrims, pilgrim adventurers, &c. whose objects had scarcely in profession any connexion with religion. Of course, the crimes or irregularities of such maskers cannot with any fairness be charged upon those who assumed the profession in reality.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF SIR WILLIAM SAINT LOE,

CAPTAIN OF THE GUARD TO QUEEN ELIZABETH;

WITH ORIGINAL LETTERS.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F. S. A.

No memoir, it is believed, has ever been compiled of this eminent soldier and faithful servant of Queen Elizabeth. We therefore propose to throw into one narrative what little can be collected concerning him. Our information will be derived, for the most part, from a small collection of his own letters, now remaining in the possession of a private individual; the more curious of which will be presented at length to the reader.

The town of Saint Loe, on the river Vire, in Normandy, is supposed to have given a surname to this family. They first appear in England in the person of Roger de Sancto Laudo or Saint Loe, who had a mansion at Newton, now called Newton Saint Loe, about four miles from Bath. He lived in the reigns of Richard I. and John. Collinson has noticed a tradition, that King John was kept in confinement by him in one of the towers in his house or castle at Newton[1]. In the 47th Henry III., Sir John de Saint Loe was certified to hold one knight's fee and a quarter in Newton and Publow. There was a succession

[1] History of Somerset, vol. iii. p. 342.

of knights in the eldest line of his family till the reign of Richard II. or Henry IV., when Sir John Saint Loe died, leaving an only daughter and heir, who married William, Lord Botreaux. Newton passed with this daughter to the house of Botreaux, and from them, by descent, to Hungerford and Hastings.

But though, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the family of Saint Loe thus lost what may be considered as the richest and most ornamental part of their patrimony, they continued in possession of a large estate in the county of Somerset, lying for the most part in the vicinity of Chew Magna, a village near the high road from Bristol to Wells. At what point this younger branch shot out from the main stock has not been satisfactorily shown. A Sir John Saint Loe, in 7 Henry VI., held half a knight's fee in Knighten-Sutton, a hamlet of the parish of Chew. In the church of Chew is an ancient monument, on which are the effigies of a knight in armour, and of his lady, supposed to be of this Sir John Saint Loe. It is certainly the monument of a Sir John Saint Loe, who was grandfather of another Sir John, who was living in the time of Leland at Knighten-Sutton, where he had "an olde manor place." This Sir John appears to be the John, son and heir of Sir John Saint Loe, who was aged sixteen years and a half at the death of his father, who had died seised of the manor of Sutton and Walley[1] in 24 Henry VII. The mother of the heir was Eleanor, daughter of Sir Thomas Arundel. Sir John Saint Loe, Leland's contemporary, was living in 7 Edward VI., in which year he assigned to a younger son a grant he had lately obtained from the crown of the manor of Whitchurch[2]; but before that time, his eldest son and heir-apparent, Sir William Saint Loe, had entered upon public life, and gained some distinction.

As Sir John Saint Loe was born about 1494, the birth of his son, the subject of this memoir, cannot be fixed at a much earlier period than 1520; and he was, therefore, about eight-and-twenty when we first find him, in the documents before us, connected with the public service of the realm. On the 31st of December, 2 Edward VI., 1548, he gave a receipt to Sir William Brabazon, "treasurer at warres in Ireland," for £119, his stipend, being then described as "Wyllm Sentlow, esquier, grand captayne of one hundreth horsmen, parcel of the Kynge's Maties retynue in the realme of Ireland." In the next year he was made a knight[3], and was still employed in service in Ireland. His station was

[1] See Cole's Escheats in the British Museum.
[2] Collinson, vol. ii. p. 103.
[3] This appears by the direction of letters to him.

in Leinster, where he was "lieutenant of the king's forts," and his duty was to watch the chiefs in that part of Ireland, who had lately, on the suppression of the rebellion of the Fitz-Geralds, made their submissions, but of whose sincerity and fidelity great suspicions appear to have been entertained. The newly created baron of Upper Ossory, Barnaby Mac-Gill Patrick, was one of these, and the following letter admits us to a near view of the feeling which prevailed in the English authorities at that time in respect of this very influential man, and indeed of the whole body of the Irish chiefs in the province of Leinster. It was addressed, in 1549, by Sir William Saint Loe to Sir William Brabazon, the treasurer, and who was at that time the lord-justice of Ireland. A copy in Sir William Saint Loe's own hand, from which this is printed, has a formal attestation that it agrees with the letter which was transmitted.

"My syngular good Lorde, I moste humble desyer yow be no les eyrnest then yow have beyn paynfull for owre provysyons. For all the travayle yow have taken, ye, and for all that yow have wrytten and spoken, here cummyth in no korne; whych wyll schortlye apeyr by owre deyths, yff yow, off yowre goodnes, cawse them nott by force immedyatlye to bryng in the same. They ar no better then traytors untto the kyng's magestye, in dysobeying yowre commandements; sufferyng thereby hys hyghnes' cuntreys and fortes wylfullye to be kast away, and hys pore soldyers to parysche here by famyn. Whyls lyff lastyth thys schall not be forsaken wyth oute a dyscharge. Ytt wolde pytte any trew man's hartt to se poore men so evyll usyd, and thys place so deseyvett off vyttels as hytt ys, consydering whatt a key and staye scholde be lost yff these untrew dyssemblars and waveryng Iryschmen revolte as hytt ys moste lycklyest they wyll. Thys unasuryd generasyon hath dyvers metyngs and consultasyons togythers. Trust nott untto theyr slypper promyses and fayre wordes. Preventt the worst.

"Keyr-Mack-Art's messynger, and O'Karrol's laye the eyghth off Aprell in the dysseytfull jugling baron off Upper Osserye's howse: wyth whyche messyngers he sentt hys owne untto Keyr. Beware the eynd. In my opynyon hytt ys better to geyve them a soden sckorgyng plage, then they by thys long sufferans to encrease and encorage as they do.

"Thus wysschyng yowre lordschyp moste prosperus heylth; from the forte in Leys, thys xxth off Aprell. Yours to command,

"WYLLYAM SEYNTLOO.

"The Lorde of Kylcallin wyll send no korne in."

Something may be allowed for the irritation produced by the necessities of his garrisons: but there is a degree of bitterness discernible throughout the letter; and the measures which, in no disguised terms, he prompts, are little creditable to his humanity, or his generosity. *A sudden scourging plague* could mean little

less than the carrying of fire and sword into the wide domains of the suspected chiefs.

Two letters of intelligence, addressed at this period to Sir William Saint Loe, show something more of the state of the province of Leinster, and especially of the county of Kildare, at this critical time. The writer of them appears to have been a rude uneducated man. His orthography is his own, and of no school that we ever heard of, nor would his letters be intelligible to one in ten of our readers, were we not, while maintaining exactly the writer's own phraseology, to reduce the spelling of his words to the standard of these times.

"My duty remembered unto your mastership. These shall be to advertise you of a truth which I will abide by, that the . . . . . lost this realm, except ye with the town circumvent them. Kalowye Okarowyll with his brother Teyc and xiiii captains of gally-glasses be gone to join amity and concord with Gerrord of Desmond to war against the king; and there is a greater band than these as I am informed, which I have ridden to know the privities of them or I would have been with you to declare more of my mind. As for these matters I will give a warrant . . . . that is worth a thousand pounds and a man of lands withall. Okarowyll hath put a ward in Toboyt Omolmoy's castle. I trust to find out the . . . . time of this insurrection beseeching you of your mind [1], and I have left one to tarry for a letter of your mind to come to me night and day, whereby I shall be earnester to know of your instructions unto me in these matters. I have many news to you, but all against the king.

"Written at midnight, this Friday after my departing from you, in all haste bound to ride at the Abbey of Leys. Okarowyll is come from the Shannon side and is at home.

"Your own poor WILLIAM CANTWELL.

"As I am informed there is some of the lords of the council that knoweth of these matters."

"According to my bounden duty I humbly commend me unto your mastership; advertising you that Okarowyll sent to Gerrord of Desmond a hundred gunners, iii battailes of gallow-glasses, and will keep in what he may. Teyc Okarowll and Kalowye be gone to him, and from thence to Obrien, and has this night promised to be back with Okarowyll. The said Gerrord is bringing as many men as he can together. All the west takes part with him; and, as he says himself, he will war till he have my Lady of Ormond in the weary or tired party. Thomas Omather is gone to the said Gerrord, and in the company of them xiiii captains of gallow-glasses. Okarowyll is preyste wais [2] with my lord of Upper Ossory this last week. Gerrord thinks that all men in her [3] land of Irishmen will take part with him. All Irish men beginning to gather, and Okarowyll is come home after that he made his band the t'other side the Shannon. When Gerrord be-

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[1] That I may know your opinion. [2] Sic. [3] Sic.

gins his journey no man can tell: yet arm you as soon as you will, they be in readiness all. These shall be duly proved.

"At the Fort in Leys the xxviith of Aprell. Sir Richard Butler parlies with Okarowyll a Tuesday next come, in a place called Knoyc Dramesellic.

"Your poor WILLIAM CANTWELL."

"These shall be duly proved."

Notwithstanding the frequent attestations which accompany Cantwell's intelligence, he seems to have transmitted exaggerated reports of movements among the Irish chiefs. There was no serious insurrection during the reign of King Edward. He, whom he calls Gerard of Desmond, and who was to head the intended rising, may be the brother of the Earl of Desmond, or his son, who was afterwards earl, and maintained, for ten years, a very formidable opposition to the power of Elizabeth. The lord of Upper Ossory, who, by the way it may be observed, was father to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, the companion and friend of King Edward, was, however, about this time, or soon after, in disgrace, being "confined in the city of Waterford till he had made restitution of some preys he had seized in Leix[1]."

There appear to have been two Okarowylls, Teic and Thaddeus. We add a letter which was addressed to the latter, and is among Sir William Saint Loe's correspondence.

"Condigna salutatione premissa, hiis certior fies Dominum Deputatum acquisisse filium vestrum qui diu tenebatur castro regio pro obside, illumque velle aulâ suâ educare; unde et moribus et doctrinâ preditum maxime habueris. Quare meum si insectaveris consilium, facias cito compotum de victu et vestitu predicti filii tui cum constabulario predicti castri, ut ultra non amittat tempus nec spem futuræ bonitatis, quam jam domo Domini Deputati consequi possit. Et sic quam bene valete. Ex castro regio Dubliniæ xxiii^{o} die mensis Novembris A^{o} 1548.

"Tuus quoad posse amicus,

"JOHANNES PARKAR.

"Amico meo charissimo Domino Thadeo
Okerwell tradatur raptim."

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[1] Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 241. In some other documents relating to the administration of Brabazon and Bellingham in Ireland, during the reign of Edward VI., now before us, one is entitled, "A Byll of cartteyn goods thatt were stolen by the Baron of Upper Ossyry's men from Sir Richard Butteler's tenants, 1549." It consists of ten items, of which the following may serve as a sufficient specimen.

It. From Robnet Fitz-Robnet a horsplow, the whych trod went to Balykelly at about synnyght aft' Alowntyde.

It. From Balaragad the last Thursday ix kyne; the trod of them went to Dorwe.

It. From Balymartyn after Myhelmas vi hoggis; the trod of them went to Rathkyllekedy.

It. From Richard Fortall of Rouston aft' Haulentide xii kyne; the trod thereof went to Rossconyll, after that to Belaknay, and to Dorwe.

This tracing cattle by the *tread* to the dens of the robber recalls the times and the tale of Cacus. Perhaps Ireland in the Tudor reigns was not much advanced in civilization beyond those times.

This letter was evidently written in pursuance of the policy of educating amongst Englishmen the heirs of the native chiefs.

Nothing remains to show how long the services of Sir William Saint Loe were required in Ireland; but while there he appears to have formed some valuable connexions, and especially with the Earl of Ormond, from whom there is a letter in Sir William Saint Loe's correspondence, addressed to him many years after, in which the earl expresses a friendly wish, that the queen (Elizabeth) would make him *tread a bog* once again in Ireland. Whether before he was sent to Ireland, or on his return from thence, is uncertain, but probably on his return, he was named one of the gentlemen to attend on the Princess Elizabeth. This we learn from Strype[1], who names him with many others, who were committed to prison on account of their connexion, real or supposed, with the rising of Sir Thomas Wyat. He was committed to the Tower on February 28th, 155$\frac{3}{4}$, and remained in prison till the 12th of January following, when he was released with many other distinguished persons confined on the same charge, by order of council. This act of grace was attributed to King Philip; but Sir William Saint Loe was obliged to pay a fine of £200[2]. It may be presumed, that a person once suspected of treason would not be permitted to resume his office in attendance on the person of the Princess Elizabeth; nor are we to expect to find him in any public employment during the reign of Mary. In fact, we have nothing to show in what manner he was living during the remainder of her reign; and it is with the reign of Elizabeth that our series of documents relating to his public and private affairs is resumed.

At the very beginning of her reign, Queen Elizabeth made him Captain of her Guard, an appointment which sufficiently marks the value which she set upon her old servant. She gave him also the office of butler, which must be understood as butler to the royal household, with a salary annexed of 66*l.* 12*s.*[3]: and she evinced a disposition to employ him in public affairs, which, if his life had been longer, might have led him to still higher preferment. An order of her council, issued a few months after her accession, is worth preserving, as it relates to one of the prominent characters of a reign which, more than any other, presents us with characters strongly marked, and often in situations where they are finely contrasted. This is Sir John Perrott, whose personal resemblance to King Henry VIII. was supposed to have been something more than accidental.

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[1] Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 96.
[2] Bayley's History of the Tower, p. 448.
[3] From a Book of Sir William's Accompts.

XUM

" To our very loving frend,
Sir WILL^m SAINT LOWE, knight, cap^en of the guard.
Sir RALPH HOPTON, knight-marshall.
Sir WILL^m CHESTER, knight, and
RICHARD MALORYE, alderman, of Flete-streete, in the cytye of London.

" After o^r verie hartie commendacions, having ben informed of a notable disorder and fraye, made about three daies past, in Fletestrete, by Sir John Parrotte, knight, and one Willm Phelippes, bothe partes having diverse partakers, whereby the common peace and quiet was disturbed, we have caused certeyn of those whom we founde culpable herein to be comytted to the Flete. And for that this sorte of desorder is not to be passed over w^thout due reformacyon and such ponishement as may be example to those that shall in this sort disorder themselfs, we have thought good to require yow, three or two of yow, to use the best meanes and ways ye can, by examination of the inhabitants of Fletestrete, where the said fray began, or such other as yow shall think meet to be called before you for this purpose, to find out who was the begynnore of this fraye, and who were the doers and sturrers herein; upon the understanding wherrof, we pray you to cause suche as you shall finde faltye, to be apprehended and committed to warde, and to signifye unto us what you shall have done in the premises, with speede, whereof we require you not to faile. And so we bid you hartely farewell. . . . . the xx^th of February, 1558.

" yor loving frendes,

" N. BACON, Custos Sigill. WINCHESTER.
F. SHREWSBURY. F. BEDFORD.
E. CLINTON. PEMBROKE.
THO. PARRY. E. ROGERS. W. CECILL.
A. CAVE. WILL. PETRE. RYC. SAKEVYLE."

The contemporary author of the Life of Sir John Perrott, whose singularly interesting work was published by Rawlinson, has passed over this affair without notice, as he has also another similar event of the year 1554, when a commission like the one before us was issued. But he affords us ample proof of the quarrelsome humour of this young courtier.

When, in September, 1559, there was a splendid funeral ceremony performed in Saint Paul's for Henry II. king of France, Sir William Saint Loe offered the banner. About this time he married. The lady was the widow of Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth, in the county of Derby, and the daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick, esquire, in the same county, both places, and magnificent seats at each, being still in possession of her descendant and heir, the Duke of Devonshire. This lady had the command of an ample fortune, left by Sir William Cavendish, who died on October 25th, 1557, and had lived during the reign of Edward VI. in close intimacy with the superior nobility of the time, and especially with the Greys and their connexions. She married Cavendish at Bradgate, the

seat of the Marquess of Dorset; and the Lady Jane Grey was one of the sponsors at the baptism of a daughter, whose name was Temperance[1]. As the Princess Elizabeth was also a sponsor at the baptism of another of her children, it is not impossible that the acquaintance with Sir William Saint Loe may have begun while he was one of the Princess Elizabeth's gentlemen. The marriage was solemnized in the first year of Elizabeth, 1559. Lady Cavendish had three sons and as many daughters, the eldest of whom was little more than ten years old. Sir William Cavendish had daughters also by a former wife. There exists among the Saint Loe papers an agreement in reference to one of the daughters of his former marriage, made in contemplation of this union, and which, though never executed, shows what was contemplated; and the provisions of it are not a little singular. It is an indenture of the first of Elizabeth, between Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of her Majesty's household, and Sir Edward Warner, Lieutenant of the Tower, on the first part, and Anne Cavendish, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, deceased, on the other; and it is covenanted that Sir William Saint Loe of Churchill, in the county of Somerset, knight, his executors and assigns, shall sustain the said Anne in meat, drink, and apparel suitable to her estate and degree, till she marry: and that the said Sir William Seyntlow, his executors or administrators, shall offer and tender, within one year next after the date of these presents, unto the said Anne, such a convenient marriage and husband as shall be thought meet by Dame Elizabeth Cavendish, wydow, late wife of the said Sir William Cavendish, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackvile, and Sir Richard Southwell, knights, or two of them, whereof the said Dame Elizabeth, if she be living, to be one. It is further covenanted, that if no such convenient marriage shall be tendered, then Sir William is to pay her one thousand marks for her preferment; but if she refuse to take for her husband the person proposed to her according to the above conditions, she is then to have only six hundred marks: and if she marry without consent of her mother, to take no benefit by these indentures. The lady was at this time one-and-twenty. She afterwards married Sir Henry Bainton, of Bromham, in Wilts.

Sir John Saint Loe appears to have died before his son's marriage with Lady Cavendish. He had left three sons, Sir William, Edward, and Clement. The settlement which Sir William made of his estate at the time of his marriage, in favour of his wife, was not done without producing great dissatisfaction in

[1] This fact, which we have on the authority of the funeral certificate of Sir William Cavendish, may perhaps be connected with the story or the tradition that King Edward was wont to call the Princess Elizabeth "his sweet sister Temperance."

the minds of those who were his next heirs, in default of issue of his body, and particularly of his brother Edward [1]. The dissatisfaction was smothered for a time. Edward came to London soon after the marriage, to pay his respects to Lady Saint Loe; but his dislike to it soon manifested itself, and was matter of notoriety in the family and their connexions. It produced an estrangement between Sir William and him; and he was connected, in public opinion, but how justly cannot perhaps be said, with some practices against the lives of Sir William Saint Loe and his lady, to the latter of whom poison was given, and she very narrowly escaped death.

This affair made a great noise in 1560, the first year of the marriage. The only document among the Saint Loe papers relating to it, is the following letter from the mother of Sir William to his wife. It contains some curious particulars.

" To my good Ladye Sayntloe
be thys delyv'ed.

" Good madam, w^t^ my very harty commendacyons, as sche that desyrys to here how yow and my son Sayntloe doth: and also to sertyfy yow wat I here of dyvers: and I have ben exed wat the mater ys betwexte my son Saynt-Loe and his brother Edward. I have made anser, I was suer my sone Saynt-Loe wolde not mysseleke w^t^ hym w^t^owte a great caues. And many hath sayde to me thay here say Edward scholde go abowte to powson hys brother and yow: and I have tolde them I know hyt not. So here hys a gret talke of hyt. And about a month or more there cam a lady hether to me, and was very ernest w^t^ me to know whe^r^ ever I harde any sych thyng; and sayde sche scholde here hyt at Longys mouth, who browte her leter or token from Besse Sayntloe, and sche wolde a hade me synd to Long, and I wolde not. But I told hur I was suer yow wher powsonyd when I was at London, and yff yow had not had a present remedy ye had dyed: wych sche made hyt straynge sche never harde of hyt afor; wych I am suer sche dyd. Sche hath byn . . . . and yet ys at Edward Sayntlo's. Verdun shall tell yow more of hur talke to me. Now I know suer sche cam hether to here wat I would say, and wat sche code understand by me. Sche tolde me how hur cosen Edward had sent to hur often to come to hym, but sche wolde not; but I tolde hur wat I thowght of hym, wych I am suer sche myslyked me for: but sche sayde sche was sorry ther scholde be eny variance between us, for sche dyd know I have usyd hym very well, but I thynk sche sayth the contrary now to hym. I perceve ther hedds be foll of thys matter. As they have letell grace, so God send them letell power to do my son Sayntlo or yow eny herte. Thys was the good wyll he bare yow when he cam up to London to se yow as he sayde was non other caues hys comyn, wych I know the contrary, for he leked nothyng yor mareg.

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[1] The Peerage speaks of daughters of Sir William Saint Loe, whose just expectations were defeated by the settlement made at the time of his marriage. But there is reason to think that the Lady Cavendish was the only wife of Sir William.

Hys good frynchyppe to yow and to me ys all one. The lyvyng God defende us all from sych frynds. I pray yow, Madam, send me worde how thys devell's devysys began, and how hyt cam to lyte. Thanke be to God, ye know hyt. I wyll trobell yow no longer, but I pray God send yow both long lyffe and good helth w^t^ moch worchyppe. Wryton the xiii day of June, by yowr's most assurydly as long as I have lyffe.

"MARGARET SAYNTLOE."

There is too much reason to suspect that Edward Saint Loe was not innocent; but there is no trace of his apprehension, though we find, early in 1561, three of the subordinate agents in these wicked practisings committed to the Tower. The first of these was Hugh Draper, a Bristol man, and therefore a near neighbour of Edward Saint Loe, whose residence was at Knighten-Sutton. He kept a tavern in Bristol, was supposed to be a man of good wealth, and was well reported of among his neighbours. But he was what in those days was understood by the term "an astronomer," that is, a calculator of nativities; a species of practisers on the public credulity, who found their best customers in younger brothers and other heirs expectant. He was brought to the Tower on March 21, $156\frac{0}{1}$, charged with having, as a "conjuror or sorcerer, practised matter against Sir William Saint Loe and my Ladie." His accuser was one John Man, a confidential friend of the Saint Loes, residing in Red-Cross-Street, at whose house Sir William usually took up his abode when he visited London. Draper confessed that there had been a time when he was "busie and doinge wth such matters," but he denied any matter of weight touching Sir William Saint Loe or his lady, and also affirmed that "longe since he soe misliked his science that he burned all his books[1]." He remained for some time in the Tower, where he beguiled the tediousness of his captivity by working upon the walls of his prison chamber an elaborate astrological figure, which was discovered some years ago, with some works of the same kind by other inhabitants of those gloomy apartments.

Four days after the committal of Draper, Francis Cox was brought to the Tower. He was also charged by Man with the like practices against Sir William and Lady Saint Loe. And on April 1, 1561, Ralph Davis was committed, accused by Mr. Saint Loe's daughter that he had practised *with her* to the same end. Cox was still in the Tower, Dec. 19, 1561, being "found faultie for conjuringe." On Feb. 11, $156\frac{1}{2}$, Davis was delivered

[1] See an account of prisoners in the Tower, delivered by Sir Edward Warner, the Lieutenant, to the Lords of the Privy Council, May 26, 1561, in Bayley's History of the Tower. App. p. 51.

from the Tower to the King's Bench, and set at liberty on sureties [1].

It appears also that a Madam [Elizabeth] Saint Loe was in the Tower from August 20, 1561, till March 25, 1562, but this lady, who was perhaps the daughter of Edward above-mentioned, appears to have been committed on another account; Sir Edward Warner having been directed by the Council "to send to Alderman Lodge secretly for Saint Loe, and to put her in awe of divers matters confessed by the Lady Catherine, meaning the Lady Catherine Gray, then lately married to the Earl of Hertford; and also to deal with her that she may confess all her knowledge in the same matters, it being certain that there have been great practices and purposes, and that since the death of the Lady Jane, she hath been most privy [2]." During these transactions, Clement Saint Loe, the other brother of Sir William, appears to have been living on terms of amity with him.

After his marriage Sir William Saint Loe seems to have abandoned Somersetshire, and to have resided almost entirely at Chatsworth, the seat of his lady. Nothing shows more strikingly the influence which that extraordinary woman had acquired in the county, even at that early period when she married Saint Loe, than that he was returned member for Derbyshire at the first election after his marriage, when he must have been little known in that part of the kingdom. His attendance in Parliament, and the services he had to perform in his character of Captain of the Queen's guard, required, however, his frequent appearance in London. In a private letter to his lady he says, that the Queen, who was accustomed to speak her mind freely to her officers, found great fault with his long absence, and said that she would talk further with him, and would well chide him; and that when he endeavoured to excuse himself by saying, that when she knew the cause of his absence she would not be offended, he was cut short with "Very well, very well," but "hand of hers he did not kiss." But on another occasion, as he rode with the Queen, she was so pleased with the appearance of the charger on which he was mounted, that she fairly begged it of him, and gave him many goodly words in return. Of the occurrences and the expenses of one of these journeys from Chatsworth to the Court in the year 1560, a book of accompts remains. It was our intention to have introduced into this article some extracts from those accompts; but as they are rather illustrative of the manners of the times than of the personal character or transactions of Sir William Saint Loe, we

[1] See Bayley's Hist. of the Tower. App. p. lii.

[2] Id. p. 459. App. lii.

propose to introduce them in a separate form to the notice of the reader.

Nothing has presented itself to show the precise date of the death of Sir William Saint Loe. His name occurs in the churchwarden's accompts of St. Margaret, Westminster, in 1564, when he paid for the hire of the hearse-cloth. After this date his name has not been found, and he probably died not long after, when he was about forty-five or forty-six years of age. In 1567 his widow was sought in marriage by George, the sixth Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. So illustrious a suitor soon won his way with a lady who seems to have been possessed with a spirit of unbounded ambition, and to have had also the talents and abilities which ought to accompany such a spirit. When she became Countess of Shrewsbury, she stipulated that two of the Earl's children, by a former wife, who was of the house of Manners, should marry two of her children by Sir William Cavendish. Her marriage with the Earl was less happy than her former marriages with Cavendish and Saint Loe seem on the whole to have been, though the marriage with Saint Loe was, as is here seen, attended with one circumstance which must have been of a very painful nature. The care of the Queen of Scots, who was committed to her lord not long after her marriage, and remained with him through a period of seventeen years, must have interfered greatly with the domestic comfort of both; and the dissensions in the house of Talbot were at the same time great. But it is not our intention to write a memoir on the life of this remarkable woman; and it may be sufficient here to say, that she became again a widow in 1590, and that she died in extreme old age, at her house at Hardwick, in February, 1608.

Sir William Saint Loe had no issue; but there were descendants from both his brothers Edward and Clement. The descendants of Edward appeared at the visitation of Somerset, in 1623. Several of his grandsons were then living, and had male issue. John, one of them, was settled in London, and he appears again in the visitation of London, 1634[1], when he was married to a niece of Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester. At the same visitation of 1634, appeared John Saint Loe, descendant and representative of Clement. He was a vintner in London, and had then living three children, John, Joseph, and Anne[2].

We may add, that Saint Loe Kniveton, one of the antiquaries of the reign of Elizabeth, was son of Thomas Kniveton, by Jane Leech, sister *ex parte materna*, to the wife of Sir William Saint Loe.

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[1] See Harl. MS. 1476. f. 171. [2] Ib. f. 151.

EARLY ENGLISH POETRY.

It is extraordinary that a curious piece of English poetry of about the latter part of the thirteenth century should have escaped Dr. Warton, Ritson, and, we believe, all the other poetical antiquaries of the last if not of the present generation, notwithstanding that it was accessible to each of them. Nor is the article in question less remarkable for the very opposite manner in which it has been described by the writers of the catalogues of the MSS. in the Cottonian library. Dr. Smith thus speaks of it in his catalogue: "Versus veteri sermone Anglicano de quodam Nobili errante, ejusque gestis amatoriis, in quibus elegantiæ non paucæ reperiuntur;" but in the last catalogue it is more correctly described as "Verses in old English, seemingly a prophecy of some battle between the English and Scots."

The hand in which it exists is of the time to which we have assigned the composition; and as one of the few pieces of that period in our language which is extant, we have been induced to rescue it from the oblivion in which it has been so long suffered to remain.

[From the Cottonian MS. Julius A. V. f. 175, 176.]

Als y yod on ay Mounday
By twene Wyltinden and Walle.
Me ane after brade way.
Ay litel man y mette with alle.
Ye leste yat euer y sathe to say
Oiyer in bour' oiyer' in halle.
His robe was noiyer' grene na gray.
Bot alle yt was of riche palle.
On me he cald and bad me bide.
Welstille y stode ay litel space
Fra Lanchestr' ye parke syde
Yeen he come wel fair' his pase.
He hailsed me with mikel pde.
Ic haued wel mykel ferly wat he was
I saide wel mote ye be tyde.
Yat litel man with large face.
I bi held yat litel man.
Bi ye stret' als we gon gae.
His berd was s'yde ay large span.
And glided als ye fether' of pae.
His heued was wyte als any swan.
His hegehen war' gret and gi als so.
Brues lange wel .I. ye can
Merke it to fize inches and mae.

Armes scort for soye .i. saye.
Ay span semed yaem to bee.
Handes brade vyt outen nay.
And fingeres lange he scheued me.
Ay stan he tok' op yar' it lay.
And castid forth yat .i. moth' see.
Ay merke soote of large way.
Bifor me strides he castid three.
Wel stille .i. stod als did ye stane.
To loke him on youth me nouth' lange.'
His Robe was alle golde bigane.
Wel cr^{a}ftlik' maked .i. vnder' stande.
Botones asurd euerlke ane.
Fra his elbouthe on til his hande.
Eldelik' man was he nane.
Yat in myn hert' ick' onder' stande.
Til him .i. sayde ful sone on ane
For foryirmar' .i. wald him fraine.
Glalli wild .i. wit yi name.
And .i. wist wat me mouth' gaine.
You ert so litel of flesse and bane.
And so mikel of mith' and mayne.
War' vones you litel man at hame.
Wit of ye .i. wald ful faine.
Yoth .I. be litel and lith.
Amy noth wyt outen wane.
Ferli frained you wat hi hith.
Yat you salt noth with my name.
My wonige stede ful wel es dygh.
Nou sone you salt se at hame.
Til him .i. sayde for godes mith.
Lat me forth myn erand gane.
Ye thar noth of yin errand lette.
Youth you come ay stonde wit me.
Foryer' salt you noth bi sette
Bi miles twa noyther' bi three.
Na linger' durst' .I. for him lette
Bot forth .ij. fundid wyt yat free.
Stintid vs broke no beck'.
Ferlick' me thouth hu so mouth bee.
He vent forth als .ij. you say.
In at ay yate ij vnder' stande.
In til ay yate Wvnd outen nay.
It to se south me nouth lange.
Ye bankers on ye binkes lay.
And fair lordes sett' ij fonde.
In ilke ay hirn ij herd ay lay.
And leuedys south me loude sange.
Lithe bothe yonge and alde.
Of ay worde ij wil you saye.
Ay litel tale yat me was tald.

Erli on ay Wedenesdaye.
A mody barn yat was ful bald.
My frend yat ij frained aye.
Al my yering' he me tald.
And yatid me als we went bi waye.
Miri man yat es so wyth'
Of ay thing' gif me answere.
For him yat mensked man wyt mith.
Wat sal worth of yis were.
And eke our folke hou sal yai fare.
Yat at ere bi northen nou.
Sal yai haue any contre yare.
Other wether hande sal haue prou.
Ay toupe he sayde es redy yare.
Agayn him yitt' es nane yat don.
On yondealf' Humb^{e} es ay bar'.
Be he sped sal sides son.
Bi he haue sped als sal yai sped.
And redi gates on to fare.
And man be mensked for his mede.
And stablestat for euermare.
And sethen you fraines ij wille ye say.
And sette yi state in stabilite.
Rymitt' reith als you may.
For ay skill ij tellit ye.
And warn em wel wyt outen nay.
A tyme bi for ye t'nite.
Yare sal deye on ay day.
A folke on feld ful fa sal flee.
Wa so flees sal duelle in care.
For yare may naman tyme tide.
A toupe sal stande a gayn ay bare.
He es ful bald him dar habide.
Miri man ij p^{a}i ye yif you maye.
Yif yat yi wille ware.
Bathe yair' names you me saye.
Wat hate ye toupe and wat ye bare.
An he sayde outen nay.
Hate ye tane trou you my lare.
Ar you may yat other say.
Yat sal be falden wyt yat fare.
Ye wiser' es ij noth of yat.
Miri man wat may ys bee.
Nou haue ij sayde ye wat yai hat.
Forther wites you noth' for me.
So lange ye Lebard loues ye layke.
Wit his onsped your sped ye spille
And lates ye Lion haue his raike.
Wit werke in werdl als he wille.
Ye bare es bonden hard in baite.
Wit foles yat wil folies fille.

Ye toupe in toune your werkes wayte.
To bald his folke he bides stille.
Bide wa bide he sal habide.
Yar' foles for yair' false fare.
Fa fra feld y een sal ride.
Ye land sal leue wit ye bare.
Forther mar' ij wille ye frein.
My frend yif yat yi wille ware.
Sal ij telle it forth' or layn.
Or you sal telle me any mare.
Rymith reeth als ij ye sayn.
Als sal you redi findit yare.
And fel be of yi tithinges fain.
Wen liues liggen on holtes hare.
Bot oute sal ride a chiuanche.
Wyt febel fare on ay nith'.
So false sal yaire waytes be.
Yat deye sal many a dougty knyth.
Knyth and scoyer bathe sal deye.
Yat other moren biyond ma.
Youthe yay be neuer so sleeth'.
Wyt schrogen suet' fra liues ga.
Ye bare es bone to tyne ye tour'
But bald sal be of bataille swa.
Wa bides him on hard and herch.
Yat day sat deye and duelle in wa.
Wyt foles sal ye feld be leest.
A poeple liest fol negh' bi side.
Sal come out of ye souther west
Wyt reken routes ful on ride.
Yar' sal ye foles dreeg' is paine.
And folie for his false fare.
Lie opon ye feld slayne.
And lose his liue for euermare.
And wyt sal wine ye lande agayn.
A day fra Clide on to Clare.
And fa be of yair frendes fain.
And toures stande als yai did are.
And simple men yat wil haue dede.
Yar' sail yai ful redi finde.
Yat mester affe to wȳne yeem mede.
For faute sal noth' stande bi hinde
Yer bare es brouth' out of his denne.
Ye lepard haldes hȳ so lāge.
Yat we wate neuer swa ne swenne.
Na wilke of yem sal weld ye land
A mange ay hondre no fynd ij tēne.
Yat yai ne fald als a wande.
By r'son may you knaw and kenne.
Yat be ful fele has wroth alle wrāge.
Wrangwis werkes sul men se.

Be flemed for yair' fals willes
And after yem sal wip ay be.
And outem out of alle yair' wyles.
Miri man ij be seke ye yif yat yi wille ware.
Of a tythīg' telle me mar'
Hou hendes alle ys folke toyere.
Suilk' qualme no saith ij neuer' ar'.
So comeli so men deyen here.
Pouer' na riche es nane to spare.
Lich' he sayd ij sal ye ler'.
Haue you no f'ly of yat fare.
For twenti souzand mot you say.
Yat deyed totherday on yis half twed
Sal falle by you on ay day
So liues lith' sal alle yat lede.
In my sathe south' ij say.
Herkēs alle of a tyme.
Yat sal be after neueyers day.
Lat clerkes se ye neexte p'me.
Ye terme es werde soech' to say.
And twelue es comen after nigne.
To led him forth a lange waye
His wonȳg stede es on yondalf tyne.
On southalf tyne sal he wone.
Wyt you wel it sal be swa.
Fra suth' sal blessed brether comen
And dele ye land euen ī twa.
Wen domes es doand on his dede.
Sal na m'cy be biside.
Na naman haue m'cy for na mede.
Na in hope yair heuedes hide.
Bot soffid sal be mani of stede
For res yat yai sal after ride.
And seen sal leaute falsed lede.
In rapes sone after yat tyde.
Fra twa to three ye lande is liest.
Bot nameli sal it fa ye twa.
Ye lion yare sal fare to fexit
Ye lande til ye bare sal ga.
Well galli wald ij vnderstande.
To telle yeem hou so moxist' be.
Welke of' yeem sald weld ye lande.
For wel you spake of' ye three.
A .T. biside an .L. y fonde
Chese yi seluen seqe and see.
An .Ed. ye thred wyt hope and hande
Ye bailliffs bee.
Bot nou of yeem hat loues ye lede.
Yat es so bald yat dar habide.
Yat yeem ne sal reu yif ij can rede.
On ay friday on esthalf' Clide.

For wel yai wen hour lande to wīne
To fele yat may finde bi forin
Yai sal ble blenked ar yai blīne.
Yair folis yat haues ben forthin
Many be dampned to daye yar īne.
Yat riden hech wyt hond and horin
Wen yonge sal falle for ald sȳne.
And lose ye lyf' and be forthin
Wrange werkes wil a way.
It sal be als god haues sette.
Of yair bi gīnyg' can ij say.
Sal na frend if other reue.
Dougty sal daye on ye feld.
To wyt yeem be neuer so wa.
And falsed vnder halles held
In frith sul men ye foles ta.
Leaute men haues ben sul seld.
It sal be sett' wyt mirthes ma.
And marchāt haue ye werld to weld.
And Capmā wyt yair packes ga'.
And yan sal reson raike and ride.
And wisdomo be ware es best.
And leaute sal gar' leal habide.
And sithen sal hosbondmen af rest'.

IONIAN ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE.

In giving our readers some account of an Order founded by his present Majesty, but of which we presume they know little, we are influenced by the double motive of wishing to contribute to their information, and of bringing to light a new specimen of official talent in the organization of orders of chivalry.

In 1818, his Majesty, as "Protector of the United States of the Ionian Islands, and Sovereign of the Island of Malta," was pleased to institute an Order of Knighthood, to "commemorate the auspicious event of the said united islands being placed under his royal protection, and the said Island of Malta being placed under his rule and sovereignty, and to enable him at the same time to reward conspicuous merit and loyalty." This order is styled THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE, and the following is an abstract of its statutes, which are preceded by a declaration, that the Great Seal of the Order shall contain two escutcheons; "that on the dexter side bearing a representation of St. Michael trampling upon Satan, and that on the sinister bearing the representation of St. George on horseback, and in armour, with his spear, en-

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countering a Dragon; and over the said escutcheons the motto, 'Auspicium melioris Ævi;' the whole within this circumscription 'Sigillum Ordinis Sancti Michaelis et Sancti Georgii.'"

The statutes provide

First. That the King shall be Sovereign of the Order.

Secondly. That the Lord High Commissioner in the said islands, or such other high and distinguished person serving in the naval or military forces in the Mediterranean as may be appointed, shall be Grand Master of the Order.

Thirdly. That the Order shall consist of three classes—Knights Grand Cross, Knights Commanders, and Knights. The first class shall not exceed eight, including the Grand Master; the second class shall not exceed twelve; the third class shall not exceed twenty-four, excepting as is afterwards provided, regarding British subjects. Each person admitted into the Order shall immediately be entitled to assume the distinctive appellation of knighthood.

Fourthly. All persons "to be admitted into this Order shall be natives of the said United States of the Ionian Islands, or of our Island of Malta and its dependencies, nobly born, or eminently distinguished by their merits, virtues, and loyalty; provided, nevertheless, that it shall be lawful to appoint such natural-born subjects of our crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, who are not or shall not be natives of our said Island of Malta, holding the highest and most confidential situations in the said United States of the Ionian Islands, or in our said Island of Malta and its dependencies, or in our employ therein, or in our naval service in the Mediterranean, as we may deem deserving and worthy of such a testimony of the royal favour and regard."

Fifthly. "The officer commanding in chief our ships and vessels in the Mediterranean for the time being shall, for and during the period of his holding such command only, be the first and principal Knight Grand Cross; and, on the arrival of his successor in the said command, he shall deliver, or cause to be delivered, the insignia of the said Order to the Grand Master, who shall invest the newly appointed naval commander-in-chief therewith. And it is our further will and pleasure, that no natural-born British subject, except such as is or may be a native of the Island of Malta and its dependencies, on whom the insignia of this Order may be conferred, shall continue to be a Knight of the said Order after he shall cease to be in the employ of the said United States of the Ionian Islands, or to be employed by us in our said Island of Malta, nor shall be permitted to wear the insignia thereof, unless such subject shall actually have been in the employ of the said United Ionian Islands, or employed by us in our said Island of Malta, and resident in the said Ionian States, or our said Island of Malta, for the space of five years; but such person or persons so ceasing to be employed and resident as aforesaid, within the said space of five years, shall, upon his so ceasing to be employed and resident as aforesaid, deliver, or cause to be delivered, to our Grand Master for the time being, the insignia of our said most distinguished Order, worn by them as members thereof; provided always, that any such natural-born subject, who shall be absent from the said Ionian

States, or from our said Island of Malta, upon leave of absence to him granted either by us, our heirs, and successors, or by our said Lord High Commissioner for the time being, or our said Governor for the time being of our said Island of Malta and its dependencies, shall be deemed to be resident during the time of such absence upon leave for all purposes relative to his being and remaining a Knight of this Order."

The sixth, seventh, and eighth statutes describe the insignia, the form of admission, the oath, the anniversary, and the various ceremonies which are to be observed. The Knights Grand Cross wear mantles of Saxon blue satin, lined with crimson silk, and tied with two cordons of blue and crimson silk and gold, on the left side of which "mantle shall be embroidered a representation of the star or ensign of the Order, which shall be composed of seven rays of silver, between each of which issues a small ray of gold; over all the cross of St. George gules, and in the centre of the said star, within a circle azure, whereon is inscribed, in letters of gold, 'Auspicium Melioris Ævi,' a representation of the Archangel St. Michael, holding in his dexter hand a flaming sword, and encountering Satan, all proper. The Knights Grand Cross shall, on those solemn occasions, also wear a round chapeau, which shall be of blue satin, lined with crimson, turned up in front, and embroidered thereon the star of the Order hereinbefore described; which chapeau shall be adorned and surmounted with three white ostrich feathers, and in the centre one large black ostrich feather."

"And we do further command, that on all occasions whatsoever the Knights Grand Cross shall wear the star or ensign of the said Order embroidered upon the left side of their outer garment, and they shall also wear, from the right shoulder to the left side, a broad richly-watered ribbon of Saxon blue, having in the centre a scarlet stripe, from which shall hang the badge of the Order, which shall be a gold cross of fourteen points enamelled, argent, edged or, having on one side thereof in the centre, within a circle azure, whereon is inscribed the motto, 'Auspicium Melioris Ævi,' in letters of gold, a representation of St. Michael the Archangel, holding in his dexter hand a flaming sword, and encountering Satan, all proper; and on the reverse, within the said circle and motto, a representation of St. George, armed, on horseback, with a spear, encountering a dragon, also proper, which badge shall be ensigned by our royal and imperial crown gold. And for the greater honour and dignity of the Knights Grand Cross, it is hereby declared, that it shall and may be lawful for them upon all occasions to surround their family arms with the circle and motto.

"The Knights Commanders shall wear round their neck a ribbon of the same colours as the Grand Cross, and pendent therefrom the cross or badge of the Order. They shall also wear on the left side of the outer garment a star, which shall be composed of four rays; thereon a small cross of eight points in saltire argent, surmounted by the cross of St. George gules, and in the centre argent, within a circle azure, whereon is inscribed the motto 'Auspicium Melioris Ævi,' in letters of gold, a representation of the archangel St. Michael holding in his dexter hand a flaming sword, and encountering Satan, all proper.

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They shall be authorised to surround the armorial ensigns of their family with the circle and motto of the Order.

"The Knights of this most distinguished Order shall wear the badge or small cross of the Order, pendent from a narrow ribbon of the Order, at the button-hole. The Knights shall be also entitled to surround their arms with the circle and motto of the Order."

Ninthly. "All such persons whom we may be graciously pleased to nominate and appoint respectively Knights Grand Cross, Knights Commanders, and Knights of the same, shall have, hold, and enjoy, rank, place, and precedence before all Knights Bachelors, within the said United States of the Ionian Islands, and our said Island of Malta and its dependencies."

The tenth statute creates two Prelates, a Registrar, a King-of-Arms, and a secretary of the Order, and describes their various duties and badges. The prelates are the Archbishop of the Ionian Islands and the Archbishop of Malta; the Registrar is not named in the copy of the statutes before us; the King-of-arms is to be appointed by the Grand Master; and the Secretary is to be the private secretary for the time being of the Lord High Commissioner.

In our observations on the Order of the Bath [1] we pointed out the inconsistency of a member of an order of knighthood not being a knight, and contended that, with respect to that Order, the fundamental principles of all orders of chivalry were violated upon its enlargement in 1815; but glaring as those inconsistencies are, they sink into nothing when compared with the absurdity manifested in the statutes of the Ionian Order.

So far as the natives are concerned, the regulations are unobjectionable, excepting as they give them precedence of all British Knights, because a member of the third class of a mere colonial order thereby enjoys a title which is denied to, and takes precedence of, all members of that class of the only British military order of knighthood! Nothing, however, can be more ridiculous than the provisions under which British subjects are admitted into the Order, or more laughable than the consequences which attend them. According to the statutes, a man is a knight in one latitude, and not a knight in another; but is stripped of his honours the moment he ceases to enjoy a certain command, or other official situation, unless indeed he has held it for five years. Upon what principles of chivalry it is made to depend upon a circumstance beyond his own control, whether a man is to lose his knighthood, we are at a loss to comprehend; nor do we entertain much respect for an individual who will suffer himself to be decorated with honours, of which, without any misconduct of his own, he may be deprived within twenty-four hours. A point occurs, in connexion with this novel

[1] New Series, vol. i. p. 453.

doctrine, which would, we believe, puzzle the King-of-Arms of the Order himself to determine. On admittance into the Order, every person is directed to "assume the distinctive appellation of Knighthood;" or, in other words, according to the only acceptation of the expression in England, to style himself *Sir* John or *Sir* Thomas. If an Englishman, he does not continue to be a Knight of the Order, and is directed to return the insignia to the Grand Master on "ceasing to be in the employ of the United States of the Ionian Islands, or to be employed by us in our Island of Malta." But does he also lose the title which he was commanded to assume? Assuredly his Majesty never contemplated that one of his officers should suffer such a degradation; and it is impossible to believe that the statute could ever be obeyed. The words of the statute in question are, however, by no means clear. It is said, that the individual is to cease to be a Knight of the Order when he "shall cease to be in the employ of the said United States of the Ionian Islands, or to be employed by us in our said Island of Malta;" but upon what occasion is an Englishman in the employ of the States of the Ionian Islands? All Englishmen are, we presume, in the employ of the King of England, though serving in those islands; and unless the States nominate the officers, the passage is nonsense. Nor is this the only example of that admirable correctness of language for which ordinances relative to orders of knighthood have been lately conspicuous, and of which we selected some amusing specimens in our article on the Bath. The heraldic term "Proper," we need scarcely observe, means the natural colour of an animal; and when applied to men or beasts, the colours in which they are to be depicted are at once understood, because living examples are or may be before our eyes. But of the colour of the supposed inhabitants of the invisible world few besides the King-of-Arms of the Order of St. Michael and St. George have any idea: hence, when he says that the insignia are to contain a representation of St. George *proper*, and of the archangel St. Michael encountering Satan, *all Proper*, he should have told us what were their *proper colours*, for though he may enjoy the peculiar honour of a personal acquaintance with St. George, St. Michael, and Satan, and consequently have often seen them, he ought not to have taken it for granted that others were on the same friendly terms with those celebrated personages.

We have heard that a revision of these statutes is in contemplation. Of the necessity of an alteration there cannot be a doubt; and, at the same time that we point out the extraordinary fact, that a few pages of regulations cannot be at once properly written, we must express the hope, that the revision will not be intrusted to the author of the original compilation. It may be asked, why it was necessary to reward the loyalty and merits of the in-

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habitants of Malta and of the Ionian Islands, more than those virtues in our other colonies, Canada, where Mr. Pitt meditated the creation of an order of nobility, the West Indies, &c.: or why civil services are more deserving of so gratifying a recompense under every other meridian, than that of Great Britain? How much more consistent would it be to abolish all Orders, excepting the Garter, and to institute one, to which the only admissible pretension should be merit of every description, whether civil or military, and to which foreigners who had rendered services to this country, as well as all British and Hanoverian subjects, should be eligible.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

As all hopes of immediate reform in this institution have failed, it is not our intention to waste our time or pages with any farther notice of its affairs, excepting to amuse our readers with an annual exhibition of its publications, and with an occasional allusion to any unusual piece of folly which it may commit. After the pains we have taken to impress the members with a sense of its condition, we cannot omit to state the grounds on which we relinquish our expectations of improvement, or to explain briefly the causes which prevent it.

Since our last article on the subject, a debate took place there, which must not be passed over in silence. On the Auditors presenting their report, a member gave notice of his intention to move, at the next meeting, that "The Society having learnt from the Report of the Auditors that a sum exceeding 800*l.* had been expended on the publications of the Society, three or five Fellows, not members of the present Council, be appointed to examine the accounts, in order that the Society may learn whether the statute, which provides that no greater sum than 50*l.* shall be paid by the Council, has been complied with, and to report the same." The motion being read from the chair, a discussion ensued, which was occasionally interrupted by the indecent behaviour of one or more persons. The Treasurer, having detailed every item of the expenditure, and admitted that the statute in question had never been applied to the expenses of the publications, the object of the motion was fully attained, and it was consequently withdrawn by the proposer. A resolution was then submitted by one of the Auditors, "That, as it appeared probable that the statutes required to be revised, it be referred to the Council to do so," which was carried almost unanimously.

When it is remembered that the motion for a revision of the

statutes was made by one of the Auditors, who are appointed by the President, it is manifest that our efforts to convince the officers of the ridiculous manner in which they are worded have been successful; and it remains to be proved whether the silly clause, which renders any Fellow liable to be expelled who may speak or write in condemnation of the proceedings of the institution, and the regulation providing for the instantaneous election of Peers, &c. will be retained.

It must be evident from our former papers on the Society, that we considered the only hope of permanent advantage to it depended on the election of a Council aware of the abuses which exist, and desirous to reform them; and who would labour zealously to apply the funds to some real use, by printing important manuscripts. An attempt was accordingly made to nominate a Council in opposition to the House list; and as we are not disposed to indulge in invidious remarks in relation to individuals, we shall not say any thing on the respective pretensions of the persons named in each list. This effort was also of importance, as the result would be a test of the opinions entertained of the state of the institution; and lamentable indeed was it to find, that out of the one hundred and twenty-five members who voted, *one hundred and two* supported the officers, and thus identified themselves with the abuses and follies which have so long disgraced the Society. The minority would, however, have been much greater but for the desertion of more than one, two, or three persons, who, because they were not included among those named for the Council, or because their inordinate vanity had not been sufficiently administered to, absented themselves, or abandoned their former opinions, and voted for the House list. Even the original instigator of the attempts to produce a reform, the man who was loudest in condemnation of the proceedings of the Institution, apostatized, and is now to be found among the ranks of those of whom he was unsparing in his censures. Thus much for those upon whose support reliance was placed. The approvers of the present state of things have at least the merit of consistency; but, fortunately for the credit of literature, few among them are men of literary reputation; and to their shame be it said, that, whilst the ordinary meetings rarely contain more than thirty members, one hundred and two could be found to come down to prevent a reform of measures which render the Society ridiculous. Another cause of the overwhelming influence of the Officers is, the existence of the "Antiquaries' Club," to which each of them and one or more of his friends belong, and which contains twenty-four persons, who combine to resist every effort to improve the institution. Allowing that each of these gentlemen can influence one friend as dull as himself, and sup-

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posing that, besides this *Imperium in Imperio*, ten of the Council likewise influence one person each, there are sixty-eight votes at the command of the Officers on all occasions. The fact that the Officers can do as they please is consequently no longer astonishing; for, though the Society contains above eight hundred members, the greater part reside in the country; and many of those who live in town, and are independent, are too indifferent to inquire how its affairs are conducted.

Under these circumstances no immediate hope of alteration can be entertained. Time, by sweeping off many of the oldest and most prejudiced, will do much; and the effect of public opinion upon the younger part of that community will do more. At present it is an Augean stable, which Hercules himself would not be able to cleanse: the man who attempts it will only find himself suffocated by the nuisances which he tries in vain to remove; and until the course of nature, and the sure progress of common sense, produce their usual results, the Society of Antiquaries of London will continue a sanctuary for folly and frivolity; the last stronghold of bigotry and prejudice; a mere joint-stock company, for the printing of articles which are wholly valueless to the world, written principally by men who, having met with criticism more just than agreeable on venturing before the public in separate publications, feared to try their powers again where their lucubrations would be noticed; or by country gentlemen, who fancy themselves Camdens or Dugdales, because they find a brick broken or marked in an unusual manner. One individual at least has quitted the Society in disgust, and those who remain must either submit to the abuses which disgrace it, or subject themselves to be insulted by being threatened with expulsion under the enlightened statute, for which the Society of Antiquaries is remarkable, that every member who, "by speaking, writing, or printing, publicly defames it, shall be liable to be expelled;" a law which would only be equalled in absurdity by an act of Parliament, which should make it felony for a physician to administer medicines that occasioned pain, or for a surgeon to use a knife to save a patient from the grave.

MORE'S LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

Every body has heard of the man who wrote a work to prove that he was the author of his own book; and similar injustice to that which the individual in question sustained has been frequently done to various other persons. That this should be the case with a book which appeared anonymously is not surprising; for if it was a good one, those to whom it was assigned by their contemporaries perhaps felt too much honoured by the suspicion

to deny its truth, or at least to deny it in any other terms than might be construed into a modest admission of the fact. It is otherwise, however, when the name of an individual has been placed in the title-page; and it is extraordinary that, after a lapse of centuries, an editor should be found hardy enough to doubt that the person to whom it has been uniformly assigned was the author, and able, not only to prove the justice of his scepticism, but to attribute it to the real writer.

Mr. Hunter, the author of "Hallamshire," has had this merit in two instances; and in presenting a short analysis of his proofs in the present case, we shall afford a very useful example of the manner in which such facts may be established. The first case referred to is with respect to Cavendish's Life of Wolsey; the arguments relative to the authorship of which were printed as a tract, and have since been prefixed to Mr. Singer's valuable edition of that work.

A beautiful edition of More's Life of Sir Thomas More has been recently edited by Mr. Hunter, in the introduction to which he has inquired "who was the author?" As this is not the proper place to review any other part of that gentleman's labours on the occasion, we shall briefly express the high opinion we entertain of the prefatory matter and notes. They display that deep research and critical acumen which have established his reputation as a zealous, and, what is far better, as a *rational* and intelligent antiquary; and which render this the best edition of that very interesting piece of biography that has appeared.

The author says in his prologue, that "he was the youngest of thirteen children, and the last and meanest of five sons, four of whom lived to man's estate, and yet it has pleased God to bestow this inheritance upon me;" and speaks of his children. "Of his brothers," he adds, "they either loathed the world before the world fawned upon them, or professed a strait and religious life." In another part, he describes himself as the son of Thomas, son of John, only son of the Chancellor; and from his calling himself "a worldling," in contradistinction to others of his family who had taken orders, there can be no doubt he was a layman. Mr. Hunter proves that the MS. was written in or after the year 1615, and was finished before 1620. If, therefore, it can be shown who possessed the family patrimony between 1615 and 1620, a presumption of the strongest nature is created in favour of that person being the author; and if every other circumstance corroborates that opinion, the presumption is almost converted into certainty. At the period in question, the More property was enjoyed by CRESACRE MORE, and in him, to use the present editor's words, "meet all the circumstances which the writer has disclosed concerning himself."

He was the son of Thomas, son of John, son of the Chancellor: he was the youngest of thirteen children, five of whom were sons; and he was the father of children. But, as if nothing might be wanting to place the fact beyond dispute, the author says, "he was born anew, and regenerated by the holy sacrament of baptism, on the very same day, though many years after, on which Sir Thomas More entered heaven triumphant, to wit, on the sixth day of July," and in the register of Barnborough, in Yorkshire, is the following entry:

"1572, Cresacrus More, filius Thomæ More, Ar., fuit baptizatus sexto die Julii."

So satisfactorily do these facts identify Cresacre More with the author of the volume, that it may appear a work of supererogation to adduce proofs that his brother Thomas More, to whom it has been assigned, did not write it; but this is shown so completely by evidence, independent of that adduced in favour of Cresacre, that we cannot resist alluding to it.

Thomas More, according to Anthony Wood, was born on the anniversary of his great ancestor's death, and succeeded to his estate, married, and had several children. He was a zealous Catholic, and died 11th April, 1625, "leaving behind him the life of his great-grandfather, Sir Thomas More." Wood then gives a copy of the inscription over his grave, in which it is said, that he was of the diocese of York, and great-grandson and heir of Thomas More, Chancellor of England, and martyr; that by a sacrifice, rare indeed in England, he transferred his ample patrimony to a younger brother, and became a priest at Rome; that he laboured zealously in propagating his faith for some years in England; that he was *afterwards* agent for the English clergy, seven years at Rome, and five in Spain, while Paul V. and Gregory XV. were Popes, and died on the 11th of April, 1625, in the 59th year of his age.

The Barnborough register informs us, that Thomas, the elder brother of Cresacre, was baptized in 1566, which tends to identify him with the Thomas, the priest, who died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, in 1625. The inscription on his tomb proves, that he was the *eldest* son, and gave his estate to his younger brother, whilst the author of the Life calls himself the *youngest* of five sons, and states that one, at least, of his elder brothers had relinquished the family patrimony in consequence of his "professing a strait and religious life." It is certain that Thomas was a priest long before 1615, after which year the work must have been written, for the epitaph informs us, that he was for twelve years agent for the English clergy; for some years previous to which he had exercised his sacred functions in this country, whilst the author terms himself a "worldling," in a manner which must be considered to mean a layman. That Thomas More had

no issue when he took orders, is nearly certain from his having transferred his lands to *his brother;* and if he had then been a husband or father, the sacrifice of severing himself from a wife and children would, there can be no doubt, have formed the subject of panegyric on his monument. That Wood confounded Thomas More with his brother, is manifest from his having imputed to the former three facts, one of which exclusively belonged to Cresacre; namely, the coincidence in the date of his baptism, and the Chancellor's death; his being married; and his having children. Mr. Hunter very clearly traces the erroneous sources of Wood's information. That the real author is at length discovered is unquestionable, and we partake of the editor's surprise that so little attention is paid to the information which early works generally afford of the writers. An amusing instance of the kind occurs to our recollection in reference to a well known individual. The numerous biographers of Izaak Walton have sadly puzzled themselves to discover the name of his first wife, though two poems prefixed to the Complete Angler, the one signed "John Floud, Mr. of Arts," and the other "Robert Floud," are each addressed to him "as my dear *brother*, Izaak Walton." Their mother was Susannah, daughter of Thomas Cranmer, of St. Mildred's, Canterbury, gentleman, son of Edmund, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and nephew of Archbishop Cranmer, which explains the connexion that has been supposed to exist between the worthy angler and the family of that celebrated martyr.

ADVERSARIA.

Exhibition of Historical Portraits.—This interesting exhibition consists of the drawings which were made from the original pictures of distinguished individuals, for the "Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain," where they have been engraved. It is impossible to view these drawings without pleasure; for no one can be indifferent to the features of those great men who are identified with the history of this country. That the proprietors should allow them to be thus viewed does them credit, and nothing can be more praiseworthy than the politeness and attention with which the spectators are treated: no charge is made, and catalogues are gratuitously given. So far all is as it should be, and Messrs. Harding and Lepard would have derived ample remuneration for the expense and trouble of the exhibition from the increased sale of the work in which those portraits are engraved, which may, undoubtedly, be classed among the most important that have appeared for many years. Such unusual means have, however, been taken to call public attention to the subject, and so novel a system of puffing has been adopted, that we owe it to the characters of the distinguished writers whose names have been so improperly connected with the affair, not to allow the transaction to pass

without comment: but we must first take the opportunity of saying a few words on the manner in which faith has been kept with the original subscribers to the work in question. When people subscribed to the folio edition, it was with the understanding, implied, if not expressed, that it was the only means of obtaining the engravings. Shortly after the appearance of the proposed number of twenty parts, an octavo and quarto edition were announced; so that the parties who had been paying *two guineas and a half, or five guineas,* for six portraits, were told that they might have equally good engravings, or, to use the words of the prospectus, "equal in authenticity and excellence, and with no other variation than in the size," of five of the said portraits, with the identical memoirs, for *twelve shillings and sixpence!* and it appears that another edition is in contemplation, to be published in monthly parts, with three portraits, for seven shillings and sixpence. A prospectus of the folio edition asserts, that the work would be completed in twenty parts: the original prospectus of the 4to. and 8vo. state that they will extend to thirty-six parts; whilst that of the monthly numbers threatens to "extend the series through the whole of the last century, and *complete the design of this work,* to perpetuate, in one collected view, the portraits and memoirs of all the most illustrious and eminent persons of the country, from the first introduction of portrait-painting to the death of Nelson;" and which "will increase the number of portraits to two hundred and forty." If, when the publishers promised that the work should consist of twenty parts, or even subsequently, when they said it was to make thirty-six parts of the 8vo. it was *then their design* that it should extend "to the death of Nelson," and consist of *two hundred and forty* instead of one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and eighty plates, we know but of one term which ought to be applied to them for having concealed it. Thus, when it was determined, that the 4to. and 8vo. editions should consist of thirty-six parts, or 180 portraits, the subscribers to the folio were obliged, under the name of "Supplement," to take ten more parts than they agreed for, the cost of which, if small paper, was twenty-five, and, if large, fifty guineas, or have an imperfect work; but now their copies will be equally imperfect, unless they continue subscribers to the completion of the series down "to the death of Nelson," or of augmenting it from *one hundred and eighty* to *two hundred and forty* portraits, which will form *ten* more two and a half, or five guinea parts, or *twelve* of the quarto and octavo numbers. The real state of the case consequently appears to be as follows: Those who, when the folio edition was first undertaken, expected to have a perfect work for fifty guineas small paper, or one hundred large, will have to expend exactly *twice* those sums; whilst those who, for the quarto, calculated on spending forty-five, will have to pay *sixty* pounds; and those who, in subscribing for the octavo, expected to lay out twenty-two pounds ten shillings, must disburse *forty-five pounds,* unless they allow their copies to remain incomplete. The same thing, with respect to price, has happened with the new edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, which we shall shortly explain; and we ask, whether such conduct is fair towards the public, or creditable to the publishers?

To give the new scheme sufficient notoriety, means have been adopted as unprecedented in the annals of puffing as in the history of literature. To the exhibition of the drawings; to the *affiches* in gold letters which every where meet the view, stating that subscribers' names are received in the room; or to advertising the thing, no objections can be made; but to write to Sir Walter Scott for his opinion of a work of which the merits have been many years universally admitted, with the view of printing his letter in all the newspapers and catalogues, was derogatory both to him and to Mr. Lodge. It is the first, and, we hope, the last occasion on which we shall see the respectable name of Sir Walter Scott so brought before the world; for, by publishing a letter which we are sure he could not intend to be thus used, that eminent character is made to appear as the writer of a mere bookseller's puff. It is evident that he was much annoyed at being thus called upon to pronounce judgment upon an author of so established a reputation as Mr. Lodge; and it would appear, too, that that gentleman felt displeased at being so praised; for the laudatory passage about him, which occurs in the copy of Sir Walter's letter in the newspapers, is suppressed in the copy printed in the catalogue before us. The following is the passage omitted:

"Mr. Lodge's talents as an historian and antiquary are well known to the public by his admirable collection of ancient letters and documents, entitled, 'Illustrations of British History;' a book which I have very frequently consulted, and have almost always succeeded in finding not only the information required, but collected a great deal more as I went in search of it. The present work presents the same talents and industry, the same patient powers of collecting information from the most obscure and hidden sources, and the same talent for selecting the facts which are the rarest and most interesting, and presenting them to the general reader in a luminous and concise manner[1]."

The most amusing part of this passage is, that Sir Walter praises Mr. Lodge for the qualities which his work neither demanded nor displays, and is silent upon those for which it is remarkable perhaps beyond any example. Few people who have read the memoirs with attention would be likely to speak of the author having collected "information from the most obscure and hidden sources:" but who is there that has not been charmed with his exquisite and polished style, or impressed with admiration at the almost unrivalled manner in which facts are compressed, and the most striking traits of human character described? To our taste, these memoirs are models for all similar compositions; and if any thing is to be regretted, it is, that in a few instances, strength is sacrificed to elegance; and the desire to say something *recherché* is now and then too evident. That such a writer as Mr. Lodge, or that a book of so high a character, should, from an overwhelming cupidity in the proprietors, be lessened in the esteem of the rational part of the public, by a system

[1] It is worthy of observation, that Sir Walter, with his usual delicacy and tact, carefully avoids saying a word on the merits of the plates, and excuses himself by professing to be an incompetent judge of the subject. Though we do not pretend to be connoisseurs, we know enough to say, that few, if any, of the plates fulfil the promise that they should be "highly finished engravings." In the majority of instances they are engraved in a bastard style of the art, composed of a mixture of stipple and line engraving; the stippled part being often done by persons incompetent even to that second rate process.

of puffing to which neither Mr. Warren nor Dr. Eady have yet had recourse, excites our indignation; and that that cupidity should in any way obtain for those who evince it the reputation of being "liberal," because they gratuitously exhibit samples of the goods they wish people to buy, makes us despair of there being any common sense in the land.

BANNERS.—That noblemen and gentlemen of ancient families should not more frequently display a banner of their arms on their castles or mansions, instead of the national flag, which, properly speaking, they have not the slightest right to use, arises perhaps as much from ignorance and indifference as from modesty. They would laugh at the idea of painting a shield charged with the union badge on their carriages, and yet they place it over their residences, though it would be as appropriate in the one place as in the other. One nobleman at least is sensible of propriety on the subject, and we think that his example would be generally adopted if it were known. A banner of the arms of Neville floats over Eridge Castle, the seat of the Earl of Abergavenny, whenever that respected nobleman is present; and how much more in character, with all the associations which Arundel Castle is calculated to excite, would be a banner of the quartered coats of Howard, Brotherton, and Fitz Alan, than the incongruous combination which has been adopted for the national flag? The observation applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to Alnwick, Chatsworth, Woburn, &c.

MEDALS AND COINS.—It is a misfortune to be frequently obliged to comment on the disregard of consistency which is shown by public officers; and though the subject we are about to notice may be deemed unimportant, still as it was just as easy to do what was correct as what is anomalous and unprecedented, the carelessness which the deviation displays merits censure. Every nation but England bestows the utmost attention on its coin and medals, and has invariably followed classic models, as nearly as circumstances permitted. Why, a correspondent asks us, is his present Majesty described on our coin as Georgius IV, instead of, according to all classic precedent, IIII? The following remark of the learned Evelyn justifies the inquiry—"Nor in any authentick medal the number IV. but by IIII strokes." Numismata, p. 186. Our correspondent expresses his surprise that *even* the Society of Antiquaries evince the same anomaly. Alas! where must he have lived, to suppose that the divan which governs that "learned body" care, even if they knew, any thing about taste or propriety on such subjects?

ENGRAVINGS OF CURIOUS ILLUMINATIONS IN MSS.—In the year 1817, *eleven years ago*, Dr. Dibdin stated in a note to his "Bibliographical Decameron[1]," when speaking of the MS. of St. Cuthbert's Gospels, in the Cottonian Library, Nero, D. IV., "I learn

[1] V. i. p. li.

with pleasure from Mr. Ellis (who presides over the MS. department of the British Museum), that it is in contemplation to publish faithful and particular copies of all the ornaments, in this invaluable book, at the expense of the Antiquarian Society;" and he justly adds, "the sooner this is commenced the better: for the public begin to be weary of *representations of broken pots and pans, spear heads, barrows and buttresses.*" As the author appears to be in the confidence of the officers of that Society, he will perhaps inform us, in his next work, why that intention was not carried into execution; but did not the learned bibliographer, who thus ridicules the objects upon which that Institution lavishes its resources, make a point of attending to *vote against* the recent efforts, to accomplish among other improvements, the abolition of memoirs and likenesses "of broken pots and pans, spear heads, barrows and buttresses," and to effect instead the very thing which he has recommended? Mr. Ellis, whom he compliments so highly, and the present Treasurer of the Society, can inform him that, within the last two years, it was earnestly suggested to them to publish a series of fac-simile engravings of the most curious illuminations in the MSS. in the Museum.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Registrum Wiltunense, Saxonicum et Latinum, in Museo Britannico asservatum, ab Anno Regis Alfredi 892, *ad Annum Regis Edwardi* 1045; *nunc demum Notis illustraverunt J. J. Ingram, S.A.S.; Sharon Turner, S.A.S.; T. D. Fosbrooke, S.A.S.; Thomas Phillips, Bart. S.A.S.; Richard C. Hoare, Bart. S.A.S. Sumptibus R. C. Hoare. Londini: Typis Nicholsianis,* 100 *Exemplaria, impressa Anno* 1827. *Folio, pp.* 56.—We are not sure whether the work we are about to notice comes within our critical jurisdiction, since we believe it is printed only for private distribution; but we take so deep an interest in those pursuits to which Sir Richard Hoare has devoted a large portion of his life and fortune, that we cannot neglect the present opportunity of making a few remarks on the Registrum Wiltunense. Among the Harleian Collection in the British Museum there has been preserved a portion of a very ancient cartulary that belonged to the Abbey of Wilton. The MS. itself is clearly not older than the reign of King John, but it contains transcripts of deeds that relate to a remoter period. The reader, perhaps, will be surprised to learn that this curious volume consists of more than thirty royal grants to the Abbey of Wilton, extending from the reign of Alfred the Great to that of Edward the Confessor. Nearly all the property mentioned in the MS. lies in Wiltshire; hence it is of great importance to the topography of that county, and is not indeed wholly uninteresting to the general reader, as it affords instances of the piety and munificence of our Saxon kings. It first attracted the particular attention of Sir Thomas Phillips, who had it copied; and from that gentleman's transcript Sir Richard Hoare has caused a hundred copies to be printed. Perhaps the most curious portions of the Registrum Wiltunense are what conveyancers technically call the parcels; these are expressed in Anglo-

Saxon, while the body of each grant is in Latin. It is seldom, indeed, that the topographer can trace property to a source more ancient than Domesday Book, the general starting-post of local history: here, however, he has territorial boundaries described with much accuracy nearly two centuries before that celebrated census was compiled, and, which renders them of still greater interest, they are not unfrequently associated in this curious record with Wansdyke, with the military roads of the Romans, and the still more ancient tumuli of our British ancestors. Most of the lands contained in the Registrum Wiltunense, with the other valuable possessions of Wilton Abbey, were bestowed, at the dissolution, on Sir William Herbert, and they still belong to his descendant, the present Earl of Pembroke; so that the work before us displays, in a singular manner, the stability of property during the long period of more than nine centuries.

Besides the labours bestowed on it by Sir Richard Hoare and Sir Thomas Phillips, the work has been critically examined by Professor Ingram, Mr. Sharon Turner, and Mr. Fosbrooke, who have illustrated several obscurities in the Anglo-Saxon text. A seal, which has been engraved, and serves as a frontispiece to the work, seems to have puzzled Sir Richard exceedingly. Nor does the worthy baronet stand alone in this respect, as Mr. Douce, about fourteen years ago, addressed a long memoir upon it to the Society of Antiquaries, whose paper on the subject, though a specimen of the "much ado about nothing," and egotism for which the articles in the Archæologia are celebrated, contains, nevertheless, some valuable remarks on the early use of seals, however much he may be mistaken respecting the one in question. We are satisfied that the seal represents the queen of Edward the Confessor; and we justify our opinion by the following considerations:—there is nothing in history more certain than that the name of Edward the Confessor's wife was Eadgyth; and even if we could resist the authority of the Saxon chronicle, the Registrum Wiltunense expressly states the fact. Camden tells us, on the authority of a Life of Edward the Confessor, to which he had access, that this queen "laid the foundation of a stately monastery of stone instead of the wooden church at Wilton, where she was educated[1]." With these circumstances the seal corresponds: we there see a female with upraised hands, the right in the attitude of benediction, the left holding probably a charter of endowment, or possibly the plan of the monastery she had built on the site of a more ancient abbey; the legend around the figure on the seal is "Sigillum Eadgythæ regalis adelphæ," the seal of Eadgyth, royal sister. We will now endeavour to explain this inscription; and for that purpose we must refer to the customs of our catholic ancestors. It was the practice of the Saxon kings and queens, and of the nobles generally, to get themselves incorporated as brethren or sisters of the more celebrated abbeys, that they might be entitled to the suffrages and the privileges of those religious societies[2]. Persons so incorporated,

[1] See Gibson's Camden.

[2] See Dr. Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 206.

however, were not necessarily involved in the rigid austerities of the order to which they belonged. They considered it highly honourable to be attached to these pious establishments; and this consideration operating on the Confessor's queen induced her to become a member of the abbey of Wilton, to which she had been so munificent a benefactress, and to prefer the simple title of royal sister of a convent, to any of those pompous appellations that were applied to persons of her exalted rank. Thus it seems to us that Eadgyth was a titular sister, if not actually one of the nuns, of St. Mary's Abbey of Wilton, and that this seal belonged to her. We think that Sir Richard Hoare has somewhat hastily called it the abbey seal; for, the document to which the wax impression is appended seems by no means to justify such an opinion. The matrix, probably, passed from abbess to abbess, with other valuables belonging to the convent, and was occasionally used by them; but still it never, as we apprehend, could have been the conventual seal. The word "Adelphæ," in the legend, is quite in character with the charters, which abound in terms of Greek origin; and this circumstance would lead us to think that the scribes who penned them were familiar with that language, or at least were fond of using, what our older writers call "inkhorn words."

Having thus given a sketch of the Registrum Wiltunense, we cannot help recurring to the learned and amiable baronet under whose auspices it has appeared; for it is gratifying to observe persons of rank and fortune shunning the coarser pleasures of the world, and devoting their time and their wealth to the ennobling pursuit of intellectual gratifications. Unlike too many of us, Sir Richard Hoare must contemplate the actions of his past life with feelings of enviable satisfaction: a man of letters himself, he has always been among the foremost to encourage those of kindred habits; and, far better, has often been the active friend of indigent merit.

The Bibliographer's Manual, by William Thomas Lowndes. Part I. 8vo. pp. 120.—The plan of the celebrated "Manuel du Libraire" of Monsieur Brunet has at length been imitated in reference to English literature; and we feel considerable pleasure in noticing a work so likely to afford information of constant use to persons interested in literary pursuits as the one before us. Mr. Lowndes confines himself to giving an account "of rare, curious, and useful books, published in or relating to Great Britain and Ireland, from the invention of printing to the present time, with bibliographical and critical notices, collations of the rarer articles, and the prices at which they have been sold in the present century."

The articles are placed under the names of their authors, and considerable pains seem to have been taken to ascertain the real names of the writers of works which appeared anonymously, or under feigned signatures. The First Part justifies the expectation, that the Editor will perform his laborious undertaking with credit to himself and advantage to the public; and we entertain sanguine hopes, that so great a desideratum as a book of reference to the best works on all subjects will now be attained. That there will be errors and omissions, the

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editor says in his preface he is well aware; and had he entertained any other opinion on the subject, he would only have proved his unfitness for his task, for in such a compilation entire accuracy is impossible. A notice of the prices at which the different books referred to have been sold, is extremely acceptable; and so far from injuring booksellers, it will materially promote their interests, for numerous persons in the country are deterred from ordering an old book from ignorance of the price they may be called upon to pay for it. The critical notices have been chiefly taken from reviews or other authorities; and we wish Mr. Lowndes had always cited them.

"The Bibliographer's Manual" will, the preface informs us, contain references to above 30,000 articles, and it is likely, we imagine, to become a book of constant reference for information on subjects connected with English literature. More than this it would not be proper to say until it is completed; and it would be injustice to say less, since we think highly both of the merits of Mr. Lowndes's plan, and of the research which his pages display.

Calendar of Knights, containing Lists of Knights Bachelors, British Knights of Foreign Orders; also Knights of the Garter, Thistle, Bath, St. Patrick, from 1760 *to the present time; and also of the Guelphic and Ionian Orders. By Francis Townsend, Pursuivant of Arms.* 8vo.—To those who are interested in heraldic or genealogical pursuits, and acquainted with the distinguished professional and literary attainments of several members of the Heralds' College, it has been a subject of regret, that neither of the present gentlemen, with the exception of Norroy King of Arms, has given the public the fruits of his researches[1]. The example of Dugdale, Vincent, and others of their predecessors, would doubtless have been imitated, but for the little encouragement which such works as theirs now meet with; since even in the best days of the history of that College, it was never richer in talents and learning than at this moment.

It is, therefore, with very considerable pleasure that we are called upon to notice a publication by a "Pursuivant of Arms," who has modestly omitted any other designation after his name than his professional title. Mr. Townsend has the double merit of setting a laudable example to his *confreres*, and of producing a very useful work on a dignity which has so fallen in public esteem, that no regular list of those who enjoy it has been compiled for many years.

The title-page states the classes of persons included in the work, excepting those knighted by the Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, who are also included. It commences with Knights-Bachelors: all the lists are arranged in alphabetical order, and from the following extracts it will be seen, that, though the information afforded of each Knight-

[1] We do not forget, however, that the name of Sir George Nayler, Knt. Garter, occurs in the title-page of the *first part* of a splendid work on the Coronation of his present Majesty in 1821.

Bachelor is not extensive, it is very useful in identifying parties, and hence is particularly deserving of the attention of Solicitors.

"Ainslie, Philip, of Pilton, N. B. and Lieutenant-Colonel of Horse-Guards, 25th Feb. 1778, elder brother of the above Sir Robert Ainslie, died June, 1802.
"Gambier, James, Consul-General in the Netherlands; 27th April, 1808."

The next division embraces the British Knights of foreign orders, and, with the subsequent list of the Knights of the Bath[1], present the names of nearly all the English military and naval heroes who distinguished themselves during the late war. After each Knight follows a notice of his rank, of the orders he has received, and of the services for which they were conferred. It is well known that, since 1800, no British subject can legally accept a foreign order without a licence from his Sovereign; and that such licence contains a clause especially commanding it, together with the relative documents, to be recorded in the College of Arms. Mr. Townsend states the dates of such licences, and marks whether they have been so recorded or not; and it is not a little remarkable that numerous instances occur of individuals, among whom is even the Duke of Wellington, possessing such distinctions without having obtained a licence to wear them, and not a few where the royal command for recording those warrants in the Heralds' Office have not been obeyed[2].

In the preface the Editor has given a very clear and satisfactory account of the manner in which English subjects have been permitted to accept foreign orders, and to which we shall allude on some other occasion. The general impression is, that before March, 1813, a licence to an individual to accept a foreign order was considered to authorise him to assume the title of "*Sir*," but that after that period, in consequence of a clause in such licences,

"That his Majesty's licence and permission doth not authorise, and shall not be deemed or construed to authorise, the assumption of any style, appellation, rank, precedence, or privilege, appertaining unto a Knight Bachelor of these Realms,"

he had no right to use that title

We, however, entertain some doubts on this subject. As the licence authorises a man to accept and wear a decoration which to all intents and purposes renders him a Knight, we cannot imagine how the English title of knighthood, the appellation "*Sir*," can be withheld. The crown forbids "the assumption of any style, appellation,

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[1] Mr. Townsend would have increased the value of his work, if he had shown, by some mark opposite the name of each Knight of the Bath, whether his pedigree is registered in the College of Arms.

[2] The number of licences which have been granted, but of which, according to this list, no record occurs in the College of Arms, are *thirty-six*, and the time which has expired since they were issued appears from Mr. Townsend's work to be as follows:—one, *three* years; one, *five* years; one, *six* years; two, *seven* years; four, *eight* years; two, *ten* years; one, *eleven* years; nine, *twelve* years; five, *thirteen* years; two, *fourteen* years; five, *fifteen* years; one, *sixteen* years; and two, even *seventeen* years. Why these licences have not been registered we know not.

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rank, precedence, or privilege appertaining unto a *Knight Bachelor* of these realms;" but the title "*Sir*" is not confined to Knights Bachelors of England, nor does it solely arise from the accolade, since it is used by baronets; and a man who is a knight of one country must, according to the principles of chivalry, and which were expressly recognized by the Court of King's Bench, be equally a knight in every other country, "the honour being universal[1]." In England a knight is called "Sir ——, Knight;" in France, "le Chevalier;" in Spain and Italy, "il Cavaleiro;" in Germany, "Ritter;" all names for the same rank; and as the licences do not expressly forbid the parties to use the title "Sir," we question whether each of them is not fully entitled to it, though they have no right "to the style, title, precedence, or privileges, of *Knights Bachelors* of England." Their precedence is probably immediately after Knights Bachelors of England, for they are manifestly not "Esquires;" and if either of them was so styled he might, we are convinced, plead a misnomer.

Mr. Townsend has executed his task with intelligence, industry, and success. His work will be found extremely useful to many persons besides those who are mentioned in it; whilst, to those who are recorded in its pages, and their immediate friends, it forms a gratifying record of rewards of arduous civil and military services, or of the personal favour of our own and foreign sovereigns.

The History and Antiquities of the Chapel at Luton Park.—We have pleasure in noticing three numbers of Mr. H. Shaw's work. This chapel is an interesting specimen of the last stage of Tudor architecture, and is valuable to the architect and antiquary.

How much more profitably for its Fellows and the public would such part of the funds of the Society of Antiquaries, as could be devoted to architectural engravings, be employed in publishing subjects like the one to which Mr. Shaw has so successfully directed his attention, than in lavishing its money on the inconceivably silly trash that appeared in the last volume but one of the "Archæologia," wherein fifteen plates and two sheets of letter-press are expended in an attempt to show the mysterious use of the form of a *fish's bladder* in the architecture of the middle ages!!!

Should the historical equal the graphic part of this elegant work, we shall resume our observations on it.

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[1] Mr. Townsend thus alludes to the decision in question; and the only doubt is, whether the clause subsequently introduced into licences alters the case:

"It was a prosecution against William Dearsley, for an assault on the Rev. Sir Robert Peat. The Counsel for the defendant took an objection to the description of the plaintiff, urging, that as he had not been knighted by the king he had no right to the appellation 'Sir.' Lord Ellenborough overruled the objection, on the ground that knighthood was a universal honour, which there could be no doubt every sovereign could confer according to the laws or customs of his own state; and that there could be as little doubt that the King of England could ratify and confirm such creation by a foreign sovereign, and that having so done, the party was, to all intents and purposes, a Knight, and entitled to the appellation by which Knights are commonly distinguished in these Realms."—*Preface.*

Isographie des Hommes Célèbres, ou Collection de Fac-Simile de Lettres Autographes et de Signatures. Paris, 11 *livraisons,* 4*to. Rolandi, Berners Street,* 5 *francs chaque numero.*

Autographs of Royal, Noble, Learned, and Remarkable Personages, conspicuous in English History, from the Reign of Richard II. to Charles II., including some Illustrious Foreigners. Folio, Part I. Nichols and Son, 5*s.; tinted paper,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

As we partake of the general taste for fac-similes of the autographs of celebrated men, it is with satisfaction that we notice two works so well calculated to gratify it. The one published at Paris has already reached its eleventh number, whilst the English series has but just commenced. Every livraison of the "Isographie" contains twenty-four lithographed pages, each of which is occupied with the autograph of one person; and in most cases they present a fac-simile of an entire letter, or at least of a long paragraph. They thus afford a perfect and most interesting specimen of the chirography of two hundred and sixty-four distinguished persons of all ages and countries, kings, statesmen, philosophers, divines, historians, and poets[1]; and it is seldom that we have derived so much pleasure as this highly valuable collection has given us.

The "Autographs" published by Mr. Nichols are very faithfully engraved on copper, under the direction of Mr. Charles John Smith, and are accompanied by slight but well-written biographical memoirs by Mr. Gough Nichols. The first number contains autographs of thirty-eight persons, including Henry VIII., Margaret and Mary, his sisters, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, James the First, Francis II. of France, of two Dukes of Norfolk, the Earls of Surrey, Wiltshire, Essex, Northumberland, &c. and of other eminent noblemen of the sixteenth century; but as there are only five plates, little besides the mere signature is, in most cases, given. It was scarcely possible to avoid drawing a comparison between the plan of the two publications, and the result is in favour of the French, because it contains so much fuller specimens of the writing of the parties. For the purpose of identifying a writer, an example of two or three lines, much less of his mere signature, is not sufficient; hence we should prefer having the five plates in each part of Messrs. Smith and Nichols's work appropriated to ten or fifteen, rather than to thirty-eight persons.

The biographical notices belonging to the "Isographie" are not yet published, but they ought not to be any longer postponed; for the want of them not only lessens the interest of the plates, but prevents their being bound up. From the very successful manner in which

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[1] Among them are the following names, which we select as being best known in England: Fontenelle, Molière, Turenne, Agnes Sorel, Marmontel, Robespierre, Lavater, Canova, Catherine de Medicis, Van Tromp, Talma, Berthier, Prince of Wagram, David Garrick, Bayle, Louis XIII., XIV., and XV., Queen Elizabeth, James II. of Scotland, and various other monarchs, Madame de Staël, Voltaire, Rollin, Montesquieu, Charlemagne, the Abbé Sicard, Benjamin West, Camden, Fenelon, Sir Joseph Banks, Diana of Poictiers, Rapin, Volney, Washington, Buffon, Corneille, Hume, Leibnitz, Madame de Maintenon, Elzevir, Racine, &c.

XUM

lithography is used for the fac-similes in the French collection, we recommend Mr. Smith to adopt it, and to give long extracts and more plates. By avoiding as much as possible the autographs inserted in the "Isographie," the two works will not interfere with each other, and be equally acceptable to collectors in both countries.

These works are highly deserving of encouragement, and we shall be exceedingly happy to learn, that sufficient interest is felt in this country in the illustrious dead, to render these memorials of them more generally known and patronized. Next to a portrait, the autograph of a great man is the most valuable notice of him, and, since either are rarely to be met with, the multiplication of both is desirable. There cannot be a more appropriate illustration of history and biography than these collections; and it is impossible to doubt that they will rank among the most popular, since they are among the most interesting, works of the day.

CREATIONS OF HONOURS, CHANGES OF NAME, &c.

From the London Gazettes, from 25th March to May 23rd, 1828.

April 1.—St. James's Palace, 27th March.—The King was this day pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon Lieutenant-Colonel John Macra, K. C. H., Military Secretary to the late Marquess of Hastings.

April 4.—Whitehall, 2d April.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Isaac Hart, Esquire, Captain in the Army, on half-pay of the 65th Regiment of Foot, His royal licence and authority, that he may, in compliance with the earnest desire expressed by his Majesty the Shah of Persia, accept and wear the insignia of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun, of the First Class, with which his Persian Majesty has been pleased to honour him, in testimony of His royal approbation of his distinguished conduct while in the actual service of that Sovereign; provided, nevertheless, that his Majesty's said licence and permission doth not authorise the assumption of any style, appellation, rank, precedence, or privilege appertaining unto a Knight Bachelor of these realms.

April 18.—Whitehall, 17th April.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Lieutenant George Read of the Royal Navy, late Lieutenant of H. M. Ship Lively, His royal licence and permission, that he may, in compliance with the earnest desire expressed by his late Most Faithful Majesty, John the Sixth, King of Portugal, accept and wear the insignia of a Knight of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword, which that Sovereign was pleased to confer upon him on occasion of His Most Faithful Majesty's visit on board that ship in the Tagus in May, 1824; provided, nevertheless, that His Majesty's said licence and permission doth not authorise the assumption of any style, appellation, rank, precedence, or privilege appertaining unto a Knight Bachelor of these realms.

May 16.—Whitehall, May 14.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto John Fonblanque, of the Middle Temple, London, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Counsel learned in the Law, His royal licence and authority, that he and his issue may take and use the surname of De Grenier, in addition to and before that of Fonblanque.

ERRATUM.

Page 173. In speaking of the Baronetcy of CODRINGTON, it is said, that the gentleman to whom Mr. Burke has attributed the title is *not* a Baronet, the title being in fact vested "in the eldest son of his elder brother." The dignity really belongs to Sir William Raimond Codrington, son of Sir William Codrington, who died in Brittany in 1816. The individual who has assumed it is the son of Edward, brother of Sir William, 2nd Baronet, who was grandfather of the party entitled to the honour.

THE

Retrospective Review.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. II.—PART III.

Le Combat de Trente Bretons contre Trente Anglois. Publié d'après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothéque du Roi. Par G. A. Crapelet, Imprimeur. à Paris, 1827. 8*vo. pp.* 110.

IT is highly creditable to the literary taste of France that so much zeal should exist for the publication of manuscripts illustrative of the early history of that country. The excellent edition of its Chronicles, which have been long in course of publication under the able superintendence of Monsieur Buchon, and the splendid and satisfactory manner in which the "Roman de la Rose" has just been published, are ample proofs that a spirit of historical inquiry exists which in England we are incapable of appreciating, for there are scarcely fifty persons who are sufficiently interested in English history to read those writers who, from being contemporary with the events which they describe, are the most genuine sources of all historical information. In alluding to a difference in national taste so disgraceful to ourselves, it is necessary to state one or two circumstances, which prove that the French have always excelled us in the character and extent of publications of materials for history. With the exception of Rymer's "Fœdera," the English Chronicles, and the volumes printed by the Record Commission, nearly all the text-books on history and antiquities are French. Whilst we do not possess a bibliographical work on English history, excepting the imperfect compilation of Bishop Nicolson, or even a complete glossary of our language, our neighbours are extraordinarily rich, not only in each of these departments, but in standard works on Antiquities. It is notorious that we have no books which approach in value to the labours of Du Cange and

Charpentier; to "L'Art de verifier les Dates;" to Le Long's "Bibliothéque Historique de France," of which it is impossible to speak too highly, since it is almost as useful to the student in English as in French history; to "Morice's Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de Bretagne, avec les preuves;" to Roquefort's "Glossaire de la Langue Romaine;" to "Pere Anselm's Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la maison royale de France;" to Willemin's "Monumens Français inedits;" or to numerous others of scarcely less research and importance, many of which were the productions of monks or priests. Unanswerable as these proofs are of the superiority of the French, nothing is more common than to hear even tolerably well-informed persons speak of the "frivolity" of that nation, and of the "laziness and ignorance of monks and priests." It would be invidious to contrast the merits of contemporaries; but though we boast of our Lingard, who, it must be remembered, is himself a catholic priest, of Mr. Sharon Turner, and of one or two others whose reputations stand high in England, no one can be ignorant of the sagacity and learning of Sismondi, Thierry, De Barente, and Guizot.

Of the value of Rymer's labours there cannot be two opinions; and his work does something to redeem the reproach against England, that so little has been done for her history. Instead of considering the publications of the Record Commission as indicative of an improved taste on the subject, we contend that great part of the volumes thus published at the expense of the nation are in the highest degree reproachful to it, and that even the new edition of the "Fœdera" is in many places far more incorrect than the old; that some of the errors have been reprinted; and that the new matter is not one tenth part so extensive as it ought to have been.

The opinion here expressed is the result of much consideration on the comparative taste for historical literature, and on the publications which have appeared on history and antiquities in England and France; and perhaps no better opportunity could have occurred for stating them, than in a notice of a volume so indicative of the interest which now prevails in that country for every thing of an authentic nature connected with its history, and which is printed under the auspices of the "ministre au département de l'interieur." How far we owe its appearance to the circumstance of the event which it describes, flattering the national pride, we are not disposed to inquire. It is sufficient for our argument that any cause renders such a manuscript popular; for we do not believe that if contemporary poems, celebrating the prowess of our forefathers at Cressy, Poictiers, or Agincourt, were to be discovered, one hundred copies would be sold in England.

" Le Combat de Trente" is a contemporary poem in French, of above five hundred lines, descriptive of the following event. Early in 1351 Thomas, Baron Dagworth, the husband of Eleanor, Countess of Ormond, first cousin of Edward the Third, one of the most distinguished soldiers of his times, was killed whilst commanding the castle of Auray, in Brittany. Sir Robert Bembrough, on whom Dagworth's command devolved, proceeded to Ploermel, and revenged his death by ravaging the country and ill-treating the peasantry, in violation of a promise made by Dagworth that their property and persons should be respected. This conduct so disgusted Sir John de Beaumanoir, a celebrated knight of Brittany, that he repaired to Ploermel to demand redress for, and a discontinuance of, the abuses. The interview between Bembrough and Beaumanoir was so unsatisfactory to the latter, from the haughty and insulting tone in which Bembrough replied to his remonstrances, that he proposed to try their respective prowess in what Froissart terms " un moult hault fait d'armes," to be fought by themselves in person, with sixty, eighty, or a hundred of their companions. Bembrough willingly acceded to the proposition; and it was resolved that the number of combatants on each side should be thirty, and that they should fight on horseback; and a meadow, half way between Ploermel and Josselin, called, from a large oak which stood in it, " Le chesne de mi voie," was fixed on as the place where the combat should take place. From the reliance which we repose in the veracity of the poet's narrative, we shall allow him to describe the affair; but as some of our readers may find it difficult to comprehend the old Norman French in which it is written, the modern version which is appended to it will be given in the notes.

The Poem opens with the following address:

" Seigneurs, or faites paix, chl'rs et barons,
Bannerois, bachelers et trestoux nobles hons,
Euesques et abbes, gens de religions,
Heraulx, menestreelx, et tous bons compaignons,
Gentilz hons et bourgois de toutes nacions,
Escoutez cest roumant que dire vous voulons.
Listoire en est vraie, et les dix en sont bons,
Cõment xxx Engloiz hardix cõme lions
Combatirent un jour contre xxx Bretons,
Et pource jen vueil dire le vray et les raisons,
Sy sesbatront souuent gentilz hons et clarions
De cy jusqua cent ans pour vray en leurs maisons.

Bons dix quant ilz sont bons et de bonne centence,
Toux gens be bien, donneur et de grant sapience
Pour ouir et escouter y maitent leur entente;
Mais faillis et jaloux sy ny veulent entendre.
Or en wueil cõmenchier et raison en wueil rendre

De la noble bataille que on a dit dez xxx ;
Sy pri a celluy Dieu qui sa char laissa vendre,
Quil ait mercy des armes quer le plus sunt en cendre[1]."

The death of Lord Dagworth, the conduct of Sir Robert Bembrough, and the interview between the latter and De Beaumanoir, are then noticed ; and we are thus informed of the manner in which Beaumanoir announced to his companions the result of his conference with Bembrough, and of the names of the individuals selected by the leader of each party :

" Seigneurs, dit Beaumaner, sachiez sans doubtance
Quentre Bomcbourc et moy auon fait acordance
A trente compaingnons, chacun de grant puissance.
Sy feroit bon choisir qui bien ferroit de lance,
Et de hache, et despee, et de dague pesante :
Sy pry le Roy de gloire, le Dieu de sapience,
Quaions lauantage, ne seron en doubtance,
Ases em parlera on en roiaulme de France,
Et par toutes lez terres de cy jusqua Plaisance.
Beaumaner, out dit les nobilles barons,
Et la cheualerie, seruans et escuiers
Dient a Biaumaner, nous y yron volentiers
Pour destruire Bomcbourc et tous sez soudoiers.
Il naura ja de nous ne ranchon ne deniers,
Car nous sommes hardix et vaillans et entiers ;
Nous ferron sur Engloiz de moult grans coux planiers.
Prenes quil vous plaira, tres nobile baron.
Je pren Tintiulac, a Dieu soit beneichon,
Et Guy de Rochefort, et Charuel le bon ;
Guill'e de la Marche sera mon compaignon,
Et Robin Raguenel et non de Saint Non ;
Caron de Boscdegas que oublier ne doit on ;
Messire Guiffrai de Bones qui est de grant renon,
Et Oliuier Arel qui est hardy Breton ;
Messire Jehan Rousselot qui a coeur de lion.
Se a eulx ne se deffendent de Bomcbourc le felon,
Jamais je nauray joie par mon entēcion.

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[1] " Seigneurs, Chevaliers et Barons, Bannerets, Bacheliers, et vous tous, nobles hommes, prêtez attention ! Evêques, Abbés, Religieux, Hérauts, Ménestrels, et tous les braves gens ; Gentilshommes et Bourgeois de tous les pays, écoutez notre récit ! Nous vous dirons comment un jour trente Anglois, hardis comme des lions, combattirent contre trente Bretons ; et comme je rapporterai fidèlement toutes les circonstances de ce combat, dans cent ans encore il sera le sujet des entretiens des gentilshommes et des gens instruits, qui s'en réjouiront dans leurs foyers.

" Tous les hommes de bien, d'honneur et de grande sagesse se plaisent beaucoup aux récits qui offrent de bons préceptes et de bons exemples ; mais les envieux, les gens sans foi et sans honneur, n'en sont nullement touché. Or, je veux commencer, et entrer dans l'explication de la noble Bataille qu'on a appelée des *Trente*, priant notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ d'avoir miséricorde des âmes des combattans, car le plus grand nombre est en poussière."

XUM

Apres cõuient choisir moult tres noble escuier:
De Montauban Guillẽ prendray tout le premier,
Et de Tintiulac Alain qui tant est fier,
Pinctinien Tritran qui tant fait aproisier,
Alain de Carramois et son oncle Olivier,
Lors Guion y vendra ferir dun branc dachier,
Luy et le Fonstenois pour leurs corps essoier.
Hanguet Capus le sage ne doit on oublier,

Et Guiffrai de Roche sera fait ceualier
De Brice son bon pere qui ala guerroier
Jusques en Costentinnoble pour grant honneur gaigner.
Se ceulx ne se deffendent de Bourcbourc le merchier
Qui chaillenge Bretainge, Dieu luy dont encõbrier!
Jamais ils ne deuroient chaindre de branc dachier.

Choisy a Beaumanoir ainsy com vous ay dit,
Guiffrai Poulart, Morisce de Trisquidy,
Et Guion du Porcblant ne mestroy en oubly,
Et Morisce du Part, un escuier hardy,
Et Guiffray de Beaucorps qui est moult son amy,
Et celuy de Lenlop Guiffray Mellon aussy.
Tous ceulx que il appele luy en rendent mercy;
Ils sunt tous apũt, ils senclinent vers luy.

Apres print Beaumanoir, cest chose sans doubtance,
Jehñot Desserant, Guill'e de la Lande,
Oliuier Mouteuile, hõme de grant puissance,
Et Symonnet Pachart pas ni fera faillance;
Toux y metront leurs coeurs et leurs corps em balance,
Et tant sunt assembles sans nulle demourance.
Dieu lez veueille garder de male pestilence!

Or a choisy Beaumanoir tout son nombre
De xxx bons Brestons, or les gart Dieu de honte,
Et a leurs anemis auoit Dieu tele encõtre
Quilz soient desconfis voiant de tout le monde.

Mons Robert Bomcbourc a choysy daultre part
A xxx cõpaingnons dont il auoit grant tart.
Je vous dyray leurs nons par le corps Saint Benart.
Ly un sy fu Cauolez, Carualay et Crucart,
Messire Jehan Plansanton, Ridele le gaillart,
Helecoq son frere et Jennequin Taillart,
Rippefort le vaillant, et dilande Richart;
Tommelin Belifort qui moult sust du renart:
Cil combatoit dun mail qui pesoit bien le quart
De cent liures dachier, se Dieu ait en moy part.
Huceton Clemenbean conbatoit dun fauchart
Qui tailloit dun coste, crochu fu daultre part,
Deuant fu amoure trop plus que nest un dart.
Il poursembloit lez armes jadix roy Agappart
Quant combaty de lance encontre Renouart:
Cil quil ataint a coup lame du corps lui part.

Jennequin Betoncamp, Renequin Herouart
Et Gaule Lalmant, Huebnie le Vilart,
Renequin mareschal. Sy mouru celle part,
Thommelin Houalton, Robinet Melipart,
Isauay le hardy, Helichon le musart,
Troussel Robin Ades et Dango le couart,
Et le nepueu Dagorne, fier fu com un liespart,
Et quatre Brebenchons par le corps Saint Godart,
Perrot de Commelain, Guillemin le gaillart,
Et Ruoutet dAspremont, Dardaine fu le quart.
Bretons descõfiront, ce dient par leur art,
Et cõquerrõt Bretaingne jusquaupres de Dinart.
Mais de fole vantance est maint tenu musart

Or a Robert Bomcbourc choysy ses compaignons,
Trente furent par nombre, et de trois nations:
Car xx Englois y oust hardis cõme lions,
Et vj bons Alemans et quatre Brebenchons.
Armez furent de plates, bacines, hauberions,
Espees ourent et daguez et lancez et fauchons;
Et Englois jurent Dieu qui souffri passions,
Beaumanoir sera mort, le gentilz et li hons.
Mais ly preux et ly sages fist ses devocions,
Et faisoit dire messes par grant oblacions
Que Dieu leur soit en aide par sez saintismes nons[1]."

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[1] " 'Seigneurs,' dit Beaumanoir, 'apprenez que, Bembrough et moi, nous sommes convenus des choisir trente guerriers de plus valeureux et des plus habiles à manier la lance, la hache et la dague pesante. Prions le Roi de Gloire, le Dieu de Sagesse, de nous donner l'avantage; nous serons certains du succès. Le bruit s'en répandra par tout le royaume de France et dans tous les pays, d'ici jusqu'à Plaisance.' Les nobles Barons, ainsi que les Chevaliers, Ecuyers et Soldats, répondent à Beaumanoir: 'Nous irons volontiers pour abattre Bembrough et tous ses soldats, et jamais il n'aura de nous ni rançon ni deniers; car nous sommes hardis, vaillans et opiniâtres, et nous frapperons sur les Anglois à grands coups bien appliqués. Prenez ceux qu'il vous plaira, très noble Baron.'—'Je prends Tintenïac; Dieu soit bénî! et Guy de Rochefort, et Charruel-le-Bon, Guillaume de la Marche, et Robin Raguenel, Huon de Saint-Yvon, Care de Bodegat, que je ne dois pas oublier; messire Geoffry du Bois, de grand renom, et Olivier Arrel, qui est hardi Breton; messire Jean Rousselot, au cœur de lion. Si ceux-là ne se défendent vaillamment contre le félon Bembrough, je serai bien trompé dans mon attente.

" 'Il faut maintenant choisir les plus nobles écuyers, et je prendrai tout le premier Guillaume de Montauban, et Alain de Tinteniac, qui est si brave; et Tristan de Pestivien, si digne d'estime; Alain de Keranrais et son oncle Olivier; Louis Goyon y viendra frapper de sa redoutable épée, ainsi que Fontenay, pour essayer leurs forces; Hugues Capus-le-Sage ne peut être oublié, et Geoffroy de la Roche sera fait chevalier, lui dont Budes, le brave père, alla combattre jusqu'à Constantinople par amour de la gloire. Si de tels guerriers ne se défendent bien contre l'avide Bembrough qui dispute la Bretagne (Dieu fasse échouer ses desseins!), jamais ils ne devroient s'armer d'une épée.'

" Voilà ceux que Beaumanoir a choisis d'abord. Je n'oublierai pas Geoffroy Poulard, Maurice de Tréziguidi, et Guyon de Pontblanc, ni le brave écuyer Maurice du Parc, et son ami Geoffroy de Beaucorps, non plus que l'ami de Lenlop, Geoffroy Mellon. Tous ceux qu'il a appelés lui en rendent grâce; ils sont tous présens, et s'inclinent vers lui pour le remercier.

" Beaumanoir prit ensuite, et c'est chose certaine, Jean de Serent, Guillaume de La Lande, Olivier Monteville, homme d'une grande force, et Simon Richard, qui se comportera bien. Tous s'y conduiront avec autant de force que de courage. Ils se sont tous rassemblés aussitôt. Dieu les préserve de tous facheux accidens!

On the appointed day Beaumanoir called his companions around him, and obliged them to hear mass; after which they received absolution, and took the sacrament. Their leader then addressed them in a speech, exhorting them to perform their duty with courage: he reminded them, that if they were successful, the baronage of France would be delighted; that Charles de Blois, to whom he had sworn homage, and the Duchess of Brittany, to whom he was allied, would always esteem them; and added,

> " Et chascun jure Dieu qui hons fist ensimage
> Se nous trouuons Bomcbourc au plain hors du bocage,
> Jamais ne le verra homme de son lignage."

Bembrough, who is represented as having consulted the prophecies of Merlin, also encouraged his comrades by a speech, in which he assured them that he had examined his books, and that Merlin had promised him the victory; and concluded by suggesting, that such of their enemies as survived, and whatever lands they might conquer, should be placed at the disposal of King Edward:

> " Ainsy le dit Bombourc, cestoit tout son avis;
> Mais se il plaist a Dieu, le Roy de Paradis
> Pas ne vendra si tost a chief de ses devis."

The English arrived first on the field, and were speedily met by their opponents. Bembrough proposed that they should be friends, and postpone the combat to another time, so that each might send to his sovereign for his sanction of the affair.

" C'est ainsi que Beaumanoir a choisi les trente bons Bretons; Dieu les garde de déshonneur! Et puisse-t-il envoyer à leurs ennemis un tel désavantage qu'ils soient défaits aux yeux de tout le monde!

" Sire Robert Bembrough, de son côté, a eu beaucoup de peine à choisir trente combattans. Je vous dirai leurs noms, j'en atteste saint Bernard: c'étoient Knolles, Caverlay et Croquart, Jean Plesanton, Richard-le-Gaillard, Helcoq son frère, Jennequin-Taillard, Repefort-le-Vaillant, Richard de La Lande et le rusé Thommelin Bélifort, qui combattoit avec un maillet de fer qui pesoit bien vingt-cinq livres, je l'atteste. Hucheton de Clamaban combattoit avec un fauchart tranchant d'un côté, garni de crochets de l'autre, et plus aiguisé qu'un dard; il ressembloit au roi Agapart quand il combattit jadis avec la lance contre Renouart: tous ses coups sont mortels. Jennequin de Betonchamp, Hennequin Hérouart et Gaultier Lallemant, Hubinete Vitart, Hennequin-le-Maréchal, Thommelin Hualton, Robinet Mélipart, Isannay-le-Hardi, Hélichon-le-Musart, Troussel, Robin Adès et Rango-le-Couart, Dagorne le neveu, fier comme un léopard; et quatre Brabançons, j'en atteste saint Godard! Perrot de Gannelon, Guillemin-le-Gaillard, Boutet d'Aspremont et Dardaine. A les entendre, ils mettront en piéces les Bretons, et se rendront maîtres de la Bretagne jusqu'auprès de Dinan; mais un étourdi montre toujours une vaine jactance.

" Tels sont les combattans que Bembrough a choisis au nombre de trente, et de trois nations différentes; car il s'y trouve vingt Anglois, courageux comme des lions; six bons Allemands et quatre Brabançons; tous couverts de plates, de bacinets et de hauberjons, et armés d'épées, de dagues, de lances et de fauchons. Les Anglois jurent par Jésus-Christ que le noble et vaillant Beaumanoir sera exterminé; mais lui, preux et sage, fait de grandes dévotions, fait dire des messes, priant Dieu par tous ses saints noms qu'il leur soit en aide."

Beaumanoir communicated the proposition to his comrades, expressing, however, his desire that it might not be delayed. Charruel, than whom

" Ny oust meilleur de luy de chi la mer salee,"

having observed,

" Sire, nous sommes xxx venus en ceste pree,
Ny a celluy qui nait dague, lance et espee,
Tous praes de nous combatre en non saincte homouree
A Bomebourc, puis quil a la terre chalengiee
Au franc duc debonnaire, cil ait male duree
Qui jamais sen ira sans y ferir colee,
Ne qui la remuera pour prendre aultre journee.
Puis respont Beaumaner: ceste chose magree,
Alons a la bataille cõment ellest juree[1]."

Beaumanoir acquainted Bembrough with their resolution, who is stated to have replied, that it would be great folly in him to cause the death of the flower of their duchy by his obstinacy, for when they were destroyed, no others of equal merit could be found; but he was quickly assured, that *all* the distinguished knights of Brittany were not then present, and Lovel, Rochefort, and several others are mentioned, though it is true, he adds, that he is accompanied by noble knights and the flower of the esquires of that province,

" Qui ne daigneroient fuir ne a mort ne a vie,
Ne feroient traison, faulsete ne boudie.
Chacun jure Dieu le filz Sainte Marie
Que vous mourrois a honte voiant la cõpaignie,
Et vous et toux les vrez, quoique chacun en die,
Serois prins et liez ains loeure de cõplie[2]."

Bembrough replied,

" Je ne prise une aillie
Tretoute vre poste ne vre segneurie;
Car maugre vous ce jour je auray la maistrie,
Et cõquerroy Bretaigne et toute Normendie.
Bomebourc dit aux Englois: Seigneurs, Bretons ont tort:
Feres, frappez su eulx; mectes tout a la mort:
Gardes que rien ni eschappe ne flebe ne fort[3]."

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1 " 'Sire, nous sommes venus trente en ce lieu; nous avons tous dague, lance, et épée; nous sommes tous prêts à combattre Bembrough, de par saint Honoré, puisqu'il dispute le pays au bon et brave Duc. Périsse bientôt celui qui voudroit quitter sans en être venu 'aux mains, ou qui voudroit ajourner le combat!'—'Je le veux bien, répond Beaumanoir;' allons à la bataille ainsi qu'elle a été jurée.'"

2 " 'Qui ne daigneroient pas fuir pour sauver leur vie, et qui sont incapables de trahison, de fausseté et de perfidie. Ils jurent tous, par le fils de sainte Marie, que vous mourrez ignominieusement à leur aspect, et que vous et tous les vôtres, quoi que vous en disiez, serez pris et garottés avant l'heure de Complies.'"

3 " 'Toute vôtre puissance et vos chevaliers, je les prise moins qu'une gousse d'ail;

The battle then commenced with great fury. The first assault was terrible, and ended in favour of the English. Charruel was taken; Mellon killed; Tristran who was "grant et fort," received a severe hurt; Caro de Bodegat was stunned by blows from mallets; Sir Jean Rousselot was grievously wounded; and

" Se Jhūcrist n'en pense qui tout maine a droit
Les Bretons ont du piis vers eulx; je m'en fais fort[1]."

Tristan, being dangerously wounded, valiantly exclaimed,

" Beaumanoir, ou es tu;
Lez Englois sy men mainent blechie et derompu;
Je nus onquez paour le jour que tay veu,
Se le vray Dieu nen pense par sa sainte vertu,
Englois sy menmerront et vous maurois perdu[2]."

Beaumanoir swore, that before this happened, there should be many hard blows borne, many a lance broken, and many a shield pierced; and at these words,

" tient le biau branc esmoulu,
Cil quil ataint a coup est mort ou abatu.
Lez Englois radement se deffendent de lu,
Trestoute sa poste ne prisent un festu.
Forte fu la bataille et le chapple felon,
Et dun coste et daultre urent coeur de lion[3]."

Both sides at this period agreed to a momentary suspension of arms, in order that they might refresh themselves with the good wine of Anjou, a bottle of which each had brought with him. The battle was then vigorously renewed, and the Bretons had the worst of it, two having been killed, and three made prisoners. At that moment Geffrey de la Roche, a noble esquire, of very ancient family, demanded the honour of knighthood, and he was dubbed by Beaumanoir, who exhorted him not to spare himself, but to remember the deeds of his ancestors at Constantinople, in which case the English would pay for his knighthood before the hour of complies. Bembrough, who overheard him, summoned

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car ce jour même, et malgré vous, j'aurai tout pouvoir, et je me rendrai maître de la Bretagne et de toute la Normandie.' Puis, s'adressant aux Anglois: 'Seigneurs, les Bretons ont tort; frappez sur eux; mettez-les tous à mort: gardez qu'aucun n'échappe, ni foibles ni forts.'"

[1] " Les Bretons, il est trop vrai, ont le dessous, si Jésus-Christ, par qui tout réussit, ne les protége."

[2] "'Beaumanoir, où es-tu? voilà les Anglois qui m'entraînent, blessé et meurtri! Je n'ai jamais eu de crainte quand je me suis trouvé avec toi. Si le vrai Dieu ne me secourt par sa puissance, les Anglois m'emmeneront, et vous m'aurez perdu.'"

[3] " Il lève sa grande épée tranchante: chacun de ceux qu'il atteint est mort ou renversé. Les Anglois lui résistent avec vigueur, et méprisent ses efforts. Le combat est violent et meurtrier, et des deux côtés les combattans montrent cœur de lion."

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him to surrender, tauntingly adding, that he would not kill him, but would make him a present to his mistress:

> " Je feray de toy un present a mamie,
> Car je luy ay promis, ne luy mentiray mie,
> Quaujourduy te mectray en sa chambre jolie[1]."

Beaumanoir replied with equal confidence, and Alan de Carromais reproached Bembrough for his presumption, adding,

> " Le mien corps te deffie au jourduy de par lu,
> Mointenant te ferray de mon glayue esmoulu[2],"

and instantly struck him so violently on the face with his lance, that the point entered his brain. As soon as Bembrough fell, Carromais drew his sword, with the intention of dispatching him. Bembrough, however, raised himself, and advanced towards his assailant; but Sir Geoffrey du Bois, who recognised him, immediately struck him with his lance, and he fell dead to the ground. Du Bois then exclaimed, "Beaumanoir, where are you? you are now revenged—he is dead." He replied, "Now, then, is the moment to renew the fight with ardour. For God's sake leave him, and join the others." The death of their leader proved fatal to the English, notwithstanding the effort of the German, Croquart, to animate their courage, who is said to have exclaimed,

> " Seigneurs, saichies de vray en fine veritez,
> Failly nous a Bomcbourc qui cy nous a amenez;
> Toux les livrez Meslin que il a tant amez,
> Ne luy ont pas valu deulx deniers monnoies;
> Il gist gueule bee, mort et enuerses.
> Je vous pry, beaulx seigneurs, feëz com gens membres;
>
> Tenez vous lun a lautre estroitement serres;
> Cil qui vendra sur vous soit mort ou affoles;
> Dieu tant est Beaumanoir marry et courouchies;
> Silz ne sunt departis a honte et a vieultez[3]."

By the death of Bembrough his three prisoners are said to

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[1] "'Je te donnerai en présent à ma mie; car je lui ai promis, et je ne mentirai point, qu'aujourd'hui je t'amenerois devant elle.'"

[2] "'C'est moi qui te défie aujourd'hui en son nom, et qui te frapperai de mon glaive tranchant.'"

[3] "'Seigneurs, il est trop vrai, Bembrough, qui nous a conduits ici, vient de succomber. Tous les livres de Merlin, qu'il aimoit tant à consulter, ne lui ont pas valu deux deniers; il git bouche béante, renversé mort. Je vous en prie, beaux Seigneurs, comportez-vous en hommes de cœur. Tenez-vous étroitement serrés l'un contre l'autre, et que quiconque vous approchera tombe mort ou blessé. Dieu! combien Beaumanoir sera mécontent et courroucé si ses ennemis ne sont pas réservés à la honte et au mépris!'"

have obtained their liberty: a fact which is worthy of attention, because it tends to show, that by the rules of war in the fourteenth century, a prisoner became wholly emancipated on the death of his captor. Seizing their swords, they joined their countrymen in the fray; and the poem thus proceeds:

" Apres la mort Bomcbourc le hardy combatant
Fu grande la bataille et ly estour pesant,
Et le chapple orible et merueilleux et grant.
Apres demoura dam Crucart lalemant,
Et Thomas Belifort y fu cõme gueant;
Cil combatoit dun mail dachier qui fu pesant,
Et Hue de Carualay sy en faisoit autant.
Messire Robert Canole, qui fu mal engingnant,
Et toux leurs compaignons et chacũ ensuiant,
Alemans et Englois se vont toux effroiant,
Et dient: Venions Bomcbourc n're loial amant;
Metton toux a la mort, nalon riens espargnant:
La journee sera n're ains le soleil couchant.
Mais Beaumanoir le noble leur fu au vis deuant,
Lui et ses compaignons que il parama tant.
La cõmencha un chapple moult cruel et moult dolent,
Que un quart de lieue entour en va retentissant
Des coups qui sentredonnent sur leurs testes moult grant.
La mourru deus Englois et un bon Alemant,
Et Dardaine da derains ly conuett soudoiant
Fu mort et abatu ens en pre verdoiant.
Aussy Guiffroy Poulart gesoit trestout dormant,
Et Beaumanoir blechie, le hardy combatant;
Se Jheũcrist nen pense le pere toutpuissant,
Et dun coste et daultre nul nen est eschapant.

Grande fu la bataille et longement dura,
Et le chapple orrible et decha et de la[1]."

The writer chooses this part of his narrative to inform his readers of the precise day on which the combat took place. It was, he says, in the year 1355, on Saturday, when the sun shone bright,

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[1] " Après la mort du vaillant Bembrough, la bataille recommença avec fureur; le choc fut terrible, et le carnage épouvantable. Restoit alors maître Croquart l'allemand, et Thommelin Bélifort, qui sembloit un géant, et qui combattoit avec un lourd maillet d'acier, ainsi que Hue de Caverlay; le rusé messire Robert Knolles, et tous ses compagnons, Allemands et Anglois, pleins de courroux, s'excitent mutuellement par ces paroles: ' Vengeons Bembrough, notre loyal ami; qu'ils périssent tous; pas de grâce pour un seul: la victoire sera à nous avant le soleil couchant.'

" Mais le noble Beaumanoir marche droit à eux avec ses compagnons qu'il chérit tant. Alors recommence un combat si cruel et si acharné, que le bruit des coups qu'ils s'entredonnent sur leurs têtes retentit à un quart de lieue dans la plaine. Déjà deux Anglois et un brave Allemand sont morts; et Dardaine, le dernier désigné des combattans, a été renversé mort sur le pré; ainsi que Geoffroy Poulard, qui dort étendu mort comme les autres. Le vaillant Beaumanoir est blessé; et si Jésus-Christ, le Père Tout-Puissant, ne prend pitié d'eux, il n'en réchappera pas un seul d'un côté ni de l'autre.

" Le combat fut long et opiniâtre, et des deux côtés le carnage horrible."

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before the Sunday on which the church sings *Lætare Jerusalem*[1]; and which, not only the editor of the volume, but the person who wrote the inscription on the monument lately erected to commemorate the event, and to which we shall again allude, considers to be the twenty-*seventh* of March, 1351; whereas it, in fact, occurred on the day before, namely, Saturday, the twenty-*sixth*. An anecdote illustrative of the savage ferocity with which the combatants fought, is related of Du Bois, who, on hearing Beaumanoir express a wish to quench his thirst, cried out,

" Bois ton sanc, Beaumanoir, la soif te passera;
Ce jour aron honneur, chacun sy gaignera
Vaillante renoumee, ja blasmee ne sera.
Beaumanoir le vaillant adonc sesuertua,
Tel deul oust et tel yre que la soif luy passa:
Et dun coste et daultre le chapple cõmensa;
Mors furent ou blechiez, gaieres nen eschappa[2]."

A digression then occurs to state precisely where the affair happened. The account of the fate of several of the English, and the result of the combat, which concludes the poem, shall be related by the writer himself.

" Forte fu la bataille et le chapple mortel,
My voie de Josselin et du chasteau da Pelmel,
Dedens un moult beau pre seant sur un ceuel,
Le chesne den my voie, ainsi est son appel,
Le lonc dun genestay qui estoit vert et bel.
La furent les Englois tretoux en un moncel,
Carualay le vaillant, le hardy jouencel,
Et Thoumas Belifort combatoit dun martel;
Cil quil ataint a coup dessus son hasterel,
Jamais ne mengera de miche ne de gastel.
Beaumanoir les regarde, a qui point nen fu bel,
Moult grant deul a de voir deuant lui tel jouel,
Forment fu desconforte, or luy aist Saint Michiel.
Messire Guiffroy de Bouez, qui fu fort et ysnel,
Noblement le conforte com gentil demoisel,
Et dit: Gentil baron, voiez cy Charuel,
Tintiulat le bon et Robin Raguenel,
Guill'e de la Marche et Oliuier Arel,
Et Gui de Rochefort, voiez son pennoncel,
Ny a cellui qui nait lance, espee et coutel:
Toux pres sunt deulx combatre com gentil joencel;
Encore feront eulx aux Englois doeul nouuel.

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[1] Mid-lent Sunday, which, in 1351, fell on the 27th of March.

[2] "'Bois ton sang, Beaumanoir, ta soif se passera. L'honneur de cette journée nous restera; chacun y gagnera vaillante renommée dont le souvenir ne s'effacera jamais.' Le vaillant Beaumanoir, ranimé par ces paroles, reprit vigueur, et il étoit tellement irrité par la colère et par la perte de ses compagnons, qu'il oublia sa soif. De part et d'autre l'attaque recommença; presque tous furent tués ou blessés."

Grande fu la bataille, jamais tele norres ;
Forment se contenoient les Englois aliez ;
Hõme nentre sur eulx ne soit mort ou blechiez ;
Toux sont en un moncel com si fussent liez.
De Montauban Guill'e, le preux et laloses,
De lestour est yssu et lez a regardez ;
Grant courage lui print, le coeur lui est enflez,
Et jure Jhũcrist qui en crois fu penes,
Sil fust sur un cheual bien monte a son grés,
Tretoux les departist a honte et a vieultez.
Bons esperons trenchans lors caucha en ses piez,
Monta sur un cheual qui fu de grante fiertez,
Et lors print une lance dont le fer fu carrez,
Semblant fist de fuir ly escuier membrez.
Beaumanoir le regarde, puis la aroisonnez,
Et dyt : Amy Guill'e, quest ce que vous penses ;
Cõme faulx et mauuais comant vous en alles :
A vous et a vos hoirez vous sera repreuchiez.
Quant Guill'e lentent, un ris en a gestez,
A haulte vois parla que bien fu escoutez :
Besoingniez, Beaumanoir, franc chl'r membrez,
Car bien besoingneray, ce sont toux mes penses.
Lors broche le cheual par flans et par costés
Que le sanc tout vermeil en chay sur les pres ;
Par lez Englois se boute, sept en a trebuchiez ;
Au retour en a trois soubz lui agrauentes,
A ce coup lez Englois furent espapillies,
Toux perdirent lez coeurs, cest fine verites.
Qui veult y a choisy, prins et serementez ;
Montauban hault parla quant lez a regardes,
Montjoie sescria ; barons, or y ferez,
Essoies vous tretoux, frans chl'rs menbrez.
Tintiniat le bon, le preux et laloses,
Et Gui de Rochefort, Charuel lamornez,
Tretoux nous cõpaignons, que Dieu croisse bontez,
Vengiez vous dez Englois tous a vous volentez.

Grande fu la bataille et li estour planier,
Tintiniat le bon estoit tout le premier,
Celluy de Beaumanoir que len doibt renõmer,
Que toux jours pour ce fait orraon de lui parler,
Dez Englois ont eu la force et lez poostez ;
Ly un sunt fiancie, ly aultre prisounier.
Canole et Carualay sy sunt en grant dangier,
Et Thoumas Belifort ny oust que courouchier ;
Et toux leurs cõpaignons, sans point de la targier,
Par lemprise Bomebourc qui estoit fort et fier,
Messire Jehan Plansantõ, Ridele le guerrier,
Hellecoq son frere ne fait a oublier,
Rippefort le vaillant et Dillande le fier,
Au chasteau Josselin sunt menes sans targier.

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Et pour ceste bataille orrois souuent parler,
Car len soit lez bieulx dis et tout par roumande,
Ly uns par l're escripte ou painte en tappichies,
Par trestoux les roiaulmes qui sunt de chi la mer ;
Et sen vouldront esbatre maint gentil cheualier,
Et mainte noble dame qui moult a le vis cler,
Cõment len soit dArtus et de Charles le bers,
De Guill'e au cornair Roulant et Oliuier,
De cy a trois cens ans en vouldront roumander
De la bataille des xxx qui fu fete sans per.

Grande fu la bataille, certez nen doubtez mie ;
Englois sunt desconfis qui vouldrent par enuie
Auoir sur lez Bretons poste et seigneurie ;
Mais tretout leur orgueil tourna en grant folie.
Si pry a cellui Dieu qui nasqui de Marie
Pour toux ceulx qui furent en celle compaignie,
Soient Bretons ou Englois, partout Dieu en deprie,
Au jour du jugement que dampnez ne soient mie,
Saint Michiel, Gabriel, ce jour leur soit en aie,
Or en dites amen tretoux que Dieu loctroie.

" Cy fine la bataille de xxx Englois et de xxx Bretons qui fu faite em Bretaigne l'an de grace mil trois cens cinquante le Semmedi deuant letare Jherusalem [1]."

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[1] " Le combat fut terrible et meurtrier à mi-voie de Josselin et du château de Ploërmel, dans une très belle prairie en pente, au lieu dit le *Chêne de mi-voie*, le long de beaux et verts buissons de genêts. C'est là que tous les Anglois sont réunis et étroitement serrés; le vaillant Caverlay, jeune et hardi jouvencel, et Thommelin Bélifort, qui combattoit avec un maillet : qui en est frappé sur le col ne mangera ni pain ni gâteau. Beaumanoir ne les voit pas sans inquiétude, et ne juge pas sans déplaisir ce que leur contenance a de redoutable. Il étoit grandement déconforté, si saint Michel ne fût venu à son aide. Sire Geoffroy Du Bois, fort et dispos, le ranime noblement, en vrai gentilhomme, et lui dit : ' Gentil Baron, voyez ici Charruel, le bon Tinteniac et Robin Raguenel, Guillaume de La Marche et Olivier Arel ; voyez le pennoncel de Gui de Rochefort : il n'en est aucun qui n'ait lance, épée, poignard. Ils sont tous prêts à combattre comme braves gentilshommes, et ils feront encore nouveau deuil aux Anglois.'

" La bataille fut terrible ; jamais vous n'en entendrez raconter de pareille. Les Anglois se tenoient fortement serrés ; et chaque guerrier qui les attaque tombe mort ou blessé : ils se tiennent tous comme s'ils étoient liés en un faisceau. Le preux et renommé Guillaume de Montauban s'est retiré du combat après avoir jugé leur position ; il sent son cœur animé d'un grand courage, et jure par Jésus-Christ, qui souffrit sur la croix, que s'il étoit monté sur un bon cheval tel qu'il le désire, la bataille tourneroit à la honte et à la confusion des Anglois. Lors il chausse de bons éperons, monte un cheval plein d'ardeur, et prend une lance à fer carré. Le vaillant écuyer fait semblant de fuir. Beaumanoir, qui le regarde, lui crie : ' Ami Guillaume, à quoi pensez-vous ? Comment fuyez-vous comme un faux et mauvais écuyer ? Il vous sera reproché à vous et à votre race.' Ces paroles font sourire Montauban, qui lui répond à haute voix : ' Besognez, franc et vaillant chevalier, car de mon côté j'ai l'intention de bien besogner.' Lors il pique les flancs de son cheval avec une telle force, que le sang tout vermeil ruisselle sur la terre. Il pousse au travers des Anglois, en reverse sept du premier choc, et trois sous ses pieds au retour. A ce coup les Anglois furent rompus ; tous perdirent courage, c'est certain ; chaque Breton fait à son gré son prisonnier et reçoit sa parole. Montauban s'écrie en les regardant : ' Montjoie, Barons ! frappez, essayez-vous tous, francs et renommés chevaliers ; et vous, Tinteniac, bon et preux chevalier, et Guy de Rochefort, et

Thus it appears, that the Bretons became victorious in consequence of a stratagem; and the desire to celebrate the success of the conquerors induced one of their countrymen to compose the work before us. As a poem, its merits are not great, though it is, at least, equal to many similar productions of the period. Its chief merit, therefore, is in an historical point of view; and it undoubtedly presents the most minute account of a transaction highly illustrative of the manners of the times, and of interest to all who are pleased with authentic relations of deeds of arms. If the writer may be believed, few quarrels have arisen from better motives than those which produced Beaumanoir's challenge; and though there is a manifest difference in the manner in which the prowess of the two parties is described, the poet can scarcely be accused of partiality, for he frankly admits the bravery, and, in the first instance, the success of the English. Froissart is, we believe, the only contemporary chronicler who notices this affair; and his narrative, which does not occur in any other edition of his Chronicles than that lately printed by Monsr Buchon, is properly inserted. His account of the combat, which, he says, he gives as an example and encouragement to all bachelors, differs materially from the preceding as to the cause which produced it.

"Si avint un jour que messire Robert de Beaumanoir, vaillant chevalier durement et de plus grand lignage de Bretagne, et étoit chatelain d'un chatel qui s'appelle chatel Josselin, et avoit avec lui grand'foison de gens d'armes de son lignage et d'autres soudoyers; si s'en vint par devant la ville et le chatel de Plaremiel dont capitaine étoit un homme qui s'appeloit Brandebourg (Bembrough); et avoit avec lui grand'foison de soudoyers Allemands, Anglois et Bretons, et

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tous nos compagnons, que Dieu nous augmente ses bontés! Vengez-vous des Anglois comme vous le voudrez.'

"La bataille fut grande et la mêlée complète. Le bon Tinteniac, parmi les combattans de Beaumanoir, eut la plus grande gloire, et nous entendrons toujours parler de lui pour cette action. Les Anglois ont perdu la force et la puissance. Les uns sont prisonniers sur parole, et les autres emmenés. Knolles et Caverlay sont en grand danger, ainsi que Thommelin Bélifort, malgré son courroux; et de là, sans tarder, tous leurs compagnons, par suite de l'enterprise du courageux et fier Bembrough: Jean Plesanton, Raoul-le-Guerrier, Helcoq, son frère, qu'il ne faut pas oublier; le vaillant Repefort et le fier de La Lande, sont conduits aussitôt au château de Josselin. Vous entendrez souvent parler de cette bataille, car on en connoît tous les détails, soit par récit, soit par écrit, soit par représentations en tapisserie, dans tous les royaumes que borne la mer. Maint gentil Chevalier s'en voudra récréer, et aussi mainte noble dame renommée par sa beauté, comme l'on fait des actions d'Artus et du vaillant Charlemagne, de Guillaume au court nez, de Roland et d'Olivier; et dans trois cents ans encore on racontera l'histoire de la Bataille des Trente qui n'a pas sa pareille.

"La bataille fut grande, n'en doutez pas. Les Anglois, qui voulurent par envie avoir sur les Bretons puissance et seigneurie, sont abattus, et tout leur orgueil a tourné en grande folie. Prions Dieu, né de Marie, pour tous les combattans, soit Bretons, soit Anglois. Prions Dieu qu'ils ne soient pas damnés au jour du jugement; que saint Michel et saint Gabriel les protégent dans ce grand jour, et disons tous *amen* pour que Dieu leur accorde cette grâce.

"*Ici finit la Bataille de trente Anglois et de trente Bretons, qui eut lieu en Bretagne l'an de grâce mil trois cent cinquante, le samedi avant* Lætare Jerusalem."

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étoient de la partie de la comtesse de Montfort. Et coururent le dit messire Robert et ses gens par devant les barrières, et eut volontiers vu que de dedans fussent issus hors; mais nul n'en issit.

" Quand messire Robert vit ce, il approcha encore de plus près et fit appeler le capitaine. Cil vint avant à la porte parler audit messire Robert et sur asségurance d'une part et d'autre: ' Brandebourg,' dit messire Robert, ' a-t-il là dedans nul homme d'armes, vous ni autres, deux ou trois, qui voulussent joûter de fer de glaives contre autres trois pour l'amour de leurs amis.' Brandebourg répondit, et dit. ' Que leurs amis ne voudroient mie que ils se fissent tuer si méchamment que d'une seule joûte; car c'est une aventure de fortune trop tôt passée, si en acquiert-on plutôt le nom d'outrage et de folie que renommée d'honneur ni de prix; mais je vous dirai que nous ferons, si il vous plaît. Vous prendrez vingt ou trente de vos compagnons de votre garnison, et j'en prendrai autant de la nôtre. Si allons en un bel champ, là où nul ne nous puisse empêcher ni destourber, et commandons, sur la hart, à nos compagnons d'une part et d'autre, et à tous ceux qui nous regarderont, que nul ne fasse à homme combattant confort ni aye; et là endroit nous éprouvons et faisons tant que on en parle au temps avenir en salles, en palais, en places et en autres lieux par le monde; et en aient la fortune et l'honneur cils à qui Dieu l'aura destiné.'

—" ' Par ma foi,' dit messire Robert de Beaumanoir, ' je my accorde; et moult parlez ore vassament. Or soyez vous trente, et nous serons nous trente aussi, et le créante ainsi par ma foi.'—' Aussi le créanté-je,' dit Brandebourg, ' car là acquerra plus d'honneur, qui bien s'y maintiendra, que à une joûte.'"

In other points Froissart's narrative generally agrees with that of the poet, though it is much less circumstantial and interesting. He adds, that the English prisoners were taken to the castle of Josselin; that every one of the combatants on each side was wounded; that he had seen at the table of King Charles of France a knight of Brittany, who was there, named Yewains Charruel, whose face was so disfigured that he bore ample proof that the affair was well fought, and also Messire Enguerrant Duedins, a good knight of Picardy, who evidently showed that he was present, and an esquire, called Hugh de Raincevaus; but neither Duedins nor Raincevaus are mentioned in the poem.

The most remarkable part of Froissart's statement is, however, the conclusion:

" Si fut en plusieurs lieux cette avenue contée et recordée. Les aucuns la tenoient a pauvreté et les aucuns à outrage et grand'outrecuidance;"

which means, we are informed in a note, that, according to some, the combat was unimportant, whilst others considered it an extraordinary event, and one of great hardihood or temerity. It is evident, for these extracts contain all which occur, that the poem is not so rich as might be expected in facts of interest to *antiquaries*, who in England are unfortunately as distinct from those

who pursue the study of antiquities merely because it illustrates history, as the maker of a watch-spring is from the person who uses the chronometer, in which it is placed, for scientific objects. The MS. in which the copy of the poem printed in this volume occurs, is preserved in the Bibliothéque du Roi; but it was before printed by the Chevalier de Freminville in 1813, from a MS. written in 1470, and now in the library of Rennes: the former is, however, proved by the present editor to be the most valuable. A fac-simile of it is given, together with a catalogue of its contents, and short extracts from some of the other pieces. As the frontispiece, a view is introduced of the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of a monument in commemoration of the "Combat de Trente;" and at the end are lithographed plates of the arms of "the Thirty" Bretons.

Nearly forty pages are occupied with an account of the monuments which have been erected in honour of the affair. The first was a small cross, called the "Croix de la Bataille des Trente," which, according to tradition, was erected on the spot where the famous oak, called the "Chêne de mi-voie," spoken of in the poem, formerly stood. It fell, from age, about two hundred years ago, and the cross, which supplied its place, fell in 1775. The commissary of the estates of Brittany was then charged to erect another, which was done in 1776, at the enormous expense of one guinea! It bore the following inscription:

A LA MEMOIRE PERPETVELLE
DE LA BATAILLE DES TRANTE
QVE MGr LE MARESCHAL DE BEAVMANOIR
A GAGNEE EN CE LIEV L'AN 1350.

Early in the revolution the cross was thrown down and destroyed, and it was not until 1811 that an effort was made to place another monument there in commemoration of the event. In that year the council of the arrondissement of Ploermel addressed the council-general of the department on the subject, who, approving of the proposition, entreated the minister of the interior to authorise the application of two thousand four hundred francs to that object, which sum the council had voted to it. But notwithstanding that the council-general expressed the same wish in 1814, 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1819, it was not until the latter year that it was carried into execution; and the 19th of July was at last fixed for laying the foundation-stone. The account of the monument, and the inscription placed on it, is thus given:

"C'est un obélisque d'un mètre soixante centimètres (4 pieds 9 pouces) à la base, d'un mètre au sommet (3 pieds 1 pouce), et de quinze mètres (46 pieds) de hauteur, construit en granit par assises de

soixante centimètres (1 pied 8 pouces) de hauteur. Il est placé au centre d'une étoile plantée d'arbres, qui a environ soixante-dix toises de diamètre. La pierre qui porte l'inscription de l'ancien monument a été placée dans l'enceinte et auprès de l'obélisque, sur lequel on lit :

Au levant, du côté de Ploërmel.

SOUS LE RÉGNE DE LOUIS XVIII., ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, LE CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL DU DÉPARTEMENT DU MORBIHAN A ÉLEVE CE MONUMENT À LA GLOIRE DE XXX BRETONS.

Au couchant, du côté de Josselin.

LA MÊME INSCRIPTION EN LANGUE CELTIQUE.

Au midi.

LES NOMS DES TRENTE.

Au nord, du côté de la route de Paris à Lorient.

27 MARS, 1351.

The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was

" vraiment imposante, et par la réunion des fonctionnaires et des personnages les plus marquans du département, et par le concours de spectateurs réunis au nombre de plus de dix mille de toutes les parties de la Bretagne. On peut juger par la lecture du Procès-Verbal de cette cérémonie, avec quel enthousiasme les vrais Bretons ont salué ce jour de fête."

The Procès-Verbal is annexed, and fills nearly thirty pages; but we have no room for even an abridgment of it. Long speeches were made on the occasion by the Bishop of Vannes, the Count de Coutard, and the Count de Chazelles, filled with allusions to French glory, to the devotion of the nation to religion and the Bourbons, and the usual clap-traps of exuberant loyalty and patriotism, which, we are assured, were attended by deafening shouts of " Le Roi long-temps, les Bourbons toujours !" The Procès is signed by the most distinguished persons of both sexes who attended, and the names of those are added, " qui n'étoient pas présentes à la cérémonie, et qui ont *désiré* en signer le Procès-Verbal," as well as of those who subscribed to the expense of the monument. To every name which resembled one of those of the " Trente Bretons" a note is appended, stating, that the person is descended from him. How far these claims to the honour of descending from the heroes of the day are well founded we cannot take upon us to decide; but from the circumstance of the Marchioness de la Boëssière, née Du *Bois*, de la Feronière, being called a descendant of Geoffrey Du Bois, l'un des Trente[1], though in the account of that person[2] it is said that the editor had sought in vain to find out to which of the numerous families of Du Bois he belonged, it may be inferred, that there is no

[1] Page 92. [2] Page 108.

better guidance for the fact than the similarity of name. As we imagined that the genealogical theory of considering all persons of the same name descendants of the same ancestors had been invented by the senior secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and adopted only by his friend, disciple, and brother counsellor in that "learned body," in the last volume of the Archæologia, it is necessary that we should point out that there are others in the world who are equally well informed.

Applauding, as we most sincerely do, the feeling in which the volume before us originated, the beautiful manner in which it is printed, and the care which appears to have been taken to give a correct text, it is with much regret that we cannot extend our praise to any other part of the editor's labours. Of the modern version of the poem our readers have been enabled to judge for themselves; hence it is scarcely necessary for us to observe, that it does not always convey the poet's meaning; and though it may appear presumptuous in foreigners to criticise the manner in which many expressions are rendered into modern French, we must observe that we are quite at a loss to understand upon what grounds the editor renders

> "A lui nestoit chevalier comparable
> De proesce *son vivant* ce dist on,"—P. 4.

by

> "A lui n'étoit chevalier comparable
> En hauts faits, *en vaillance*, dit on."—P. 5.

Nor do we perceive that the narrative of the "Combat" gains any advantage by such alterations, as we find in the very first page "pretez attention" for "faites paix;" "braves gens" for "bons compaignons;" "tous les pays" for "toutes nacions;" "écoutez notre récit" for "escoutez cest roumant que dire nous voulons;" "nous vous dirons" for "Listoire en est vraie et les dix en sont bons;" and many more in almost every page, which, in our opinion, completely destroy the tone and spirit of the original. The few meagre notes which occur indicate very little antiquarian knowledge, and more than one or two are erroneous. Besides the mistake into which the writer of the inscription on the monument and the editor have both fallen as to the day on which the combat took place, the latter has at the end of the volume given the blazon of the arms of the *ten* knights and *twenty-one* esquires of Brittany, and the names of the *thirty-one* English who were present. It is impossible to conceive any thing more careless than the assertion that the combatants amounted to sixty-*two*, thirty-*one* on each side; for not only are the names of the sixty given, but such is constantly and uniformly said to be the number, and which has given the name to the event itself, "Le Combat *de Trente*." Moreover, we are expressly told, that when two of the Bretons were slain,

and three were made prisoners, there were only *twenty-five* who were capable of fighting:

> "Car *deux* sy en sunt mors et trespasses de vie
> Et *trois* sunt prisonniers o leur soit Dieu en aye
> Ne sunt que XXV. embataille fournie."

On comparing the list of the Bretons, at the end of the volume, we were impressed with great doubt as to the accuracy of the interpretation there given of the names which occur in the poem. In the absence of any other authority than the document itself, we doubt whether such a person as "Huon de Saint Yvon" was present. The line in which it is presumed to occur is,

> "Guill'e de Marche sera mon compaignon,
> Et Robin Raguenel en non de Saint Non;"

to which line the editor has added in a note, that though the words in the MS. are *en non*, instead of *Huon*, it must be a mistake of the copyist.

We should translate the lines in question literally, "William de la March shall be my companion, and Robin Raguenel, in the name of the holy name;" or, if the editor is correct in considering the last word is meant for Yvon, "in the name of St. Yvon;" but the rhythm makes us suspect that the word is the monosyllable *Non:* "in the name of the holy name;" a paraphrastic manner of alluding to the Deity, adopted to complete the line, and to rhyme with "compaignon." The sense would then be, "William de la March shall be my companion, and Robin Raguenel, in the name of God." Moreover no such name as "St. Yvon" is to be found in either of the numerous musters of men-at-arms in the "Memoires pour servir pour les preuves de la histoire de Bretagne." It is obvious, from the musters printed in that work, that Beaumanoir was called *John*, and not *Robert*[1], and it is not a little corroborative of the poet's statement, that in Beaumanoir's retinue, on the 22nd June, 1351, about three weeks after the combat was fought, that we should find the names of Geoffrey du Bois, Chevalier, and Alan de Kerreuroye, Louis Guyon, Le Fontenois, and Tristan de Pestivien, Esquires[2]. The remaining part of the "Trente" were probably selected from the retinue of other personages, and some of them are mentioned in documents printed in that valuable collection. Guillaume de la Marche, who is placed in the list at the end among the Esquires, was undoubtedly a knight, as his name occurs among the chevaliers in the poem. There is not a shadow of proof that there were two individuals

[1] Page 107. The poet does not mention his baptismal name.

[2] Memoires pour servir pour les preuves, tom. i. p. 1470. The name of *Oliver* Poular also occurs; but in the poem *Geoffrey* Poulart is mentioned. The same names, with the exception of Poulart, occur in the muster of Beaumanoir's retinue on the 10th of October, 1351, in which Le Fontenoye is called Oliver.

of the name of Tresquidy, the only one mentioned being Maurice de Tresquidy. Thus if St. Yvon and one of the Tresquidys be struck off the list of the thirty Bretons, it will be necessary to find one more to complete "le Trente," and we would suggest that a person named Lenlop was one of them;

> "Et Morisce du Part, un escuier hardy,
> Et Guiffray de Beaucorps, qui est moult son amy;
> Et *celuy de Lenlop*, Guiffray Mellon assuy."

"And Morice du Part, a bold esquire, and Geoffrey de Beaucoup, who is his great friend, and *he of Lenlop*, [and] Geoffrey Mellon also." But no name similar to "Lenlop" is to be found in the work just referred to.

The errors with respect to the English names, though equally material, are far more excusable. Indeed, from the extraordinary manner in which they are spelt, it is impossible to identify more than five or six, or to distinguish the six Germans; the four Brabançons are, however, particularly described. From the interest which is felt by the descendants of persons who have in any way distinguished themselves, and the general desire to know something more than the names of individuals who are commemorated by a poet of the fourteenth century for their share in one of the most extraordinary deeds of the brightest age of chivalry, we presume that no apology will be necessary for concluding this article with brief notices of such of the "thirty" English as can be identified.

Of Sir Robert Bembrough, the gallant commander, not the slightest notice besides what is said of him in this poem exists. His name does not occur in the Fœdera, nor in any other record of the period; hence it is most probable that he was not by birth an Englishman.

Robert Canolez was Sir Robert Knolles, one of the most distinguished soldiers of his times, whose services are fully commemorated by Froissart. He is said to have been of mean parentage in the county of Chester, and to have risen to eminence entirely by his own merit. He became the seventy-fourth Knight of the Garter, and dying in August, 1407, was buried near Constance, his wife, in the Gray Friars, London. According to Dugdale he was ancestor of the Earl of Banbury.

Hugh de Carvaley was, it may be presumed, the Sir Hugh Calverley mentioned by Froissart[1] as having quitted the borders of Arragon, where he commanded some free companies who had lately left Spain, to join the Black Prince at Angouleme, accompanied by all his men-at-arms, the moment he heard the French had made war on the prince. He was captain of Calais in

[1] Johnes' edition, folio, vol. i.

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1376[1], admiral of the king's fleet in 1379[2], governor of Guernsey and Jersey in 1382[3], appointed an ambassador to treat with Flanders in 1383[4], and died, without issue, in 1395-6, seized of some lands in Berkshire, and left David Calverley, son of Hugh Calverley, son and heir of his brother David, his next heir, then eight years of age[5].

Ridele is the name of an ancient English family which is said to have emigrated to Scotland in the reign of Henry the Sixth; and, according to Debrett's Baronetage, is now represented by Sir James Milles Riddell, Bart. What name is meant by "Helecoq" it is impossible to determine; nor does the Fœdera, or the printed calendars to the Records, notice any individuals of the name of Ridell who it is likely were the parties mentioned in the poem; but there can be no doubt that two brothers, called Riddell, were at the Combat.

"Dagorne le nepveu" was probably Sir Nicholas Dagworth, knight, who was in the wars in Brittany in 1356[6], and died in 1394; but the pedigrees of that family do not identify him as being either the grandson or nephew of the Thomas Lord Dagworth who was killed a short time before the "Combat de Trente," and to whom it is most likely the word "nepveu" refers.

Trussel was perhaps Sir Theobald Trussel, knight, who received letters of protection on going in the king's service to Brittany, in February, 1356.

Houalton equally resembles the English names of Walton, Hulton, and Halton, but there is not sufficient evidence to identify him.

We resign, in despair, all hope of ascertaining who were the other persons spoken of by the poet as having formed Bembrough's companions. In the list of them at the end of the volume, it is manifest that the editor has frequently considered the descriptive term applied to them respectively, as their patronymics; thus, Huebnie le Vilart is Huebnie, the old man; Robinet Melipart, Robert the pert, or flippant; Isaunay le Hardy, Isaunay the bold; Helichon Musart, Helichon the loiterer, or idler; Dango le Couart [cuivert], Dango the wicked, &c.: and he might, with equal propriety, have considered either that "le Guarier," or "le Gaillart," both of which terms are applied to one of the Rideles, was his surname. Nor is there the least authority for the divisions into which the Editor has classed them, of chevaliers, esquires, and men-at-arms.

The fact, that it is impossible to ascertain the real names of more than three-fifths of the sixty persons who were engaged in this romantic affair, simply because the chronicler of their deeds

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[1] *Fœdera*, tome vii. p. 118. [2] *Ibid.* p. 118. [3] *Ibid.* p. 349. [4] *Ibid.* p. 397. [5] *Esch.* 19 Rich. II. [6] *Fœdera.*

has misspelt their names, forcibly reminds us of Lord Byron's allusion to the uncertainty of military fame, from the chance that the parties who distinguished themselves may be erroneously described in the Gazette; and justifies the remark,

> "Thrice happy he whose name has been well spelt
> In the despatch."

The instance cited by his Lordship presents a comparatively slight illustration of his observation; for how few of the heroes of Cressy and Poictiers are known to us even by name; and though some of those who shared in the laurels of Agincourt have been lately rescued from oblivion, there can be no doubt that the perfect record which the gratitude of Henry caused to be formed of the names of his companions on that glorious day still lies unheeded among the innumerable historical documents, which, from the incredible apathy of our rulers, are the prey of worms and spiders. Does the great general of the age reflect, that the day may come when posterity will be no less indifferent about those who achieved the triumph of Waterloo, though such invidious efforts have been used to distinguish their persons and to hand down their names to posterity? As a matter of policy, if from no better feeling, care should be taken to diffuse a knowledge of the personal valour of individuals of former ages; for if the man is despicable whose patriotism does not warm on the plains of Marathon, what term is sufficiently strong to describe the wretch who, knowing that his ancestors partook of the glory of Cressy, or Poictiers, or Agincourt, did not, in the presence of the enemies of his country, feel excited to render himself worthy of his name and family?

The Refined Courtier; or, a Correction of several Indecencies crept into Civil Conversation. London, printed for R. Royston, Bookseller to the King's most excellent Majesty; and are to be sold by Matthew Gilliflower and William Hensman, Booksellers in Westminster Hall[1]. 1679.

The "Refined Courtier" is chiefly compiled from the Galateo of La Casa: the author has, however, reduced it from the dialogue form, and by additions and omissions adapted it precisely, according to his own account, to the wants of the English of his time. If the instructions that he has collected, and which are said to have formed the basis of Lord Chesterfield's Advice to his Son,

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[1] At this time, we presume, booksellers were permitted to occupy the body of the Hall with temporary shops, as is at present the case in the *Palais de Justice* at Paris.

were really applicable to the state of manners in the days of Charles II., we have undoubtedly improved in a marvellous degree, and all the world may understand how it is that our claims to civilization in France have been so reluctantly conceded. "Other countries," says the author, "abound in treatises on good-manners, and ours perhaps has as much need as any. I have heard that when the late Duke of Buckingham came to Gondamor, the Spanish ambassador, to excuse the vile indignities which the rabble of the city had offered him as he passed along the streets, the count told him that no apology was wanted; for he well knew, that though the *flour* of England was very fine, yet the *bran* was exceeding coarse." If, indeed, the *flour* of our court ever required so much sifting as the author thinks necessary, we doubt whether it would not have saved labour to have commenced with the *bran* at once. The work is dedicated to the Duke of Monmouth, and seems to have been intended for his especial benefit; for the author says, "Your Grace will please to employ your most serious caution and endeavours in preserving yourself untainted from the brutish corruptions and debaucheries too much in fashion, (which are destructive of all true nobleness and bravery of spirit), and permit the worthy rational principles of sobriety and virtue to take an early possession of your mind." He then goes on to quote an example which, all things considered, was most unfortunate; it is no other than the unhappy Sejanus, who suffered a fate only a little worse than Monmouth himself. "It was the commendation of Sejanus, that whilst he was a young courtier he studied nothing more than to grow eminent for integrity: that your grace pursues the same course at present there is sufficient reason to believe, and that you will never degenerate, (as he did), or give the least entertainment to those follies which entitle men to shame and misery, is at once [my] earnest request and firm persuasion."

It was observed, in reference to Chesterfield we believe, that your nice people have very nasty imaginations. The author of the "Refined Courtier" gives the politest people credit for taking every occasion to fill their minds with filthy images. The instructions with which the first chapter commences, appear to be levelled partly at the people of nasty habits, and partly at those of nasty imaginations: it can hardly have been possible that such precepts were of general application.

"Hence it follows, that it is an unseemly practice openly to handle any part of the body: nor does it consist with good manners to prepare for the easing of nature in public view, or to truss up our clothes before others when we return from performing that office; nay, he who comes from serving such necessities, if he will take my counsel, shall not so much as wash his hands in people's sight, because that

action, though cleanly in itself, yet suggests to their minds the idea of that which is foul and nasty. And for the same cause, it seems to be a very unhandsome custom, if one chance to spy in the highway, or elsewhere, any noisome thing, to turn him presently to his companion, and to show it him, as if it were a rare and lovely spectacle: much less is it comely to offer another any thing that stinks, as many confidently do, and to urge him so importunately as to receive no denial; and if he refuses, to thrust it to his nose, and then cry out, 'Prithee, smell how abominably this stinks;' when he should rather throw it away, and say, 'It is odious, you shall not smell it.'"

He moreover cautions his pupils against rubbing and knocking two stones together, and incommoding people with filing iron, and the like. Which of the courtiers was guilty of knocking stones together in company, and of *filing iron* in drawing rooms? The king himself was, indeed, partial to mechanical pursuits; but the rage of imitation did not surely extend so far as to bring filing iron into fashion. We can better understand the caution against singing, "especially if the voice be unmusical, or if there are none to make a consort, or if we are not desired to show our skill." It is quite true that "commonly those who have no cadences or sweetness at all, but make as harsh a noise as a mandrake, are readiest to transgress in this kind." It may be, that there are persons who sneeze in such an inconsiderate and immodest sort as to bespatter the faces of them they talk with; but this must be a case of such violent convulsion as to place the party beyond the reach of rule. Yawning is another misdemeanour against which the "refined courtier" is warned; but it is that aggravation of the crime of oscitancy, viz. talking during the whole gape, that excites both the wrath and the eloquence of our preceptor. "You will meet," says he, "with others that, when they yawn, make as rude and ugly a noise as a dog when he howls, or an ass when he brays; and notwithstanding that they gape as wide as ever their mouths will stretch, yet they will not break off, but all the while at least endeavour to continue their discourse, bellowing, to speak properly, rather than talking, with a confused and rude voice, resembling that of dumb persons when, with the utmost of their skill and power, they attempt and strain to set their imprisoned thoughts free." Oftentimes the author of the "Refined Courtier" is led, we think, by this power of vivid description, to give cautions against offences solely for the sake of the pleasure he has in describing them. This is the charge brought against Juvenal, who loved to lash obscenity because it gratified his perverted imagination to dwell on pictures of it. In some such feeling as this, the following pieces of delicate warning must have arisen:

"Moreover, it is an uncomely thing, by coughing and hawking, to raise phlegm or corruption out of the breast and lungs; or after you

have blown your nose, to open and look upon, and rub your handkerchief, as if a pearl or a ruby were dropt into it, or some precious liquor distilled from the brain. Such kind of slovenly misdemeanours are so far from procuring the esteem of any, that they must needs breed loathing and detestation in all in whose presence they are committed: nay, they are sufficient to provoke the contempt of those who perchance were greatly disposed to love us. He that affects any sordid and nasty gesture, and yet hopes and desires to be beloved, is undoubtedly one of a shallow wit, as well as an unmannerly deportment; for it is just as if a foul slut, that lies rolling herself in a heap of ashes, at the same instant should strongly fancy, that by this course she shall entice some beautiful brisk young gallant to make passionate addresses of courtship to her; when by so doing she makes all men to fly from her, as from a toad, or swine that bemires herself in dirt and filth.

"Neither is it a cleanly fashion for any to put his nose towards a glass of wine, which another is about to drink, or to smell to that which is laid upon his neighbour's trencher, no, nor to that which himself intends to eat or drink, because it has a show of rudeness in it; it being possible that some moisture may drop from his nostrils, and excite coy and squeamish stomachs to disgorge or nauseate their meat, though perhaps it does not fall out so; and if you will listen to my advice, you shall never proffer that cup or glass, out of which you are wont to drink, to any, unless to a very familiar friend: much less is it fit to give away that apple, or any other fruit, in which you have begun to set your teeth. Nor would I have you take liberty to laugh at and neglect these cautions, because the particulars instanced may seem to be but of light concern; for small wounds multiplied will let out the life, and a great number of narrow leaks endanger the sinking of the stateliest ship, and several minute drops of rain swell to an overflowing deluge, and many little indecencies corrupt our civil conversation."

Little indecencies, forsooth—narrow leaks—minute drops! Only conceive a gentleman, pretending to be above a dirty savage, pointing out to his companions a noisome object on the road, humming and singing like a mandrake, sneezing and bespattering the faces of those with whom he is talking, speaking while yawning, hawking phlegm into his handkerchief, blowing his nose and then examining the product, with other atrocious misdemeanours. Was such a beast as this ever tolerated in a room with glass windows? Should not the "refined courtier" be rather termed the refined coal-porter? The savage would disdain that such manners should be attributed to him. Even among the gross inhabitants of Cochin China, where men are proud of the grease that exudes from their viands on to their face and hands, would be ashamed of such offensive filthiness. But this is the way with too many preachers and monitors, who have a morbid pleasure in exaggerating the vices they would reform.

This writer, among other things, tells a story (copied, by the

way, from Casa) of a truly polite bishop, whose manners were so refined, and taste so sensitive and delicate, that when a count who had been visiting him had departed, sent after him his steward to say, that in his master's opinion the count had but one fault, and that was, that he made a whistling noise as he ate his food. What must we think of the refinement of a bishop, who, in the midst of acknowledged elegances and virtues, felt himself called upon to remonstrate by his agent with his guest for putting his food into his mouth with an unnecessary noise. This bishop is quoted as an example for the "refined courtier." So that in addition to being the nastiest people in the world, it would seem that the truly refined were also the rudest: an opinion which we are disposed to maintain.

"How sharply, think ye, would this worthy prelate and his noble retinue have censured those who, more like so many swine than men, put their noses into a mess of broth, and never once lift up their face or eyes, much less remove their hands, from the dish; and that with their cheeks distended and swoln, as if they were sounding a trumpet, or blowing a fire, do not so properly eat, as devour their meat? What would he have said to those that grease themselves up to the elbow, and make their napkins look like dishclouts, and yet are not ashamed to blow their noses on them, and sometimes to wipe off the sweat, which, it may be through immoderate haste and eagerness in eating, trickles down from their forehead and face to their necks? In earnest, men of no better manners deserve, in my judgment, to be expelled out of all cleanly company. Wherefore every one must take heed, that he do not so bedaub his fingers as to dirty his napkin, because it loathes all that look upon it. It is likewise an unseemly fashion to break your bread into small morsels, or to crumble it to pieces.

"They whose office it is to wait at table must by no means scratch or rub their heads, or any other part of the body, in the sight of their master, when he is at meat, or disclose or handle that which ought to be covered and let alone; or so much as do any thing like it, and by any immodest gesture represent a beastly thing. I have observed some unbred fellows, for want of due consideration, thrust their hands into their bosom, or hide them under their garments behind their back; whereas they should be in open view, and always kept so white and neat, that not the least spot of dirt or sign of filth should be seen upon them. And when they serve up meat to the table, or give a glass of drink to any one, they must be hugely cautious of spitting and coughing, and much more of sneezing; because such actions breed a jealousy, that some nastiness may have happened into the cup or platter; and that affects a nice fancy, and turns a weak effeminate stomach as much as though it should really be; and therefore servants ought to beware of giving their masters any cause of suspicion, for the conceit of what might have been is almost as irksome as if it were. When you take a toast or a roasted pear or apple from the fire, you must not blow away the coals or ashes, if any chance to cleave to it, lest some ill humour be conveyed along with your

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breath; for it is an old proverb, that 'There is never any wind without some water;' but rather shake them gently off, or wipe them with a fine cloth, or use some other pretty art to make it clean.

"It is an unmannerly trick to wet your fore finger in your mouth, and to print it in the saltcellar, and then to lick the salt that sticks to it. It is not handsome to reach out your napkin to another, under pretence that it is fairer than his; for that suggests to him, what perhaps he did not before take notice of, that his own is foul, and therefore probably may offend him. When you are discoursing with any one, you must not draw so near, that your breath may reach him; for some cannot endure another's breath, though it does not stink at all, but is a great deal sweeter than their own. These and all usages of the same kind are apt exceedingly to displease, and for that reason are to be abandoned; for we must do nothing that may annoy the senses of them with whom we live."

The "Refined Courtier," having exhausted his stock of grossness on the company, descends to the servants, and condescends to put notions into their unhappy heads, which, we will venture to say, no decent serving-man would ever have thought of for a moment. We will, however, forgive something in the matter of these pictures, for the sake of the spirit with which they are drawn. No caricature of the liveliest artist could have set before us a more striking picture than this of sensuality and grossness both in master and man.

However inapplicable this writer's precepts may be to daily use, and though probably they were always an exaggeration, still the talent for drawing character, and as it were pursuing a common-place in all its details, preserves these obsolete matters, like salt, if not for the use, at least for the amusement of a future age. The latter part of the following paragraph, for instance, affords a lively picture of a choleric man:

"It does not become us, in our behaviour, to be either rustical and clownish, or inaccessible and reserved; but to demean ourselves with an open and unrestrained familiarity, as though we belonged to the same house. What causeth the different relish and wholesomeness betwixt wild and other plants, but only this? the former grow neglectedly in the wood, and the latter are orderly set and nursed up in the garden. I do not approve of that sullen privacy which some affect, that makes them look like foreigners or guests, rather than companions; but give me the sweet and pleasant person, who uses the same degree of freedom and affability as they do that are bound fast together in the firmest bonds of a virtuous and inviolable amity. Of this sort were Lælius and Scipio, Cicero and Atticus, Cyrus the younger and Artapates, Titus Volumnius and Lucullus Terentius and Brutus, and, to name no more, the Cimbri and the Celtiberians. To this purpose it is convenient, that every one accustom himself to salute others in an ingenuous and friendly manner, to talk kindly, and return civil answers, and that he frame his whole carriage after the

most popular and easy measures. And therefore they are mightily to blame that frown upon and browbeat all that approach them, and never vouchsafe them one gracious smile; that flatly contradict whatever others upon certain knowledge affirm for truth; and entertain the noblest and most affectionate offices of respect and love with a strange carelessness and inhuman stupidity; that grumble when they are respectfully accosted, and will not endure harmless jests, and merry stories, and innocent raillery; that hate being caressed, and reject all addresses, be they made with never so much observance and sense of duty, with a barbarous indignation and scornful language. As biles and ulcers smart and become angry even at the very mistrust of the lightest touch; so a distempered sick mind will be greatly offended with little things, insomuch that a compliment or a letter, a question or a word, shall presently provoke some to give a challenge. But such morose waspish fellows may expect to be hissed at and exploded, rather than courted and beloved."

The following portraits of abstraction, and the opposite excess of punctiliousness and over-nice attention to trifles, are both curiosities which, though we confess they are altogether removed from the realities of life, still serve as an amusing exercise for the imagination.

"It is not fit to addict yourself to melancholy and thoughtfulness when you are in company; to sit musing in a dull posture with folded arms, regardless of any thing propounded to you, though it be urged over and over with more than usual importunity, as if you were in an ecstasy, and your soul were removed from its station, and retired to some corner of the body, or as though you were transformed into a stock or a stone. This, indeed, is somewhat tolerable in those who have spent many years in contemplation, and the serious study of the liberal sciences, especially the mathematics; but in others, without all doubt, it is not capable of excuse, and consequently is not to be allowed. Nay, scholars, and persons immersed in business, would do wisely, when they design to give themselves up to meditation, to withdraw from places of resort into some convenient solitude. It is storied of the angelical doctor Aquinas, that being at supper at Paris with the king of France, he dropped into such a profound discourse with himself, that he seemed to be turned into an insensible statue, and continued a pretty space without moving hand or foot, or so much as once stirring his eye, till at length having conquered the difficulty his mind grappled with, he struck his hand earnestly upon the table, and cried out, 'that now it was surely concluded against the Manichees.' The king was amazed at it, and asked him what he meant. To whom St. Thomas, not without blushing and confusion, replied, 'that just at that time there came an argument into his head, which utterly overthrew the doctrine of the Manichees.' And they tell of St. Bernard, that when he had journeyed along the bank of the Leman-lake a whole day together, and his fellow-travellers at night were talking of it, he inquired of them where that lake was, and when they told him, he wondered at it, and protested he never saw it. And

I have known a famous lawyer, as he has been plodding on the road, sink over head and ears in a perplexed case, and labour at least two or three hours before he could recover out of that quagmire. But let every thing be done in its proper season.

"It is an unbecoming, and an unmanly thing, to be of a soft and nice temper, prone to take exceptions upon every frivolous occasion. When you are conversing with such, you are not upon equal terms, but all the while in perfect slavery. You will meet with some that must be handled with as much caution and gentleness, as if they were so many curious Venice glasses; you can hardly tell how to touch or come near them for fear of breaking them: an easy blow, or a little sharp breath, shatters them to pieces. If you do not readily salute them with all the punctilios of reverence, and bow to them with the lowliest submission, and repay their visits with all exactness, and answer directly to every question; they are in a flame, and torment themselves more than others would do for the vilest affront and the grossest injury, and you quite lose their favour for ever. They are so fondly enamoured of their titles, that nothing pleases them more than to hear them recited: and unless you have them at your fingers' end, and give them all respect to an hair's breadth, you raise a storm, and incense a fury; they will complain that you want breeding, and that you slight them, and conceive an immortal hatred against you; they are angry if you make applications to them without observing a considerable distance; and it is a crime not to be pardoned if you do not set them at the upper end of the table; they will upbraid you with your ignorance, and want of due regard, and tell you that you do not know yourself, or them, since you use them no better; that you ought to make a distinction betwixt them and others, and let them have the place that belongs unto them. They love and esteem themselves above measure, and whilst they spend so much of their care and time about their own concernments, they have but little left to bestow upon any besides. It is hugely desirable, as I said before, that the conversation be sweet and pleasant: but to associate with critical peevish people, whose friendship is as weak as a single thread, and as brittle as glass, and that are apt to reckon every small omission, even the misplacing of a word, for a heinous offence, is to be in perpetual bondage. And, therefore, we are not only not to be delighted with this effeminate humour, but upon all occasions to declare our dislike of it, and leave it to women and pitiful men."

The moral directions are on the whole of a better cast than the instructions for personal behaviour; and by way of specimen we will quote a part of the argument about lying, which, though more tolerant than Mrs. Opie, yet does not settle a question of great difficulty—the innocence of *white-lying*.

"The worthy Sir Henry Wotton incurred the displeasure of King James by a facetious sentence of innocent meaning, that was capable to be interpreted in favour of falsehood, and by the malicious wit of Scioppius was perverted to the harsher sense: 'An ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.' Besides

it is an argument of a cowardly poor spirit, and though it may chance to serve a present turn, yet it enhances the guilt of the crime; and when it is detected, makes a man look like a pitiful baffled fellow; whereas the brave and magnanimous person does not sneak, but speaks truth, and is bold as a lion: and this is appositely expressed in the counsel of the divine poet,

> 'Dare to be true: nothing can want a lie;
> A fault that wants it most grows two thereby.'

"But I would not be thought over-rigid. Doubtless we may speak untruths in some cases, without being criminal; as we may deceive children to their own benefit, and cheat them into good manners; we may invent formidable stories to affright them into order, and pretty fables to keep them quiet. And no man blames physicians for deluding hypochondriacal persons into cheerfulness, and a state of health. The man of Athens that conceited if he should make water he should drown the city, was cured by an ingenious fiction, that the city was on fire, and that he ought not to stop his urine, lest water should be wanting in that great exigence. Nor is it surely a fault by a pious fraud to rob a man of an erroneous opinion, as a Saracen prince did two Eutychian bishops, who asserted that the divine nature of Christ expired as well as his human, by pretending (what he knew they reckoned altogether impossible, and yet not so absurd as their own position,) certain intelligence by letters of the death of the archangel Gabriel. And Pisander and Andronicus Rhodius thought it no harm to use an untruth as a remedy in the danger of friends, to save the life of a prince or a brave patriot; and the reason of it is clear and easy, because charity is better than truth, and every man is willing to be cozened into his own advantage. Pliny commends the wife of Cæcinna Pætus for denying to her husband the death of their dear son, which she did, lest it should make him grieve himself into his grave. And upon this score, poetical fables and the parables of moralists are excusable.

"But then this is to be understood warily, and practised with a great deal of sober caution, according to the comedian's rule, only when truth produces an insufferable mischief; and in that case it is but pardonable, not laudable and noble. We read of Epaminondas and Aristides, that they were so tender in this respect, that they would not tell a lie so much as in merriment. It is, indeed, an unworthy artifice, and a deviation from the great law of justice; it perverts the institution of words, and involves a man in difficulties, and entangles him in contradictions, and perplexes him more than a skein of ruffled silk; for it is a subterfuge that will not afford shelter and protection long; the guard must be doubled, and if that prove too weak, a new covert is sought; and when all evasions fail, the man is at his wits' end, and is confounded with shame, and talks tremblingly, and dreads to look him in the face whom he has abused. And therefore it is the part of an honest and wise man to have no wrinkles and foldings in his heart, but, when he does speak, by plain words to disclose the secret recesses of the soul; not like Tiberius, who was an abyss of

deceit not to be fathomed, and used phrases composed merely for pretence and show, and so obscure and intricate a dialect that nobody could imagine what he meant: for equivocal speeches and mental reservations become none, much less great men. It was ignobly done of Cleomenes, having made truce with his enemies for thirty days, to plunder their country in the night; and of Labeo, when he had covenanted to yield up half his navy to Antiochus, to cut his ships in pieces, and render them useless; and it was a most inhuman thing of Pericles, after he passed his word to the opposite army, that he would not meddle with them if they would lay aside their iron, to fall upon them and hew them down, because they had iron buttons upon their coats. It is a huge unworthiness for rulers to lie; and therefore the Egyptian princes were wont to wear a golden chain beset with precious stones, which they styled truth; intimating that to be the most illustrious and royal ornament. Add to all this what the late ingenious Sir Henry Wotton gave for an infallible aphorism to an ambassador, who requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent carriage in his negotiations, that always, and upon all occasions, to speak the truth is the surest safeguard, both to your person and reputation, and the likeliest expedient to accomplish any design, and to manage your business with success; for, to that pass have the degenerous manners of men brought the world, you shall never be believed, and by this means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to account: and it will also put your adversaries, who will still hunt counter, to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

That Lord Chesterfield had read the books, especially those by celebrated Italian authors on manners, there can be no doubt, but as little that his own precepts are founded chiefly upon his own practice and observation. It is the fashion to discover the elements of every great or celebrated work in some prior production, the merits of which had not saved it from oblivion: it is chiefly in this spirit that the "Refined Courtier" has been mentioned as the fund from which Chesterfield derived his information. There are passages which certainly remind the reader of his lordship's Advice to his Son; but the similarity in all probability arises wholly out of the similarity of subject. The precepts which go to make a "Refined Courtier" are collected together at the end of this book, and it may be seen how many of them Chesterfield has borrowed: we, however, quote them for another reason, because they contain the marrow of the whole book, and when considered in an antiquarian point of view, constitute altogether a curious chapter in the history of manners.

"Those manners and behaviours are comely and amiable which gratify the senses, or, at least, do not trouble any of them, neither are repugnant to the humours, fancies, and desires of them with whom we converse. Men are generally pleased with beauty (it is a dumb

but powerful orator, that allures silently[1], and steals away the heart), and all abhor those things which are monstrous and deformed. This is a privilege belonging peculiarly to us, and therefore we ought to esteem it accordingly. Other creatures do not understand what handsomeness means; and the more acute men are, the more capable to consider and judge of it; and it is remarkable that the most learned persons are commonly the greatest admirers and the most passionate doters on it. It is difficult to draw it in its just lineaments and features, and to define precisely wherein it consists; but I shall undertake to describe it by such infallible marks that you cannot choose but know it wheresoever you meet it[2]. It is a pleasing colour and gracefulness, arising from a suitable proportion and agreeableness of the parts amongst themselves and with the whole; and to the constitution of it, it is requisite[3] that all the members be entire: but ugliness proceeds from any one defect. And you will meet with some whose parts, taken asunder, are pretty enough, but, set together, make up a very ill face, and look as if they had been borrowed from several persons. And perhaps Zeuxis[4] desired to see five Calabrian virgins naked, only that he might delineate a perfect beauty; and that, collecting from every one what was most eminent, he might out of all draw a complete Helen. And the same holds good likewise in discourse and actions. You are to take care that time, and place, and things, and persons, and all circumstances, greet kindly; for[5] it is not sufficient that a business be done well, unless it be done neatly too. As meat, if it be never so wholesome, does not please except it has savoury sauce, so men's manners, though they may not be hurtful and injurious, yet are not delightful, if they want ingenuity and sweetness to set them off. All vices are impartially to be abandoned, because they are unseemly and troublesome; gluttony and drunkenness are vile and beastly; wantonness and lust, foul and ugly; and, in general, all unlawful, filthy practices are ungenteel, and render men odious and contemptible. But I must remember that I am not at present to treat concerning notorious enormities, but of lighter indecencies. Study to be graceful in all your actions and postures, in eating and drinking, in walking and standing still, in your mien and in your garb, when you talk and when you hold your peace, when

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[1] "Τὸ καλὸν παρὰ τὸ καλεῖν, ὅτι πάντας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ καλεῖ. Carneades appellavit ἀδορυφορητὸν βασιλείαν.

[2] "Κάλλος ἐςὶ τὸ ἐν τῃ συνθέσει τῶν μελῶν εὐάρμοστον ἐπανθοῦσαν ἀυτῷ τὴν χάριν ἔχον. S. Basil. in Psalm. xliv.

"Τὸ δὲ κάλλος ὁ χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ τῶν μορίων συμμετρίᾳ συνήστασθαι νομίζει, δακτύλου πρὸς δάκτυλον δηλονότι, καὶ συμπάντων ἀυτῶν πρὸς μετακάρπιον καὶ καρπὸν, καὶ τούτων πρὸς πῆχυν καὶ πήχεως, πρὸς βραχίονα, καὶ πάντων πρὸς παντά. Galen. Lib. 5.

"Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην καὶ Πλάτωνα δογμάτων.

"Pulchritudo est ex plurium concinnitate cooriens gratia, Plotinus. Vide, si placet, Thomæ Bartholini de luce Animal. Lib. 1. cap. 20.

[3] "Bonum oritur ex omnibus integris malum è quolibet defectu.

[4] "Consule Ciceron. Lib. 2. de Inventione. Item Plin. Lib. xxxv. cap. 9. Ubi Zeuxis, inquit, tanta diligentia, ut Agrigentinis facturus tabulam, quam in templo Junonis Lacinei publici dicarent, inspexerit virgines eorum nudas, et quinque elegerit, ut quod in quaque laudatissimum esset, pictura redderet.

[5] "Non satis est benè quid facere, nisi etiam fiat venustè.

you are busy and when you are at leisure. A man must not wear his hair or dress his body like a woman, because there will be an incongruity betwixt the habit and the person; and you ought to be careful that no unsavoury[1] rank smell come from you; and if you be now and then perfumed, it will not be amiss. And it is fit your garments be suitable to your age, place, and quality. Castrucius[2] did ill when (appearing with great glory and triumph, with Lewis[3], the emperor, at Rome, and desiring to show his splendour and magnificence to the whole city, he caused to be made for him a purple robe, and on the forepart this motto to be embroidered in golden letters, 'UT DEUS VULT ITA EST,' 'It is as God pleases;' and on the back this: 'ET UT DEUS VULT ITA ERIT,' 'And it shall be as God pleases;' for, in my opinion, it would have better beseemed his trumpeter than himself. And, although kings are tied up to no rules, yet I cannot commend Prince Manfred[4] for going always in green clothes.

"It is not comely to run along the streets, or to make so much haste that you pant, and blow, and sweat, for that belongs to a footman, not to genteel persons; neither let your pace be slow, like a snail's, nor lofty and affected, nor soft and effeminate, but composed and modest. It is unseemly to hobble as you walk, and to fling out your legs, and to stretch yourself by wide steps, to hang down your hands, or to throw them about as if you were sowing corn. You will see some tread tenderly, like a foundered horse, and lift up their feet as high as if they were always stepping over a threshold, and others stamp so hard that you would think a whole team were coming; one goes as if he intended to kick you at every turn, a second cuts and strikes his ancles one against the other, and a third ever and anon stoops down to tie or wipe his shoes [5]; all which are not indeed errors

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[1] "Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum. Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 2. Mulieres ideo benè olent quod nihil oleant. Cic. Ep. i. Lib. 2. ad Atticum.

[2] "Castracanis ex Antelminella nobili familia Lucensis civis, qui ex mercatoris institore miles, ex milite dux Lucensis et Pastoriensis, comes Pilatinus, senator Romanus, et præfectus prætorio factus. Ejus effigies adhuc Pisis elegantissimè picta conspicitur. Multis jam seculis in Italia intermissam triumphandi consuetudinem restituit; capto nimirum à se, et ante currum triumphalem ducto Raimundo Cardonio, duce Florentino. Videsis Paul. Jov. Lib. 1. Virorum Illustr.

"'Qui jam obsoletam bellicæ artis gloriam
Castrucius Lucensium dux, Italis
Restituit, et profectione Cæsarum,
Etruriam quatefecit armorum sono,
Nunc hic quiescit parvus è tanto duce,
Pulvis, cinisque, et nudula umbra mortui.

"'Gabriel Faernus Epigram.'

[3] "Hic electus est Cæsar A. C. 1314. Octobr. 18.

[4] "Spurius fuit Frederici II. Imper. ex Blancha marchinnissa Montis-ferrati, princeps Tarentinus, et rex Siciliæ designatus. Cranzius Saxoniæ, lib. 8. cap. 18.

[5] "'Cavendum est, aut tarditatibus utamur in gressu mollioribus, ut similes pomparum ferculis esse videamur, aut in festinationibus suscipiamus nimias celeritates: quæ cum fiunt, anhelitus moventur, vultus mutantur, ora torquentur, ex quibus magna significatio fit non adesse constantiam.' Cic. 1. Offic. Apud Sen. laudatur incessus compositus, cui apud Petronium contrarius est fictus ad mollitiem. Et apud Apuleium culpatur, Superfluo incessu fœminam mentiri, item solutis genibus fractus incessus; nec non gressum frangere, vel ludentibus pedibus incedere.

of great moment, but yet unhandsome, and to be reformed. If a horse be lusty and strong, and withal ill-shaped, he cannot be sold for much money; and[1], in things that have neither sense nor life, neatness is valued (as an uniform house is more esteemed than one that is only well-built).

"It is uncivil, when you are discoursing, to fix your eyes stedfastly upon a man, as if you meant to put him out of countenance, and to trample upon his modesty; and slovenly, when you are at the table, to scratch any part of your body. You must refrain from spitting as much as you can, and when you are able to hold no longer, do it after a decent manner. The Persians (as Xenophon[2] relates) were so temperate in their diet, and so frequent in exercise, that they seldom had occasion to void any phlegm at all by the mouth or nose; and why cannot we contain for a little time? Beware likewise of eating so greedily that you are constrained to belch[3], or make any other rude noise, and of rubbing your teeth with your napkin, and picking them with your fingers. And in the sight of others (especially if they are your betters) do not wash your mouth; or, if you do, spirt not out the wine or water before them.

"And, when the cloth is taken away, it is not decent to pull a case of toothpicks out of your pocket, as if, juggler-like, you were about to show legerdemain tricks; for this not only offends the sight, but likewise argues that you study your belly, and are exceeding careful to be well furnished with all instruments fit to serve your appetite. Nor is it comely, by any sign or gesture, to express an extraordinary satisfaction in your meat and drink; to wish that you had a crane's neck, or to hold up the glass, and view how briskly the wine looks; or, like the Dutchmen, to sip, and smack, and taste every drop, though the liquor, for the most part, be as flat and insipid as themselves; for this is a custom befitting none but vintners, and parasites, and voluptuous epicures. It seems to me not laudable to invite and urge your guests to eat in such language as this: 'What! Have you broke your fast this morning? I am sorry here's nothing pleases you; I pray taste of this dish;' for, although you testify your care of them, yet sometimes you put them to the blush, and intrench upon their liberty. Nor is it convenient to be forward to carve for another, unless he be of inferior rank, or sits at a great distance, and so it may be esteemed a favour, because by it you prefer yourself before him, and it may be what you give him he will not like. But I shall not be peremptory in prescribing rules for your direction; for what is

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[1] "Huc spectat illud Marci Varronis. 'Hinc profecti agricolæ ad duas metas dirigere debent, ad utilitatem et voluptatem. Utilitas quærit fructum, voluptas delectationem. Priores partes agit, quod utile est, quàm quod delectat, nec non ea quæ faciunt cultura honestiorem agrum; pleraque non solum fructuosiorem eundem faciunt, ut cum in ordinem sunt consita arbusta atque olivita: sed etiam vendibiliorem, atque adjiciunt ad fundi pretium; nemo enim eadem utilitate non formosus quod est emere mavult pluris quàm si fructuosus turpis.' De Re rusticâ, Lib. 1. cap. 4.

[2] "Lib 1. Pæd. Cyri.

[3] "Certissimum diaphragmatis nimio cibo distenti, et propterea antegressæ γαστριμαργίας indicium est.

commonly done is more expedient than that which, in my apprehension, ought to be; and in things of this kind, it is better to err with a multitude than to be exactly neat alone. However, do not you refuse what any one offers, because it will be thought you reprove or slight him. To drink to others, and earnestly to solicit them to pledge you in large bowls, is a brutish and most execrable rudeness; yet, if you chance to be importuned, kiss the cup, and excuse yourself civilly, and be willing, without contest, to yield the victory. It is confessed this barbarous custom was anciently practised in Greece[1]; and Socrates[2] was highly applauded, that, notwithstanding he caroused a whole night with Aristophanes, he was able, in the morning, to draw a mathematical scheme, and without any hesitation to demonstrate a subtle and difficult problem in geometry; whereby he made it evident that the wine had not moved him, or done him the least harm: and we read of him, that, when he was at a feast, he would conquer every one, and yet was never known to be drunk in his whole life. And some are of opinion that as they who are in great danger of being killed become courageous, so those that addict themselves to lewd practices, when once they are brought to understand the perfect unreasonableness and folly of them, become extremely sober and virtuous; and they imagine that, by excessive drinking, a man may try his strength and power to resist more violent assaults. But, in despite of the most plausible pretensions that can be brought, I must take leave to be of a contrary judgment, and tell you that it is not safe to make the experiment, and that these arguments are vain and frivolous, and such as deserve no reply, because they sufficiently confute themselves. Some famous wits, to show their dexterity and acuteness, undertake to handle absurd subjects[3], and dress up deformity and madness in the guise of beauty and reason; and though we do not believe what they say, yet we know not well how to contradict it. Thus Phavorinus the philosopher cried up Thersites for a handsome man, and wrote a volume in praise of a quartan ague; Carneades and Galba commended injustice; and Hortensius dispraised philosophy; Synesius extolled baldness, and Marcus Antonius[4] and Gerard Bucoldianus vomited out a large apology for drunkenness. It may be they excused those who were guilty of this crime, and endeavoured to cover their blemishes, because they durst not reprehend them, lest they should incur Socrates's fate, who, for being frequent in reproving others, was, by the malice of some debauchees (which is the case of many good men), accused of impiety

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[1] "Unde Græcari et Pergræcari apud Latinos pro luxuria et compotationibus liberioribus indulgere. Ita Lib. 10. Athenæi celebratur ex Homero, Νέστορος τοῦ τριγέροντος φιλοποσία Ἀλκαῖος φίλοινος Λακεδαιμονίων προπόσεις, Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολυποσία, Ἀντίοχος φιλοπότης.

[2] "Vide Convivium Platonis, nec non Agell. Lib. 15.

[3] "Τὸν λόγον ἥττονα κρείττονα ποιεῖν. Aristoph. in Nubibus. Vide Agell. Lib. 17. cap. 12. Ἀδόξους καὶ ἀτόπους ὑποθέσεις tractare.

[4] "Ubi sanguine civium ebrius, eundemque insuper sitiens, dicitur volumen de suâ ebrietate evomuisse, quo sibi et vitiis suis patrocinatus est. Plin. Lib. 14. cap. ult.

and several heinous offences, and put to death as a notorious criminal [1]. He was certainly an honest man, and a most punctual observer of the religion and rites of his country [2]; though, indeed, he deserved correction for drinking so much with that merry poet, (and the severe Cato [3] is charged with the same vice) notwithstanding that he was not distempered; for, that he received no injury by it, is to be imputed, not to his temperance, but the strength of his brain; and a hogshead is more capacious than any man; and our life ought not to be chequered with black and white, with innocence and profaneness; but (as he himself used to say [4]), it should represent a picture or statue, all the parts of which must be fair and correspondent. Nor can I believe that sobriety, or any good, can be learned from such masters as wine and dissoluteness [5]. But this is to be accounted as spoken in a parenthesis, and by chance, rather than that the method of my discourse required it.

"Let none put off his clothes, or dress himself, in the sight of strangers; nor comb his head, nor pare his nails, nor cleanse his ears, nor so much as wash his hands, except it be immediately before or after meals, in the view of others; for the chamber is the most proper place for such actions; nor shall you come out to salute persons of quality in your night-attire. It is an ugly thing to draw your mouth awry, and roll your eyes, and distend your cheeks, and deform your countenance. Pallas, as poets and other writers tell us [6], was hugely delighted in playing upon a pipe, till, coming to a fountain, she perceived it made her have a monstrous mis-shapen mouth, and then she blushed and threw it away. This instrument does not become women, nor men, unless they be forced to exercise their skill merely to get a livelihood. Alcibiades [7], who applied his mind to learn all arts,

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[1] "Οὐδεὶς δὲ πόποτε Σωκράτου οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν, οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. Xenophon. Apomnemon. Lib. 1.

[2] "Νόμῳ ὡς διάκειται. Pythag.

[3] "Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus. Horat.

[4] "Τοῦ βίου καθάπερ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πάντα τὰ μέρη καλὰ εἶναι δεῖ. Apud Stobæum, Serm. 1.

[5] "Μήθη πάντων τῶν δεινῶν μητρόπολις. Athen. Lib. 10.

[6] "Prima terebrato per rara foramina buxo
Ut daret effeci tibia longa sonos.
Vox placuit, faciem liquidis referentibus undis.
Vidi, et virgineas intumuisse genas.
Ars mihi non tanti est, valeas mea tibia, dixi
Excipit adjectam cespitorina suo.
"Ovid. Lib. 6. Fastorum.

"Hic locus est in quo tibia docta sones:
Quæ non jure vado Mæandri jacta natasti,
Turpia cum faceret Palladis ora tumor.
"Propert. Lib. 2.

"Ἦν σοφὸν σοφὰν λαβοῦσαν
δρυμοῖς ὀρείοις Ὄργανον δίαν ἀθάναν
δυσόφθα ἄιμον ἄιχος ἐκβοβεῖσαν
ἄυθις ἐκ χειρῶν βαλεῖν.

"Telestes Selinusius, quem Josephus Scal. citat in castigationibus suis Propertianis. Vide etiam Agell. Lib. 15. cap. 17. Et Plutarch. Lib. περὶ Ἀοργησ·

[7] "Plutarch. in vitâ.

reckoned this below an ingenuous well-bred person. A harp takes not away the figure and comeliness; but a pipe[1] swells a man's face that his familiar friends can hardly know him: besides, one may sing to a harp; but a pipe stops up the mouth, and obstructs the voice: and therefore, said he, to play upon it is fit only for the Bœotian boys, who cannot be taught to speak: we of Athens will follow the example of Minerva, who cast away hers, and of Apollo, who caused the piper Marsyas's skin to be pulled over his ears. And hence it came to pass that the Athenians utterly banished this faculty out of the circle of the liberal sciences.

"And what has been said concerning the face holds true also of all the parts and members of the body; it is unseemly to blare out your tongue, and to rub and clap your hands, and to laugh at the wagging of a feather, and to twist your beard, and to stretch your body, and make a strange noise, as though you wanted sleep, and to fetch deep sighs for nothing, as if your very heart would break.

"Take especial care what gestures and motions you use in talking; for it is obvious to remark, that most men are so intent that they do not consider this; but one nods fantastically with his head, and another looks a-squint, and a third fixes his eyes upon the ground[2], and a fourth pulls his mouth on one side; and, as Cicero[3] affirms of Marcus Piso, renders his visage more ridiculous than his jests; and a fifth wrinkles up his chin, and looks like Testius Pinarius[4], whom Cæsar desired to tell him what he had to say when he had cracked his nut. Some throw their hands about as if they were flapping away flies, and others cough and spit in your face: and all these are very unhandsome misbehaviours. It is the saying of Pindar[5], That whatsoever is elegant, fine, and pleasant, is done by the hands of Venus and the Graces; what, then, shall we think of those that spit upon their fingers, and lay their legs upon a table, and commit a hundred other indecencies which might here easily be recited? But I shall not go about to collect all into one volume, as Chrysippus did the lies of the oracle of Apollo, lest they should swell to too big a bulk, and appear beyond our skill and industry to reform. All I intend to superadd shall be couched in two words: Be not loose in

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1 "Ἀνδρὶ μὲν αὐλιστῆρι θεοὶ νόον οὐκ ἐνίθυσαν
Ἀλλ' ἅμα τὸ φυσᾶν, χ' ὁ νόος ἐκπίσταται.
"Athen. Lib. 8.

2 "Idem illo ferè biduo productus in concionem ab eo, cui sic æquatum præbebas consulatum tuum, cum esses interrogatus quid sentires de consulatu meo. Gravis auctor Calatinus credo aliquis, aut Africanus, aut Maximus, et non Cæsonius, Semiplacentinus Calventius, respondet altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere. Cic. Orat. in L. Pisonem.

3 "Facie magis quàm facetiis ridiculis. Lib. 1. ad Attic. Ep. 13.
"Utere lactucis, et mollibus utere malvis,
Nam faciem duram Phœbe cacantis habes.
"Martial. Lib. 3. Ep. 47.

4 "Cicero de Orator. Lib. 2. Dic, si quid velis, cum nucem perfregeris.

5 "Σὺν γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ γλυκεῖα
Γίνεται πάντα βροτοῖς.
Εἰ σοφὸς, εἰ καλὸς, εἰ ἄγλαος
Ἀνὴρ, &c. In postremâ Odâ Olympiorum.

your deportment, nor yet severe; neither all honey nor all gall; but let affability and gravity be sweetly tempered and mixed together.[1]"

When we call to mind the greatness of the change which has taken place in the instructions that our modern Galateos think applicable to present cases, there is room for speculation. Much stress is now laid upon the arcana of fashionable life—refinement is not the desideratum, but a refinement of a certain shade, which distinguishes a class. Instead of rude precepts against yawning, staring, or lolling, the outcry is against an incorrect or clumsy mode of addressing a person by his title, a sit of the coat or gown, which, though perfectly approved six months ago, is now out of fashion, or the fact of being present or dwelling in some quarter beyond the limits of modish geography. These distinctions, be it observed, arise against a man, not as evidences of unbecoming behaviour, but as proofs of his not belonging to a particular caste of society. We may conclude from hence, that mankind has either so much improved in manners, that now, there being no longer actual distinctions, people resort to artificial ones to show their superiority, or that merit or demerit in manners is no longer regarded: or, what is more likely, that men may be as great brutes as they please, and attend as little as possible to decorum or good breeding, provided they throw over themselves the shield of a particular and privileged class.

Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern, with an Historical Introduction and Notes. By William Motherwell. Glasgow. 1827. 4*to.*

Hitherto we have taken no notice of a class of antiquaries who yield to none in industry, and to few in the interesting nature of their pursuit. The collector of reliques of poetry is not alone influenced in his search by the mere claims of age: unless the charms of truth and pathos belong to the composition he has recovered from destruction, it is seldom that he persists in the work of resuscitation; unless, indeed, he be as destitute of taste as Ritson, and at the same time as ingenious in detecting the marks of antiquity, or exposing the evidences of a later date. From Bishop Percy to Sir Walter Scott, the ballad, the lowly lyric of England and Scotland, has been peculiarly fortunate in finding in its admirers both the taste to appreciate, the learning to illustrate, and the research to discover. The dark corners from

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[1] "Aversor morum crimina, corpus amo.
Sic ego nec sine te, nec tecum, vivere possum.
"Ovid. Lib. 3. Amor. Eleg. 10.

"Difficilis, facilis, jucundus, acerbus es idem
Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.
"Martial. Lib. 12. Ep. 47."

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which the Ballad is to be recovered are not those which conceal other antiquities: they are covered not with dust; they are not moth-eaten; they do not lie ensconced in parchment in the muniment rooms of ancient families, nor on the shelves of ancient and unfrequented libraries. The collector of ballads must throw himself into the deepest recesses of the country, into those quarters which the bustle of civilization has not disturbed, where the manners and sentiments of antiquity are most likely to remain in their primitive freshness: it is here that he must listen to the carolings of the peasantry, the chantings of old crones, and the long stories of ancient sires. When a venerable dame has by accident struck into a tragedy which he at once recognises as in the right strain, with ears erect, memory alert, and a pleased countenance of interest and affected belief, he must listen to her doleful story: a note book would disturb the recollection of the minstrel; a smile of incredulity would effectually seal her lips: and to catch the phrases, and to remember many stanzas together, of a lengthy ditty, is no mean task. When, however, it is successfully completed, great is the joy of the conquest; the soul of a song is resuscitated; a small domain of poetry is saved from the encroaching sea of oblivion; short is the interval between the old chanter and her grave, and to snatch a relic from her as she almost steps into it is a great triumph. Who does not remember the anecdote of Dr. Leyden, who would stride forty miles into the country on a mere rumour of an old nurse, or broken-down hostler, being in possession of the head or tail of a genuine ballad of antiquity, and then stride back again, chanting and reciting his new-found treasure, as the appropriate solace of his journey, in such tones as indicated his approach long before his huge and ungainly person hove in sight? Mr. Motherwell is a collector of the true breed: with Mr. Ritson's abhorrence of inaccuracy and interpolation, he has that veneration for tradition which becomes a conservator of ancient poetry. His Delphic oracle is an old woman's mouth. Her three-legged stool is sacred as a tripod; and, if she be spinning, or crooning over the embers of a fire, the priestess of Apollo, in her ecstasies of inspiration, is not a more classical or more auspicious spectacle. Great is the number of ballads in this portly volume which have been taken down from recitation; many have been taken from several recitations by various persons, and the discrepancies have been collated with a sedulous accuracy, which we can only parallel by the scrupulous care with which MSS. of Greek plays are examined by your Bruncks and Porsons. Not only have the new ballads, and the newly-recovered parts of old ballads, been procured from the genuine source of oral tradition, but even those which are well known, and have long been in

print, have been corrected, amended, or restored from the same source. In this respect, we have no fault to find with the author: on the contrary, we are grateful to him for his contributions to an exceedingly curious and interesting department of poetry. But in such a vehement contemner of those authors who have ventured to fill up lacunæ in ancient ballads by modern additions—in one who so loudly condemns the practice of passing off imitations for originals, or even of introducing an antique-looking composition without prefixing a certificate of its youthfulness, we do think there is matter for blame, when we find undoubted relics of antiquity side by side with things which are as undoubtedly of yesterday; and that without any notification of the difference, save that they are not preceded by an historical voucher. For so industrious and pains-taking a character, there could have been no difficulty in arranging his materials in an order approaching to the chronological; and, assuredly, it would have been better to have placed the ancient and the modern minstrelsy in two distinct divisions. That Mr. Motherwell is fully competent to discharge all the duties of an editor of this species of publication there can be no doubt, from the manner in which the ballads themselves are published; and, if there were, such doubt must disappear before a perusal of his historical introduction, which betrays an extraordinary familiarity with his subject. From one who is absolutely intemperate when he speaks of such miscellaneous compilations as those of Mr. Cromek and Mr. Cunningham, we should scarcely have expected to find a song beginning,

> "In the quiet and solemn night,
> When the moon is silvery bright,
> Then the screech-owl's eerie cry
> Mocks the beauties of the sky,"

immediately preceding the ancient ballad of Child Norrice, which, in the true ballad style, immediately strikes up without any preliminary ornament:

> "Child Noryce is a clever young man;
> He wavers with the wind;
> His horse was silver-shod before,
> With beaten gold behind."

The very second ballad in the collection, "The Twa Corbies," which, though perhaps the most poetical and picturesque of any ballad existing, the author will assuredly not vindicate as ancient, though he has placed it between the "Earl Marshal" and "Sir Patrick Spens," both ballads laying claim to a remote antiquity.

> "There were twa corbies sat on a tree
> Large and black as black might be,
> And one the other gan say,
> Where shall we go and dine to-day?

Shall we go dine by the wild salt sea?
Shall we go dine 'neath the greenwood tree?

"As I sat on the deep sea sand,
I saw a fair ship nigh at land,
I waved my wings, I bent my beak,
The ship sunk, and I heard a shriek;
There they lie, one, two, and three,
I shall dine by the wild salt sea.

"Come, I will show ye a sweeter sight,
A lonesome glen and a new-slain knight;
His blood yet on the grass is hot,
His sword half-drawn, his shafts unshot,
And no one kens that he lies there,
But his hawk, his hound, and his lady fair.

"His hound is to the hunting gane,
His hawk to fetch the wild fowl hame,
His lady 's away with another mate,
So shall we make our dinner sweet;
Our dinner 's sure, our feasting free,
Come, and dine by the greenwood tree.

"Ye shall sit on his white hause-bane,
I will pick out his bonny blue een;
Ye 'll take a tress of his yellow hair,
To theak yere nest when it grows bare;
The gowden down on his young chin
Will do to sewe my young ones in.

"O cauld and bare will his bed be,
When winter storms sing in the tree;
At his head a turf, at his feet a stone,
He will sleep, nor hear the maiden's moan;
O'er his white bones the birds shall fly,
The wild deer bound, and foxes cry."

There is a character about the ancient ballad which no observer can mistake, and the imitation of which it is hard to sustain without risk of detection. It is invariable in its kind, and the dialogue is carried on with amazing briskness: we have no unnecessary details either of words or things: just those parts of the dialogue are preserved on which the action depends, and no more. Besides this peculiarity, there is a general stock of subjects which go to make up the minstrel's themes: the situations, whether pathetic or comic, chiefly the former, described in the ballad, and almost all the relations of the parties, are such as might be enumerated. They are all of that class which could take place only in a rude and unsettled state of civilization: love and slaughter are the usual sources of sympathy, and the appeal is made to the heart in the briefest manner possible. Love is as sudden as death: the cause of both lies on the surface: a stout limb in the minstrel's creed is as provocative of one as the other. Cupid's arrow and knight's sword are whipped

in and whipped out, inflame or slay, with the rapidity of lightning. All other emotions are described as equally violent, equally unreasoning, and oftentimes as causeless. The characteristic of each is lawlessness: passion is whim, and punishment is awarded by those who are angry at the crime. A strong man conceives he has a right to do any thing he likes; and until he meets a stronger he has his way. The exceeding laconism, and the frequent obscurity of many of the ballads, is, however, to be partly accounted for by the fact that many of them were intended to be interspersed with narration, something after the manner of certain modern songs of humour: it very often happens, that persons who now recite these ballads can communicate from tradition the fate of inferior personages in the drama, and they sometimes, it would seem, even yet recite the intermediate discourses they have received from their ancestors. The editor of this volume, in his introduction, gives an instance of this practice, which reminds us of the manner in which the Edinburgh Review lately described the style of Herodotus, and compared it with the language in which the king's porter would relate the event of a ministerial change.

"Some pieces too are prose and rhyme intermixed, the dialogue and those parts purely lyrical are in metre, while the narrative and descriptive portions are given in such humble prose as the reciter can furnish. An instance of this kind, Mr. Jamieson has given in 'Illustrations of Northern Antiquities,' and many similar cases could be produced, were it necessary. Thus I have heard the ancient ballad of 'Young Beichan and Susy Pye,' dilated by a story-teller into a tale of very remarkable dimensions—a paragraph of prose, and then a *screed* of rhyme alternately given. From this ballad I may give a short specimen, after the fashion of the venerable authority from whom I quote: "Well ye must know that in the Moor's Castle there was a Massymore, which is a dark deep dungeon for keeping prisoners. It was twenty feet below the ground, and into this hole they closed poor Beichan. There he stood, night and day, up to his waist in puddle water; but night or day it was all one to him, for no ae styme of light ever got in. So he lay there a lang and weary while, and thinking on his heavy weird, he made a murnfu' sang to pass the time—and this was the sang that he made, and grat, when he sang it, for he never thought of ever escaping from the Massymore, or of seeing his ain country again:

'My hounds they all run masterless,
My hawks they flee from tree to tree;
My youngest brother will heir my lands,
And fair England again I 'll never see.

'Oh were I free as I hae been,
And my ship swimming once more on sea;
I 'd turn my face to fair England,
And sail no more to a strange countrie.'

Now the cruel Moor had a beautiful daughter, called Susy Pye, who

was accustomed to take a walk every morning in her garden, and as she was walking ae day she heard the sough o' Beichan's Sang, coming as it were from below the ground," &c. &c.

In the same way it appears from the work of Mr. Smith on Gaelic antiquities, that the reciters of Earse poems accompany them with a prose commentary. These traditional explanations are called *sgeulachds.* In Iceland they are called *Urskyring;* and to this method of handing down narratives we are indebted for the historical labours of "Adam of Bremen, Snorro Storleson Saxo, and Bishop Absalon."

Besides the peculiarities we have mentioned, the Ballad possesses another, which it has in common with the Iliad and Odyssey; poems which, as they had a similar origin, and were communicated in a similar manner, are also characterized by some corresponding features. In the ballads a sort of framework exists, into which different incidents are fitted, at the pleasure of the narrator: the same circumstance is always told in the same words: the same form of expression is as it were kept standing for the occasion. For instance, a denial is always made in these unceremonious terms:

" 'O open, open, my true love,
O open and let me in!'
" 'I dare na open,' young Benjie,
'My three brothers are within.' "

" *'Ye lied, ye lied, my bonny burd,*
Sae loud's I hear you lie.
As I came by the Lowden banks
They bade gude e'en to me.' "

When a messenger is desired on any sudden emergency, he is always demanded by a similar expression:

" 'Where will I get a bonny boy,
Will win gold to his fee,
And will run unto Child Wyet's
With this letter from me?' "

The courier always instantly starts up, and makes this answer:

" 'O here I am,' the boy says,
'And will win gold to my fee,
And carry away any letter
To Child Wyet from thee.' "
Lord Ingram and Child Wyet.

In terms somewhat different from the spirited old ballad of Lady Maisry:

" 'O whare will I get a bonny boy
To help me in my need,
To rin wi' haste to Lord William,
And bid him come wi' speed?'

" O, out it spak a bonny boy,
Stood by her brother's side;

'It's I wad rin your errand, lady,
O'er a' the warld wide.

" 'Aft ha'e I run your errands, lady,
When blawin baith wind and weet;
But now I'll rin your errand, lady,
With saut tears on my cheek.' "

The reward promised varies. Lady Marjorie, in the ballad so called, says,

" 'But where will I get a pretty little boy,
That will win hose and shoon;
That will go quickly to Strawberry Castle,
And bid my lord come doun.' "

" 'O here am I, a pretty little boy,' " &c. &c.

His progress is invariably described in these words:

" And when he found the bridges broke,
He bent his bow, and swam;
And when he found the grass growing,
He hasten'd on and ran."

Or,

" He slack'd his shoon and ran."

The manner in which a letter is received is not only invariable, but curious: it first excites emotions of great pleasure, which, as the reader proceeds, are always turned to deep sorrow:

" Then she has written a braid letter,
And seal'd it wi' her hand;
And sent it to the merry green wood,
Wi' her own boy at command.

" The first line of the letter Johnie read,
A loud, loud lauch leuch he;
But he had not read ae line but twa,
Till the saut tears did blind his ee."

Johnie Scot.

Or thus:

" But she has wrote a long letter,
And seal'd it with her hand;
And sent it to Lord Lamington,
To let him understand.

" The first line o' the letter he read,
He was baith glad and fain;
But or he read the letter o'er,
He was baith pale and wan."

Catherine Johnstone.

The kind of merit consistent with the state of manners, and the method of the poem, is a simplicity and truth in pathetic description, or a rapidity and energy in portraying a spirited action. The resignation of a suffering woman, the enduring fidelity of her attachment, and the wrath of an indignant lover

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or brother, are often painted in these rude ballads with a force which more finished and elaborate compositions utterly miss. From the store of rarer compositions now collected in this volume, we are tempted to give some specimens, of rude workmanship it is true, but, nevertheless, of excellent conception.

Of the short ballad, called Lady Mary Ann, which is supposed to allude to the Dundonald family, it is justly observed by the editor that it is worthy of being better known; and our first extract from his pages shall contribute to that object.

"O lady Mary Ann looks o'er the castle wa',
She saw three bonnie boys playing at the ba',
The youngest he was the flower among them a';
My bonnie laddie's young, but he's growin' yet.

"O father, O father, an ye think it fit,
We'll send him a year to the college yet;
We'll sew a green ribbon round about his hat,
And that will let them ken he's to marry yet.

"Lady Mary Ann was a flower in the dew,
Sweet was its smell, and bonnie was its hue,
And the langer it blossom'd, the sweeter it grew;
For the lily in the bud will be bonnier yet.

"Young Charlie Cochran was the sprout of an aik,
Bonnie and blooming and strait was its make,
The sun took delight to shine for its sake;
And it will be the brag o' the forest yet.

"The summer is gane when the leaves they were green,
And the days are awa' that we hae seen,
But far better days I trust will come again;
For my bonnie laddie's young but he's growing yet."

A ballad, which the editor has printed for the first time, called "The bonnie Banks of Fordie," is a fair model of the characteristics of a ballad in subject, in manners, and language. Three ladies live in a bower, which they leave to gather flowers on the bonnie banks of Fordie: Here they are surprised by the sudden appearance of a rude gentleman, who makes, very abruptly, an offer of instant marriage:

"He's ta'en the first sister by her hand
Eh vow bonnie,
And he's turned her round and made her stand
On the bonnie banks o' Fordie.

"Its whether will ye be a rank robber's wife,
Eh vow bonnie,
Or will ye die by my wee pen knife,
On the bonnie banks o' Fordie?"

"It's I'll not be a rank robber's wife,
Eh vow bonnie,
But I'll rather die by your wee pen knife,
On the bonnie banks o' Fordie.'

"He's killed this may and he's laid her by,
Eh vow bonnie,
For to bear the red rose company,
On the bonnie banks of Fordie."

This scene is repeated with the second sister in similar words, and is about to be enacted with the third. Before, however, "she is laid by to bear the red rose company," she threatens that her brother, who is said to haunt the wood in the neighbourhood, a "banisht man," will revenge her fate. On mentioning his name, it appears that the "rank robber" is that very brother.

"'O since I've done this evil deed,
Eh vow bonnie,
Good sall never be seen o' me,
On the bonnie banks o' Fordie.'

"He's taken out his wee pen knife,
Eh vow bonnie,
And he's twyned himself o' his ain sweet life,
On the bonnie banks o' Fordie."

The beginning of the romantic ballad of "Clerk Saunders" will exemplify our remarks on the speed with which they settle in ballads all arrangements, whether of love or death.

"Clerk Saunders and May Margaret,
Walked over yon garden green;
And sad and heavy was the love
That fell thir twa between.

"'A bed, a bed,' Clerk Saunders said,
'A bed for you and me!'
'Fye, na, fye, na,' said Margaret,
'Till anes we married be.

"'For in may come my seven bauld brothers,
Wi' torches burning bright;
They'll say—We hae but ae sister,
And behold she's wi' a knight!'

"'Then take the sword frae my scabbard,
And slowly lift the pin;
And you may swear, and safe your aith,
Ye never let Clerk Saunders in.

"'And take a napkin in your hand,
And tie up baith your bonny een;
And ye may swear, and safe your aith,
Ye saw me na since late yestreen.'

"It was about the midnight hour,
When they asleep were laid,
When in and cam her seven brothers,
Wi' torches burning red.

"When in and cam her seven brothers,
Wi' torches shining bright;

They said—'We hae but ae sister,
And behold her lying wi' a knight!'

"Then out and spake the first o' them,
'I bear the sword shall gar him die!'
And out and spake the second o' them,
'His father has nae mair than he!'

"And out and spake the third o' them,
'I wot that they are lovers dear!'
And out and spake the fourth o' them,
'They hae been in love this mony a year!'

"Then out and spake the fifth o' them,
'It were great sin true love to twain!'
And out and spake the sixth o' them,
'It were shame to slay a sleeping man!'

"Then up and gat the seventh o' them,
And never a word spake he;
But he has striped his bright brown brand,
Out through Clerk Saunders' fair bodye.

"Clerk Saunders he started, and Margaret she turned
Into his arms as asleep she lay;
And sad and silent was the night
That was atween thir twae.

"And they lay still and sleeped sound,
Until the day began to daw,
And kindly to him she did say,
'It 's time, true love, you were awa.'

"But he lay still and sleeped sound,
Albeit the sun began to sheen;
She looked atween her and the wa'
And dull and drowsie were his een," &c. &c.

We were amused with the conclusion of the ballad called "Catherine Johnstone," which ends with a stroke of satire very little creditable to the hospitality of Scotland, though rigidly borne out by the testimony of these veracious documents, the old ballads.

"Come a' ye English gentlemen,
That is of England born;
Come na doun to Scotland,
For fear ye get the scorn.

"They 'll feed ye up wi' flattering words,
And that's foul play;
And they 'll dress you frogs instead of fish,
Just on your wedding day."

The subject of the ballad of Andrew Lammie is low in the class of its characters, but it possesses a great deal of that true pathos which distinguishes this species of composition almost from every other. The hero is no higher in degree than a trumpeter, and the heroine, "Tifty's bonny Annie," is the daughter of

a farmer, "Mill o' Tifty." This man spurns the connexion his daughter would fain make by marriage with Andrew Lammie, the trumpeter of the Laird of Fyvie. It seems that great men in those times were preceded by a trumpeter, who also blew from the castle walls a blast at particular hours. The blame of this attachment ought certainly to have fallen upon the mother; for, according to the opening of the story, it was her experienced eye that first detected the charms of Andrew, and pointed them out to her youthful daughter.

"At Mill o' Tifty liv'd a man,
In the neighbourhood of Fyvie;
He had a lovely daughter fair,
Was called bonny Annie.

"Her bloom was like the springing flower,
That salutes the rosy morning;
With innocence, and graceful mien,
Her beauteous form adorning.

"Lord Fyvie had a Trumpeter,
Whose name was Andrew Lammie;
He had the art to gain the heart,
Of Mill o' Tiftie's Annie.

"Proper he was, both young and gay,
His like was not in Fyvie;
No one was there that could compare,
With this same Andrew Lammie.

"Lord Fyvie he rode by the door,
Where lived Tiftie's Annie;
His Trumpeter rode him before,
Even this same Andrew Lammie.

"Her mother call'd her to the door,
'Come here to me my Annie;
Did you ever see a prettier man,
Than this Trumpeter of Fyvie?'"

It is doubtful however whether Annie had not previously set the eyes of love upon the trumpeter, or perhaps it may be that the moan she makes in her bed is supposed as taking place after the lapse of some time.

"At night when they went to their beds,
All slept full sound but Annie;
Love so opprest her tender breast,
Thinking on Andrew Lammie.

"'Love comes in at my bed side,
And love lies down beyond me;
Love has possess'd my tender breast,
And love will waste my body.

"'The first time I and my love met,
Was in the woods of Fyvie;

His lovely form and speech so sweet,
Soon gain'd the heart of Annie.

"'He call'd me mistress, I said, No,
I 'm Tiftie's bonny Annie;
With apples sweet, he did me treat,
And kisses soft and many.

"'It's up and down in Tiftie's den,
Where the burn runs clear and bonny,
I've often gone to meet my love,
My bonny Andrew Lammie.'"

When her father made the discovery that she had placed her affections on a person so far beneath her, he not only treated her with harshness, but taunted her with the malicious reproach with which the following extract commences. It will be seen, however, with what courage she bore up against his insults, and how faithfully she adhered to her vows, how fearlessly she prided herself in her choice, and persisted till death in her resolution, but at the same time with the quiet firmness of affection, and none of the insolence of rebellion.

"Her father lock'd the door at night,
Laid by the keys fu' canny;
And when he heard the trumpet sound,
Said, 'Your cow is lowing, Annie.'

"'My father dear, I pray forbear,
And reproach no more your Annie;
For I 'd rather hear that cow to low,
Than ha'e a' the kine in Fyvie.

"'I would not for my braw new gown,
And a' your gifts sae many,
That it were told in Fyvie's land,
How cruel you are to Annie.

"'But if ye strike me I will cry,
And gentlemen will hear me;
Lord Fyvie will be riding by,
And he'll come in and see me.'

"At the same time, the Lord came in,
He said, 'What ails thee, Annie?'
'Tis all for love now I must die,
For bonny Andrew Lammie.'

"'Pray Mill o' Tifty gi'e consent,
And let your daughter marry.'
'It will be with some higher match,
Than the Trumpeter of Fyvie.'

"'If she were come of as high a kind,
As she's adorned with beauty;
I would take her unto myself,
And make her mine own lady.'

"'Its Fyvie's lands are fair and wide,
And they are rich and bonny;
I would not leave my own true love,
For all the lands of Fyvie.'

"Her father struck her wondrous sore,
As also did her mother;
Her sisters always did her scorn;
But woe be to her brother."

The blow of this brutal brother actually broke the poor girl's back; and though the ballad says she died of a broken heart, we believe we are correct in holding that a broken back would be quite enough to produce the bonnie Annie's death. We only wish that it had been our lot to be on the coroner's jury, for an inquest was assuredly taken on the occasion. The concluding stanzas of the ballad show that poor Annie maintained her love to the last, and that she submitted to her hard fate with a beautiful resignation. The request that her mother would lay her face towards Fyvie is very touching.

"'O mother dear, make ye my bed,
And lay my face to Fyvie;
Thus will I ly, and thus will die,
For my love Andrew Lammie!

"'Ye neighbours hear both far and near,
Ye pity Tiftie Annie;
Who dies for love of one poor lad,
For bonny Andrew Lammie.

"'No kind of vice e'er stain'd my life,
Nor hurt my virgin honour;
My youthful heart was won by love,
But death will me exoner."

"Her mother then she made her bed,
And laid her face to Fyvie;
Her tender heart it soon did break,
And ne'er saw Andrew Lammie."

We have not room to quote from any part of Lambert Linkin; but we recommend his revenge to the consideration of all those who build castles and do not pay their stone-masons.

"Belinkin was as gude a mason
As e'er pickt a stane;
He built up Prime Castle,
But payment gat nane."

Our limits will only permit us to give one more example of the beauties of the ancient ballad, and that one shall be an entire story, which, while it is written with considerable spirit and talent, furnishes a very good general model of both the merits and defects of this popular form of song: it is called Lady Maisry.

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" The young lords o' the north country
Have all a wooing gane,
To win the love of Lady Maisry;
But o' them she wou'd hae nane.

" O, thae hae sought her, Lady Maisry,
Wi' broaches and wi' rings;
And they hae courted her, Lady Maisry,
Wi' a' kin kind of things;

" And they hae sought her, Lady Maisry,
Frae father and frae mither;
And they hae sought her, Lady Maisry,
Frae sister and frae brither.

" And they hae follow'd her, Lady Maisry,
Through chamber and through ha';
But a' that they could say to her,
Her answer still was 'Na.'

" 'O, haud your tongues, young men,' she said,
'And think nae mair on me;
For I've gi'en my love to an English lord,
Sae think nae mair on me.'

" Her father's kitchen boy heard that,
(An ill death mot he die!)
And he is in to her brother,
As fast as gang cou'd he.

" 'O, is my father and my mother weel,
Bot, and my brothers three?
Gin my sister Lady Maisry be weel,
There's naething can ail me.'

" 'Your father and your mother is weel,
Bot and your brothers three;
Your sister, Lady Maisry 's weel;
Sae big wi' bairn is she.'

" 'A malison light on the tongue,
Sic tidings tells to me!—
But gin it be a lie you tell,
You shall be hanged hie.'

" He 's doen him to his sister's bower,
Wi' mickle dool and care;
And there he saw her, Lady Maisry,
Kembing her yellow hair.

" 'O, wha is aucht that bairn,' he says,
'That ye sae big are wi'?
And gin ye winna own the truth,
This moment ye shall die.'

" She 's turned her richt and round about,
And the kembe fell frae her han';
A trembling seized her fair bodie,
And her rosy cheek grew wan.

" ' O pardon me, my brother dear,
And the truth I 'll tell to thee;
My bairn is to Lord William,
And he is betrothed to me.'

" ' O cou'dna ye gotten dukes, or lords,
Intill your ain countrie,
That ye drew up wi' an English dog
To bring this shame on me?

" ' But ye maun gi'e up your English lord,
Whan your young babe is born;
For, gin ye keep by him an hour langer,
Your life shall be forlorn.'

" ' I will gi'e up this English lord,
Till my young babe is born;
But the never a day nor hour langer,
Though my life should be forlorn.'

" ' O where is a' my merry young men
Wham I gi'e meat and fee,
To pu' the bracken and the thorn,
To burn this vile whore wi'?'

" ' O whare will I get a bonny boy,
To help me in my need,
To rin wi' haste to Lord William,
And bid him come wi' speed?'

" O out it spak a bonny boy,
Stood by her brother's side;
' It 's I wad rin your errand, lady,
O'er a' the warld wide.

" ' Aft ha'e I run your errands, lady,
When blawin baith wind and weet;
But now I 'll rin your errands, lady,
With saut tears on my cheek.'

" O whan he came to broken briggs,
He bent his bow and swam;
And when he came to the green grass growin,
He slack'd his shoon and ran.

" And whan he came to Lord William's yetts,
He badena to chap or ca';
But set his bent bow to his breast,
And lightly lap the wa';

" And, or the porter was at the yett,
The boy was in the ha'.

" ' O is my biggins broken, boy?
Or is my towers won?
Or is my lady lighter yet,
O' a dear daughter or son?'

" ' Your biggin isna broken, sir,
Nor is your towers won;
But the fairest lady in a' the land
This day for you maun burn.'

"'O saddle to me the black, the black,
Or saddle to me the brown;
Or saddle to me the swiftest steed
That ever rade frae a town.'

"Or he was near a mile awa',
She heard his weir-horse sneeze;
'Mend up the fire, my fause brother,
It 's nae come to my knees.'

"O, whan he lighted at the yett,
She heard his bridle ring:
'Mend up the fire, my fause brother;
It 's far yet frae my chin.

"'Mend up the fire to me, brother,
Mend up the fire to me;
For I see him comin' hard and fast
Will soon men't up for thee.

"'O gin my hands had been loose, Willy,
Sae hard as they are boun',
I wad hae turned me frae the gleed,
And casten out your young son.'

"'O, I 'll gar burn for you, Maisry,
Your father and your mother;
And I 'll gar burn for you, Maisry,
Your sister and your brother;

"'And I 'll gar burn for you, Maisry,
The chief o' a' your kin;
And the last bonfire that I come to,
Mysell I will cast in.'"

It is scarcely just to conclude our notice of Mr. Motherwell's publication without giving an example of that part which we presume he calls his Modern Minstrelsy. The "Master of Weemys" is a ballad of which he says nothing, save that it was never before published. It does not require his silence, nor yet his information, to enable us to detect the modern poet in this imitation of the ancient style. It is, however, one of the best of the modern antiques; and we have seen in the Border Minstrelsy and elsewhere some very clever ones. By placing it here we shall throw a strong light upon the peculiarities of the ballad. When the "Master of Wemyss" adheres to his originals it illustrates their manners; still more, however, does it do so when it departs from their ancient simplicity of description.

"The Master of Weemyss has biggit a ship,
To saile upon the sea;
And four-and-twenty bauld mariners,
Doe beare him companie.

"They have hoistit sayle and left the land,
They have saylit mylis three;
When up there lap the bonnie mermayd,
All in the Norland sea.

" 'O whare saile ye,' quo' the bonnie mermayd,
'Upon the saut sea faem?'
'It's we are bounde until Norroway,
God send us skaithless hame!

" Oh Norroway is a gay gay strande
And a merrie land I trowe;
But nevir nane sall see Norroway
Gin the mermaid keeps her vowe.

" Down doukit then, the mermayden,
Deep intil the middil sea;
And merrie leuch that master bauld,
With his jollie companie.

" They saylit awa, and they saylit awa,
They have saylit leagues ten;
When, lo! uplap be the gude ship's side
The self same mermayden.

" Shee held a glass intil her richt hande,
In the uthir shee held a kame,
And shee kembit her haire, and aye shee sang
As shee flotterit on the faem.

" And shee gliskit round and round about,
Upon the waters wan;
O nevir againe on land or sea
Shall be seen sik a fair woman.

" And shee shed the haire off her milk white bree
Wi' her fingers sae sma' and lang;
And fast as saylit that gude ship on,
Sae louder was aye her sang.

" And aye shee sang, and aye shee sang
As shee rade upon the sea;
'If ye bee men of Christian moulde
Throwe the master out to mee.

" 'Throwe out to mee the master bauld
If ye bee Christian men;
But an ye faile, though fast ye sayle
Ye'll nevir see land agen!

" 'Sayle on, sayle on, sayle on,' said shee,
'Sayle on and nevir blinne,
The winde at will your saylis may fill,
But the land ye shall nevir win!'

" Its never word spak that master bauld,
But a loud laugh leuch the crewe;
And in the deep then the mermayden
Doun drappit frae their viewe.

" But ilk ane kythit her bonnie face,
How dark dark grew its lire;
And ilk ane saw her bricht bricht eyne
Leming like coals o' fire.

" And ilk ane saw her lang bricht hair
Gae flashing through the tide,

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And the sparkles o' the glass shee brake
Upon that gude ship's side.

"'Steer on, steer on, thou master bauld,
The wind blaws unco hie;'
'O there's not a sterne in a' the lift
To guide us thro' the sea!'

"'Steer on, steer on, thou master bauld,
The storm is coming fast;'
'Then up, then up, my bonnie boy,
Unto the topmost mast.

"'Creep up unto the tallest mast,
Gae up my ae best man;
Climb up until the tall top mast
And spy gin ye see land.'

"'Oh all is mirk towards the eist,
And all is mirk be west;
Alas, there is not a spot of light
Where any eye can rest!'

"'Looke oute, looke oute my bauldest man,
Looke oute unto the storme,
And if ye cannot get sicht o' land,
Do you see the dawin o' morn?'

"'Oh alace, alace, my master deare,'
Spak then that ae best man;
'Nor licht, nor land, nor living thing,
Do I spy on any hand.'

"'Looke yet agen my ae best man,
And tell me what ye do see:'
'O Lord! I spy the false mermayden
Fast sayling out owre the sea!'

"'How can ye spy the fause mermayden
Fast sayling on the mirk sea,
For there's neither mune nor mornin' licht—
In troth it can nevir bee.'

"'O there is neither mune nor mornin' licht,
Nor ae star's blink on the sea;
But as I am a Christian man,
That witch woman I see!

"'Good Lord; there is a scaud o' fire
Fast coming out owre the sea;
And fast therein the grim mermayden
Is sayling on to thee!

"'Shee hailes our ship wi' a shrill shrill cry—
Shee is coming, alace, more near:'
'Ah woe is me now,' said the master bauld,
'For I both do see and hear!

"'Come doun, come doun my ae best man,
For an ill weird I maun drie:
Yet, I reck not for my sinful self,
But thou my trew companie!'"

Relacion Historica del Viage a la América Meridional, decho de orden de S. Mag., para medir alqunos Grados de Meridiano Terrestre, y venir por ellos en conocimiento de la verdadera Figura y Magnitud de la Tierra, con otras varias Observaciones Astronomicas y Phisicas. Por D. Antonio de Ulloa y D. Gorge Juan, &c. &c. Madrid, 1748. 5 *vols.* 4*to.*

Voyage Historique de l'Amerique Meridionale. 4*to.* 2 *tom. Paris,* 1752.

A Voyage to South America, describing at large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, &c. on that extensive Continent. Interspersed with Reflections on the Genius, Customs, Manners, and Trade of the Inhabitants: together with the Natural History of the Country, &c. By Don George Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa. Translated from the Spanish. London, 1758. 2 *vols.* 8*vo.*

A Voyage to South America, &c. &c. By Don George Juan and Don Antonio Ulloa, Captains of the Spanish Navy, Fellows of the Royal Society of London, Members of the Royal Academy at Paris. Translated from the original Spanish, with Notes and Observations, and an Account of the Brazils. By John Adams, Esq. of Waltham Abbey, who resided several Years in those Parts. 4th Edition, illustrated with Plates. London, 1806. 2 *vols.* 8*vo.*

The new interest which attaches itself to the countries of South America leads us back to consider what the literature of former times has done for the illustration of its natural and historical peculiarities. The library of books the sole subject of which is the continent of North and South America, is composed of so many and such important works, as to require a separate catalogue of its contents. In 1789, an attempt was made to include in one quarto volume, under the name of Bibliotheca Americana, the titles of all the writings which related to these vast and interesting countries: the extreme imperfectness of this chronological catalogue only shows the extent of the undertaking. Whatever may be said of the arbitrary character of the government of Spain in its South American colonies, it cannot be denied that it has always shown itself extremely solicitous in collecting information respecting their natural, social, and historical properties. The propensity of men to narrate the wonders they have witnessed, on their return among their countrymen, has always been encouraged and rewarded by the Spanish authorities, and in some instances inquiry has originated with them. The Travels of Ulloa, which may be selected as the most interesting and satisfactory work of its kind, arose out of the desire of the French government to send certain members of the Academy of

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Sciences to measure a degree in the equinoctial countries of Peru. This request was not only accorded in the most courteous manner, but the King of Spain conceived the design of sharing the honour of a scheme devoted to the advancement of knowledge. In order not only to secure the protection and the welcome reception of the company of French sçavans, he selected out of his own navy two of its most scientific officers, and appointed them to accompany the expedition, assist in its labours, and promote its object to the extent of their power. For several years those celebrated men, Godin, Bouguer, and Condamine, accompanied by several others, and in conjunction with Don George Juan and Don Antonio Ulloa, carried on a series of operations of unexampled difficulty, and encountered hardships and sufferings which demanded all the strength of the strongest constitutions, and the energy and resolution of minds elevated and stimulated by a love of science, the ambition of literary distinction, and that high feeling of duty which demands the completion of an engagement at any risk. It will readily be believed, that in the course of proceeding to the scene of their exertions (and this preliminary step took a year in its execution), and during the years that elapsed before the task was brought to a conclusion, numerous opportunities were presented of acquiring accurate information concerning the countries in which they were engaged: and these opportunities, so far from being neglected, were improved to the utmost by Ulloa and Juan, men who appear to have been armed at all points with the necessary accomplishments of the traveller. Science opened all nature to their examination, and their minds were alike awake to the interests of commerce and the phenomena of society. The power of accurately examining is one quality, and the power of describing the object examined is another: these writers possessed both in great perfection. They have not the buoyancy of Le Vaillant, but they are more patient in their expositions, and they are equally enterprising, and almost as vigilant observers of nature: they do not communicate that personal interest which we feel for the fortunes of Park or Bruce, but then they are more methodical, and pour forth more copious streams of information. Other men of science have contented themselves with recording their proceedings with accuracy and distinctness, but these Spaniards add the graces of style; and the felicity and naturalness of the reflections and sentiments with which they adorn their narrative give the work a richness and fulness of instruction which make the reader in love with information that might otherwise have been considered dry and insipid.

The Travels of Ulloa are the unacknowledged source of much that has been published in other forms. That these plagiarisms have passed unnoticed has doubtless arisen from the work itself

not being so generally known as it ought to be. Amidst so many republications in miscellanies and otherwise, it is surprising, that in times when the interest excited by the second discovery of South America, as its emancipation from the authority of Spain has been called, recurrence has not been had to pages so worthy of universal perusal. We propose in the present paper to bring together some of the information this work contains; and thus lead on the reader to a more perfect perusal of the original. We may, perhaps, be fortunate enough to set the idea of republication in a form adapted to general circulation before the mind of some person able and willing to carry the design into execution. If it were accompanied with notes, this work might become the channel of instructing young people in all the science of physical geography. No more agreeable means of impressing this instruction upon the mind could be found than Ulloa's record of the proceedings of the company of sçavans. We are not aware of any elementary work which teaches the young student the objects which are aimed at in measuring an arc of the meridian, and the steps by which it is performed; the importance of watching the variation of the needle, with reference to ascertaining the degree of longitude; the use of the barometer in estimating heights, &c. &c. These notes should likewise contain a full comparison of all measures, weights, and coins, that may be spoken of in the course of the work: botanical, medical, and other similar illustrations should also be added in a brief form. The whole would form an unrivalled *practical* introduction to the sciences connected with the important study of geography.

The countries which were traversed by Ulloa, and to which the principal part of his observations extend, now form the republic of Columbia. He lands at Carthagena; and with the intention of making as speedily as possible to Quito, which lies under the equinoxial line, he, with his companions, proceeded to Porto Bello, in order to cross the isthmus, and thus get to the South Sea. This they made at Panama, to which town they proceeded by ascending the river Chagre to Cruces; the course which has been recommended by some for a canal to join the two Atlantics with the Pacific. From Panama the party proceeded by sea to Guayaquil: their course lay through an extensive district, which has been denominated the Equinoxial Low Countries, until the mountains of the table-land received them amidst its precipices and ravines. A most difficult and dangerous journey leads them to Quito in the deserts: in its neighbourhood, situated among the regions of eternal snow, hurricane, and cloud, they laid the scene of their arduous exertions. The experience of Ulloa and Juan would probably have been limited to the line

of their scientific pursuits, had not the squadron of Anson appeared in the South Seas, and spread dismay over the vice-royalty of Peru. The governor lost no time in sending for the two distinguished naval officers, who at the time were raised far above all the squabbles of earth, amidst the clouds of the Andes, in order to concert with them measures of defence. Anson and his sailors landed, and seized the town of Paitos, deserted by its terrified inhabitants. Having sacked this place, and it being accidentally set on fire, the commodore sailed away in search of other adventures, and the scientific captains were again permitted to resume their arduous task. The viceroy had given each of them a ship; and the various cruises which they made in command of them extended the sphere of their travels, and add considerably to their extent and variety.

The magnitude of the scale upon which all the phenomena of South America are constructed strikes the observer with more force than perhaps any other feature. The stupendous size of its mountains; the oceanic character of its mighty rivers; the vastness of its forests, and the loftiness and bulk of the trees that compose it; the volume of serpents that roll round their trunks, and the other reptiles, which in Europe are insignificant, but here swell into a loathsome magnificence: to these must be added the luxuriant grandeur of all flowers, plants, fruits, grapes, herbs, and foliage, which are scarcely more remarkable for the brilliancy of their colouring than the extent of their surface. The violence with which all processes hurry to their final conclusion, in other words, their intensity, is another striking peculiarity. Whether it be a disease, the bite of a serpent, or commotion of the earth, intensity is its character; violent in its commencement; speedy in its termination; fatal in its results. Man alone is somewhat dwarfish both in spirit and in body in these regions, which seem to be favourable to every production of nature but that of human beings. His works here are few and fragile. The character of humanity, which, in the old countries of the world, stamps a dignity on creation, in South America approaches the level of the inferior brutes. The tribes of Europe have, however, engrafted their superior blood; and if we may judge by the proceedings of late years, the condition of humanity bids fair to correspond with the scenes in which he is placed.

In our selections from Ulloa, we shall be guided chiefly by a desire to illustrate these remarks on the character of South America, by assembling in one point of view such descriptions of natural objects as will serve not only to confirm them, but to give the reader a lively idea of the grand difference which prevails between the characteristics of the new and the old world.

In Ulloa's description of the trees and vegetables in the

neighbourhood of Carthagena, among several other remarkable productions, he mentions the mançanillo, which its virulence renders worthy of the horrid climate in which it grows:

"The mançanillo is particularly remarkable; its name is derived from the Spanish word mançan, an apple, which the fruit of this tree exactly resembles in shape, colour, and flavour; but contains, under this beautiful appearance, such a subtle poison, that its effects are perceived before it is tasted. The tree is large, and its branches form near the top a kind of crown; its wood hard, and of a yellowish tint. On being cut, it issues out a white juice, but not unlike that of the fig-tree, less white, and of a thinner consistence, but equally poisonous with the fruit itself; for, if any happens to drop on any part of the flesh, it immediately causes an ulcer and inflammation, and, unless speedy application be used, soon spreads through all the other parts of the body; so that it is necessary, after felling it, to leave it till thoroughly dried, in order to its being worked without danger; and then appears the beauty of this wood, which is exquisitely variegated and veined like marble on its yellow ground. Upon tasting its fruit, the body immediately swells, till the violence of the poison, wanting sufficient room, bursts it, as has been too fully confirmed by several melancholy instances of European sailors who have been sent on shore to cut wood. The same unhappy consequence also attended great numbers of Spaniards at the conquest of these countries, till, according to Herrera, common oil was found to be the powerful antidote to this subtle poison.

"But such is the malignity of the mançanillo, that if a person happens to sleep under it, he is soon awaked, and finds his body swelled almost as much as if he had actually eaten the fruit; and continues in great danger and tortures, till relieved by repeated anointings and the use of cooling draughts. The very beasts themselves, by their natural instinct, are so far from eating its fruit, that they never approach the tree."

The palm-tree is the ensign of the west, and is more characteristic of its country than the thistle of Scotland or the rose of England. It supplies both bread and wine:

"The palm-trees, rising with their tufted heads above the branches of the others, form a grand perspective on the mountains. They distinguish four principal species: the first produce coco; the second dates, of a very pleasant taste; the third, called palma-real, whose fruit, though of the same figure, but something less than the date, is not at all palatable, but has a very disagreeable taste; and the fourth, which they call corozo, has a fruit larger than dates, of an exquisite taste, and proper for making cooling and wholesome draughts. The palmitos, or branches of the palma-real, are agreeably tasted, and so large as frequently to weigh from two to three arrobas[1]. The other species also produce them, but neither in such plenty, nor so succulent. Palm-wine is also extracted from all the four; but that from the palma-real and corozo is much the best. The manner of making it is either by cutting down the palm-tree, or boring a hole in the

[1] The arroba is twenty-five pounds.

trunk, in which is placed a tap, with a vessel under it for receiving the liquor, which, after five or six days' fermentation, becomes fit for drinking. The colour of it is whitish; the taste racy: it bears a greater head than beer, and is of a very inebriating quality. The natives, however, reckon it cooling, and it is the favourite liquor of the Indians and negroes."

South America is scarcely less prolific in poisons than alexipharmics: nature seems to play at bane and antidote. Near Carthagena grows a bean of very peculiar properties in this kind. It is a bejuco bean: there are numerous kinds of bejucos all over these countries: one species supplies ropes and bands of great strength and suppleness; another, the one in question, the habilla, the alexipharmic bean:

"One species is particularly known on account of its fruit, called habilla de Carthagena, the bean of Carthagena. It is about an inch broad, and nine lines in length, flat, and in the shape of a heart. The shell, though thin, is hard, and on the outside scabrous. It contains a kernel resembling an almond, but less white, and extremely bitter. This is one of the most effectual antidotes known in that country against the bites of vipers and serpents; for, a little of it being eaten immediately after the bite, it presently stops the effects of the poison; and, accordingly, all who frequent the woods, either for felling trees or hunting, never fail to eat a little of this habilla fasting, and repair to their work without any apprehension. I was informed by a European, who was a famous hunter, and by several other persons worthy of credit, that, with this precaution, if any one happened to be bit by a serpent, it was attended with no ill consequence. The natives tell you, that, this habilla being hot in the highest degree, much of it cannot be eaten; that the common dose of it is less than the fourth part of a kernel; and that no hot liquor, as wine, brandy, &c. must be drunk immediately after taking it."

Before we leave the neighbourhood, we must record an amusing plan by which wild geese are taken on the lakes in this quarter:

"The extreme cheapness of which naturally inclined us to ask how they caught them in such quantities? In answer to our question, we received the following account: Near Carthagena, to the eastward of Monte de la Popa, is a large lake called La Cienega de Tescas, abounding with fish, but reckoned unwholesome. The water of this lake, communicating with the sea, is salt, but without increase or decrease, the difference of the tides here being insignificant. Every evening vast flights of geese retire hither from all the neighbouring countries, as their natural place of rest during the night. The persons who catch these birds throw into the lake about fifteen or twenty large calabashes, which they call totumos; and the geese, being accustomed to see these calabashes floating on the water, never avoid them. In three or four days, the persons return early in the morning to the lake, with another calabash, having holes in it for seeing and breathing. This calabash he places on his head, and walks in the water, with only the calabash above the surface. In this manner, with all

possible stillness, he moves towards the geese, pulling them under water with one hand, and then seizing them with the other. When he has thus taken as many as he is able to carry, he returns towards the shore, and delivers them to his companion, who waits for him at a certain distance in the water. This done, he renews his sport, either till he has taken as many as he desires, or the birds begin to disperse over the country."

The bird called the gallinazo performs the office of scavenger in South America, which, did it not undertake the duty, would certainly be left undischarged by any other being. Its habits are curious:

"To describe all the other extraordinary birds would engage me in a prolixity of little entertainment or use; but I hope a word or two on the gallinazos will be excused. This bird is about the size of a pea-hen, but the neck and head something larger. From the crop to the base of the bill, instead of feathers, it has a wrinkled, glandulous, and rough skin, covered with small warts and tubercles. Its feathers are black, which is also the colour of this skin, but usually with something of a brownish tint. Its bill is well proportioned, strong, and a little crooked. They are so numerous and tame in the city, that it is not uncommon to see the ridges of the houses covered with them. They are also very serviceable, for they clean the city from all kinds of filth and ordure, greedily devouring any dead animal, and, when these are wanting, seek other filth. They have so quick a scent, that they will smell at the distance of three or four leagues a dead carcass, and never leave it till they have entirely reduced it to a skeleton. The infinite number of these birds found in such hot climates is an excellent provision of nature, as otherwise the putrefaction caused by the constant and excessive heat would render the air insupportable to human life. At first they fly heavily, but afterwards dart up out of sight. On the ground they hop along with a kind of torpor, though their legs are strong and well proportioned. They have three toes forward, turning inwards, and one in the inside, turned a little backwards; so that, the feet interfering, they cannot walk with any agility, but are obliged to hop or skip. Each toe has a long and thick claw.

"When the gallinazos find no food in the city, their hunger drives them into the country, among the beasts in the pastures; and on seeing any one with a sore on the back, they immediately alight on it, and attack the part affected. It is in vain for the poor beast to endeavour to free itself from these devourers, either by rolling on the ground, or hideous cries; for they never quit their hold, but with their bills so widen the wound that the creature soon expires.

"There is another kind of gallinazos, somewhat larger than these, only to be met with in the country. In some of these the head and part of the neck are white, in some red, and in others a mixture of both these colours. A little above the beginning of the crop, they have a ruff of white feathers. These are equally fierce and carnivorous with the former, and called the kings of the gallinazos; probably because the number of them is but few: and it is observed, that when one of these has fastened on a dead beast, none of the others approach

till he has eaten the eyes, with which he generally begins, and is gone to another part, when they all flock to the prey."

The natives of these parts make a use of lime-juice, which seems to be elsewhere unknown. By steeping any piece of meat in this fluid a short time previous to its being cooked, they shorten the culinary process so much, that a single hour will dress any joint or lump however large: if it is to be boiled, and not roasted, the juice of three or four limes is squeezed into the water. Ulloa observes, that the people there laugh at Europeans for spending a morning about what they despatch in an hour; but they should send us their limes before they indulge in their merriment.

The district of Porto Bello abounds in toads to such an extent that, after rain, the whole town is apparently paved with them; and it is the vulgar notion that the heavens rain them down. This idea is gravely and philosophically combated by the author; in the course of which he gives us a lively idea of the breathing and moving state of the dust of Porto Bello.

"Serpents are here as numerous and deadly as at Carthagena; and toads innumerable, swarming not only in the damp and marshy places, as in other countries, but even in the streets, courts of great houses, and all open places in general. The great numbers of them, and their appearance after the least shower, have induced some to imagine, that every drop of water becomes a toad; and though they allege, as a proof, the extraordinary increase of them on the smallest shower, their opinion does not seem to me well founded. It is evident, that these reptiles abound both in the forests and neighbouring rivers, and even in the town itself; and produce a prodigious quantity of animalcula, from whence, according to the best naturalists, these reptiles are formed. These animalcula either rise in the vapours, which form the rain, and falling together with it on the ground, which is extremely heated by the rays of the sun, or being already deposited in it by the toads, grow, and become animated, in no less numbers than were formerly seen in Europe. But some of them which appear after rains being so large as to measure six inches in length, they cannot be imagined the effect of an instantaneous production; I am therefore inclined to think, from my own observations, that this part of the country, being remarkably moist, is very well adapted to nourish the breed of those creatures, which love watery places; and therefore avoid those parts of the ground exposed to the rays of the sun, seeking others where the earth is soft, and there form themselves cavities in the ground, to enjoy the moisture; and as the surface over them is generally dry, the toads are not perceived; but no sooner does it begin to rain, than they leave their retreats, to come at the water, which is their supreme delight; and thus fill the streets and open places. Hence the vulgar opinion had its rise, that the drops of rain were transformed into toads. When it has rained in the night, the streets and squares in the morning seem paved with these reptiles; so that you cannot step without treading on them, which sometimes is pro-

ductive of troublesome bites; for, besides their poison, they are large enough for their teeth to be severely felt. Some we have already observed to be six inches long, and this is their general measure; and there are such numbers of them, that nothing can be imagined more dismal than their croakings, during the night, in all parts of the town, woods, and caverns of the mountains.

Porto Bello is a fatal spot in English history. The forces under Admiral Vernon paid dearly for a temporary possession. The well-known lines of Thomson record the ravages of its deadly climate. It was to this port that the English used to send the Navio de Permisso. The exclusion of all foreign intercourse with the Spanish colonies was at one time relaxed in favour of one annual vessel. Ulloa records the ingenuity with which the British contrived to evade the conditions of the bargain.

"Whilst the English were permitted to send an annual ship, called Navio de Permisso, she used to bring to the fair a large cargo on her own account, never failing first to touch at Jamaica, so that her loading alone was more than half of all those brought by the galleons; for, besides that her burden so far exceeded five hundred Spanish tons, that it was even more than nine hundred, she had no provisions, water, or other things, which fill a great part of the hold; she indeed took them in at Jamaica, from whence she was attended by five or six smaller vessels, loaded with goods, which, when arrived near Porto Bello, were put on board her, and the provisions removed into the tenders: by which artifice the single ship was made to carry more than five or six of the largest galleons. This nation having a free trade, and selling cheaper than the Spaniards, that indulgence was of infinite detriment to the commerce of Spain."

At this period, before the commerce of this country was thrown open to the world, a very considerable traffic was carried on between Porto Bello on one side the isthmus, and Panama on the other. Could a junction be effected between the two shores, it would doubtless become one of the richest channels of commerce in the world. But if we may judge from the painful toil which Ulloa and his companions underwent in making the transit, the difficulty of rendering the intercourse more facile must be very considerable. The velocity of the Chagre, which runs in a slanting direction partly across the isthmus, is ten toises and a foot—about twenty-four feet—in twenty-six seconds and a half. It increases rapidly with the progress upwards, until it amounts to a league an hour. At Cruces, a place about *five* leagues from Panama, the river ceases to be navigable. The author gives the following summary of the obstacles which present themselves in the way of the navigation of this river.

"At Cruces, the place where it begins to be navigable, it is only twenty toises broad; the nearest distance between this town and the

mouth is twenty-one miles, and the bearing N. W. 7° 24′ westerly; but the distance measured along the several windings of the river is no less than forty-three miles.

"It breeds a great number of caymanes or alligators; creatures often seen on its banks, which are impassable, both on account of the closeness of the trees and the bushes, which cover the ground, as it were, with thorns. Some of these trees, especially the cedar, are used in making the canoes or banjas employed on the river. Many of them being undermined by the water are thrown down by the swellings of the river; but the prodigious magnitude of the trunk, and their large and extensive branches, hinder them from being carried away by the current; so that they remain near their original situation, to the great inconvenience and even danger of the vessels; for, the greater part of them being under water, a vessel, by striking suddenly on them, is frequently overset. Another obstruction to the navigation of this river is the races, or swift currents, over the shallows, where those vessels, though built for that purpose, cannot proceed for want of a sufficient quantity of water; so that they are obliged to be lightened, till they have passed the shallow.

"The barks employed on this river are of two kinds, the chatas and bongos, called in Peru bonques. The first are composed of several pieces of timber, like barks, and of great breadth, that they may draw but little water; they carry six or seven hundred quintals. The bongos are formed out of one piece of wood; and it is surprising to think there should be trees of such prodigious bulk, some being eleven Paris feet broad, and carrying conveniently four or five hundred quintals. Both sorts have a cabin at the stern, for the conveniency of the passengers, a kind of awning, supported with a wooden stancheon reaching to the head, and a partition in the middle, which is also continued the whole length of the vessel; and over the whole, when the vessel is loaded, are laid hides, that the goods may not be damaged by the violence of the rains, which are very frequent here. Each of these require, besides the pilot, at least eighteen or twenty robust negroes; for, without such a number, they would not be able, in going up, to make any way against the current."

All the forests and woods on the banks are filled with wild beasts. The different kinds of monkeys are very numerous, of all colours and all sizes.

"The flesh of all these different kinds is highly valued by the negroes, especially that of the red; but, however delicate the meat may be, the sight of them is, I think, enough to make the appetite abhor them; for, when dead, they are scalded in order to take off the hair, whence the skin is contracted by the heat, and when thoroughly cleaned, looks perfectly white, and very greatly resembles a child of about two or three years of age, when crying. This resemblance is shocking to humanity, yet the scarcity of other food in many parts of America renders the flesh of these creatures valuable; and not only the negroes, but the Creoles and Europeans themselves, make no scruple of eating it."

Mr. Waterton, for instance, it may be remembered, speaks

with pleasure of the monkey, as an excellent addition to the common kinds of animal food.

The scenery on this river is beautiful, and is described with much life and elegance by the author.

"Nothing, in my opinion, can excel the prospects which the rivers of this country exhibit. The most fertile imagination of a painter can never equal the magnificence of the rural landscapes here drawn by the pencil of nature. The groves which shade the plains, and extend their branches to the river; the various dimensions of the trees which cover the eminences; the texture of their leaves; the figure of their fruits, and the various colours they exhibit, form a most delightful scene, which is greatly heightened by the infinite variety of creatures with which it is diversified. The different species of monkeys, skipping in troops from tree to tree, hanging from the branches, and in other places six, eight, or more of them linked together, in order to pass a river, and the dams with their young on their shoulders, throwing themselves into odd postures, making a thousand grimaces, will perhaps appear fictitious to those who have not actually seen it. But if the birds are considered, our reason for admiration will be greatly augmented: for, besides those already mentioned (Book I. chap. vii.), and which, from their abundance, seem to have had their origin on the banks of this river, here are a great variety of others, also eatable; as the wild and royal peacock, the turtle-dove, and the heron. Of the latter there are four or five species; some entirely white; others of the same colour, except the neck and some parts of the body, which are red; others black, only the neck, tips of the wings and the belly white; and some, with other mixture of colours; and all differing in size. The species first mentioned are the least; the white mixed with black the largest and most palatable. The flesh of peacocks, pheasants, and other kinds, is very delicate. The trees along the banks of this river are surprisingly loaded with fruit; but the pine-apples, for beauty, size, flavour, and fragrancy, excel those of all other countries, and are highly esteemed in all parts of America."

It has been said, with what truth we cannot determine, that the difference in the level between the two oceans would present a grand obstacle to the formation of an artificial communication between them. This is a point Ulloa does not touch upon: he remarks, however, a difference in the tides of the Atlantic and the Pacific, that might perhaps become a matter of importance.

"The tides are regular; and, according to an observation we made on the day of the conjunction, it was high-water at three in the evening. The water rises and falls considerably; so that the shore, lying on a gentle slope, is, at low water, left dry to a great distance. And here we may observe the great difference of the tides in the north and south seas, being directly opposite: what in the ports on the sea is accounted irregular, is regular in the south; and when in the former it ceases to increase or decrease, in the latter it both rises and falls, extending over the flats, and widening the channels, as the pro-

per effect of the flux and reflux. This particular is so general, as to be observed in all the ports of the South Sea; for even at Manta, which is almost under the equinoxial, the sea regularly ebbs and flows nearly six hours; and the effects of these two motions are sufficiently visible along the shores. The same happens in the river of Guayaquil, where the quantity of its waters does not interrupt the regular succession of the tides. The like phenomena are seen at Paita, Guanchaco, Callao, and the other harbours; with this difference, that the water rises and falls more in some places than in others; so that we cannot here verify the well-grounded opinion entertained by sailors, namely, that between the tropics the tides are irregular, both in the disproportion of the time of flood to that of the ebb, and also in the quantity of water rising or falling by each of these motions; the contrary happening here. This phenomenon is not easily accounted for; all that can be said is, that the isthmus, or narrow neck of land, separating the two seas, confines their waters, whereby each is subject to different laws."

The common food of the inhabitants of Panama is a creature called the guana: it is esteemed a great delicacy even by Europeans, when the first prejudice against eating a reptile is removed.

"It is amphibious, living equally on the land and in the water. It resembles a lizard in shape, but is something larger, being generally above a yard in length: some are considerably bigger, others less. It is of a yellowish green colour, but of a brighter yellow on the belly than on the back, where the green predominates. It has four legs like a lizard; but its claws are much longer in proportion; they are joined by a web, which covers them, and is of the same form as those of geese, except that the talons at the end of the toes are much longer, and project entirely out of the web or membrane. Its skin is covered with a thin scale adhering to it, which renders it rough and hard; and, from the crown of its head to the beginning of its tail, which is generally about half a yard, runs a line of vertical scales, each scale being from one to two lines in breadth, and three or four in length, separated so as to represent a kind of saw. But from the end of the neck to the root of the tail, the scales gradually lessen, so as, at the latter part, to be scarce visible. Its belly is, in largeness, very disproportionable to its body; and its teeth separated, and very sharp pointed. On the water it rather walks than swims, being supported by the webs of its feet; and on that element its swiftness is such, as to be out of sight in an instant; whereas on the land, though far from moving heavily, its celerity is greatly less. When pregnant, its belly swells to an enormous size; and indeed they often lay sixty eggs at a time, each of which is as large as those of a pigeon. These are reckoned a great dainty, not only at Panama, but in other parts where this creature is found. These eggs are all enclosed in a long, fine membrane, and form a kind of string. The flesh of this animal is exceedingly white, and universally admired by all ranks. I tasted both the flesh and the eggs, but the latter are viscid in the mouth, and of a very disagreeable taste: when dressed, their colour is the same with that of the yolk of a hen's

egg. The taste of the flesh is something better; but, though sweet, has a nauseous smell. The inhabitants, however, compared it to that of chicken; though I could not perceive the least similarity. These people, who, by being accustomed to see them, forget the natural horror attending the sight of an alligator, delight in this food, to which the Europeans at first can hardly reconcile themselves.

Mr. Adams, the translator, adds, that the guana is pleasing to most tastes, and that, if it could only be had in England, it would be accounted one of the greatest dainties. It is on the coast of the Pacific, near Panama, that the famous pearl fisheries were established. The divers were all negroes; they had temporary huts built for them on the islands, and it was the practice for them to fish in gangs. The unfortunate divers are often devoured by sharks, or pressed to death against the rocks by the huge fins of the manta. The negroes usually carried a knife to defend themselves against their enemies. The first oyster that was picked up was placed under the left arm, the next in the left hand, the third in the right, when the diver ascended, sometimes with one in his mouth. All acquired in the day over a certain number belonged to the diver himself. In what state the present fishery is we cannot discover; the modern books which pretend to give a report of the present condition of these countries being, in fact, little else than compilations from very ancient sources.

The climate and soil of Guayaquil, to which port our author sailed from Panama, is adapted to produce the richest vegetation, and a great source of its fertility is the inundations which, during a part of the year, cover its entire surface. It may be imagined that the power of the sun, acting upon the earth in such a state of maceration, is as favourable to the production of insect as vegetable life. The air is indeed so thickly inhabited that man has scarcely room to breathe, and seems placed in these regions rather as the food than the master of other animals.

"The snakes, poisonous vipers, scorpions, and scolopendræ, in this season find methods of getting into the houses, to the destruction of many of the inhabitants. And though they are not actually free from them all the rest of the year, yet at this time they are far more numerous, and also more active; so that it is absolutely necessary to examine carefully the beds, some of these animals having been known to find their way into them: and both as a safeguard against the danger, and to avoid the tortures of the moschitos and other insects, all persons, even the negro slaves and Indians, have toldos or canopies over their beds. Those used by the lower class of people are made of tucuye, or cotton, wove in the mountains: others use white linen laced, according to the temper or ability of the owner.

"Though all these hot and moist countries swarm with an infinite variety of volatile insects, yet the inhabitants are no where so greatly incommoded as at Guayaquil, it being impossible to keep a candle

burning, except in a lantern, above three or four minutes, numberless insects flying into its flame and extinguishing it. Any person therefore being obliged to be near a light, is soon driven from his post by the infinite numbers which fill his eyes, ears, and nostrils. These insects were almost insupportable to us, during the short clear intervals of some nights, which we spent in making observations on the heavenly bodies. Their stings were attended with great tortures; and more than once obliged us to abandon our observations, being unable either to see or breathe for their multitudes.

"Another terrible inconvenience attending the houses here, are the numbers of pericotes, or rats; every building being so infested with them, that, when night comes on, they quit their holes, and make such a noise in running along the ceiling, and in clambering up and down the sides of the rooms and canopies of the beds, as to disturb persons not accustomed to them. They are so little afraid of the human species, that, if a candle be set down without being in a lantern, they immediately carry it off; but, as this might be attended with the most melancholy consequences, care is taken that their impudence is seldom put to this trial, though they are remarkably vigilant in taking advantage of the least neglect. All these inconveniences, which seem insupportable to strangers, and alone sufficient to render such a country uninhabited, little affect the natives, as having been used to them from their infancy: they are more affected with cold on the mountains, which the Europeans scarce feel, or, at least, think very moderate, than with all these disagreeable particulars."

The celebrated purple dye, which is extracted from a shell-fish, is found on the coasts belonging to what was the lieutenancy of Guayaquil. It is, we suppose, the murex so celebrated among the ancients. This is Ulloa's account of the manner in which the dye is elicited, which partly corresponds with that of Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. ix. c. 36.

"This colour, however, is found in a species of shell-fish growing on rocks washed by the sea. They are something larger than a nut, and are replete with a juice, probably the blood, which, when expressed, is the true purple; for if a thread of cotton, or any thing of a similar kind, be dipt in this liquor, it becomes of a most vivid colour, which repeated washings are so far from obliterating, that they rather improve it; nor does it fade by wearing. The jurisdiction of the port of Nicoya, in the province of Guatemala, also affords this species of turbines, the juice of which is also used in dying cotton threads, and, in several parts, for ribands, laces, and other ornaments. Stuffs dyed with this purple are also highly valued. This precious juice is extracted by different methods. Some take the fish out of its shell, and laying it on the back of their hand, press it with a knife from the head to the tail, separating that part of the body into which the compression has forced the juice, and throw away the rest. In this manner they proceed till they have provided themselves with a sufficient quantity. Then they draw the threads through the liquor, which is the whole process. But the purple tinge does not imme-

diately appear, the juice being at first of a milky colour; it then changes to green; and, lastly, into this celebrated purple. Others pursue a different method in extracting the colour; for they neither kill the fish, nor take it entirely out of its shell; but squeeze it so hard as to express a juice, with which they dye the thread, and afterwards replace the fish on the rock whence it was taken. Some time after it undergoes a second operation, but without yielding so much juice as at first; and at the third or fourth very little, by which means the fish is exhausted beyond recovery."

The country of Guayaquil abounds in droves of black cattle, horses, and mules, which, during the time the country is under water, are kept in the mountains; but as soon as the lands are dry, they are driven down to fatten on the gamalotes. This plant is of such luxuriance as to cover the ground entirely; its height exceeds two yards and a half, and grows so thick as to block up all passage, even along the paths which have been worn by the traffickers.

"The blade of the gamalote resembles that of barley, but longer, broader, thicker, and rougher. The green is deep, but lively, and the stalk diversified with knots, from which the leaves, which are strong, and something above two lines in diameter, have their origin. When the gamalote is at its full growth, the height of water, during the floods, by rising above its top, presses it down, and rots it; so that, when the waters ebb away, the earth seems covered with it; but at the first impression of the sun it shoots again, and, in a few days, abounds in the same plenty as before. One thing remarkable in it is, that, though it proves so nourishing to the cattle of this district, it is very noxious to those from the Cordillera, as has been often experienced."

This district abounds in the cacao or chocolate tree. The soil is admirably adapted to its culture, for it so delights in water, that the ground where they are planted must be reduced to a mire; and, if it be not constantly supplied with moisture and preserved from the heat of the sun, it dies. Ulloa gives a long and interesting account of this important tree, from which we abridge the following extract:

"The cacao tree is generally not less than eighteen or twenty feet high. It begins from the ground to divide itself into four or five stems, according to the vigour of the root, from whence they all proceed. They are generally between four and seven inches in diameter; but their first growth is in an oblique direction, so that the branches are all expanded and separated from one another. The length of the leaf is between four and six inches, and its breadth three or four. It is very smooth, soft, and terminates in a point, like that of the China orange tree, but with some difference in colour, the former being of a dull green, and has nothing of the gloss observable on the latter: nor is the tree so full of leaves as that of the orange. From the stem, as well as the branches, grow the pods which contain the cacao. The

first appearance is a white blossom, not very large, whose pistil contains the embryo of the pod, which grows to the length of six or seven inches, and four or five in breadth, resembling a cucumber in shape; and striated in a longitudinal direction, but deeper than the cucumber.

"The colour of the pod, while growing, is green, nearly resembling that of the leaf; but, when arrived at its full perfection, it gradually changes to a yellow. The shell which covers it is thin, smooth, and clear. When the fruit is arrived at its full growth, it is gathered; and being cut into slices, its pulp appears white and juicy, with small seeds regularly arranged, and at that time of no greater consistence than the rest of the pulp, but whiter, and contained by a very fine delicate membrane, full of liquor, resembling milk, but transparent, and something viscid; at this time it may be eaten like any other fruit. Its taste is a sweetish acid; but in this country is thought to be promotive of fevers. The yellowness of the pod indicates that the cacoa begins to feed on its substance, to acquire a greater consistence, and that the seeds begin to fill; the colour gradually fading till they are fully completed, when the dark brown colour of the shell, into which the yellow has deviated, indicates that it is a proper time to gather it. The thickness of the shell is now about two lines, and each seed found enclosed in one of the compartments formed by the transverse membranes of the pod. After gathering the fruit, it is opened, and the seeds taken out and laid on skins kept for that purpose, or more generally on vijahua leaves, and left in the air to dry. When fully dried, they are put into leather bags, sent to market, and sold by the carga or load, which is equal to eighty-one pounds."

It should be observed that this tree produces its fruit twice in the year; and from the jurisdiction of Guayaquil alone, before the Revolution, 50,000 cargas were gathered. For a very complete and interesting account of the cacao, both as a natural production and as an article of commerce, we must refer to the copious work of Humboldt.

A peculiarity of the river of Guayaquil is its balzas, or rafts, which are in fact moving houses. The fisherman of Guayaquil enters one of them with all his property and family, and in them visits the creeks and other places resorted to by fish, which he takes and salts until he has filled his raft, when, after the lapse of months, he returns to the market. But the balza is of too singular a character to be passed over with so slight a notice: it is not only one of the most commodious of vessels, but is guided by a secret art of steering, which is utterly unknown in Europe, and which has demanded the application of a scientific mind to expound.

"Balzas are not only used on rivers, but small voyages are made at sea in them, and sometimes they go as far as Paita. Their dimensions being different, they are also applied to different uses; some of them being fishing balzas; some carry all kinds of goods from the custom-house to Guayaquil, and from thence to Puna, the Salto de

Tumbez, and Paita; and others, of a more curious and elegant construction, serve for removing families to their estates and country-houses, having the same convenience as on shore, not being the least agitated on the river; and that they have sufficient room for accommodations, may be inferred from the length of the beams, which are twelve or thirteen toises, and about two feet or more in diameter: so that the nine beams of which they consist, form a breadth of between twenty and twenty-four Paris feet; and proportional in those of seven, or any other number of beams.

"These beams are fastened or lashed together by bejucos, and so securely, that with cross pieces at each end, which are also lashed with all possible strength, they resist the rapidity of the currents in their voyages to the coast of Tumbez and Paita. The Indians are so skilful in securing them, that they never loosen, notwithstanding the continual agitation; though by their neglect in examining the condition of the bejucos, whether they are not rotten or worn, so as to require others, there are some melancholy instances of balzas, which, in bad weather, have separated, and, by that means, the cargo lost, and the passengers drowned. With regard to the Indians, they never fail of getting on one of the beams, which is sufficient for them to make their way to the next port. One or two unfortunate accidents of this kind happened even while we were in the jurisdiction of Quito, purely from the savage carelessness of the Indians.

"The thickest beam of those which compose the balza, is placed so as to project beyond the other in its after-part; and to this are lashed the first beams on each side, and thus, successively, till the whole are secured; that in the middle being the principal piece, and thence the number of beams is always odd. The larger sort of balzas generally carry between four and five hundred quintals, without being damaged by the proximity of the water; for the waves of the sea never run over the balza; neither does the water splash up between the beams, the balza always following the motion of the water.

"Hitherto we have only mentioned the construction and the uses they are applied to; but the greatest singularity of this floating vehicle is, that it sails, tacks, and works as well in contrary winds, as ships with a keel, and makes very little lee-way. This advantage it derives from another method of steering than by a rudder; namely, by some boards, three or four yards in length, and half a yard in breadth, called guaras, which are placed vertically, both in the head and stern between the main beams, and by thrusting some of these deep in the water, and raising others, they bear away, luff up, tack, lie to, and perform all the other motions of a regular ship: an invention hitherto unknown to the most intelligent nations of Europe, and of which even the Indians know only the mechanism, their uncultivated minds having never examined into the rationale of it. Had this method of steering been sooner known in Europe, it would have alleviated the distress of many a shipwreck, by saving numbers of lives; as in 1730, the Genovesa, one of his majesty's frigates, being lost on the Vibora, the ship's company made a raft; but committing themselves to the waves, without any means of directing their course, they only added some melancholy minutes to the term of their existence. Such affecting

instances induced me to explain the reason and foundation of this method of steering, in order to render it of use in such calamitous junctures; and, that I may perform it with the greater accuracy, I shall make use of a short memoir, drawn up by Don George Juan.

"The direction, says he, in which a ship moves before the wind, is perpendicular to the sail, as Mess. *Renau*, in the *Theorie de Manœuvres*, chap. ii. art. 1. *Bernouilli*, cap. i. art. 4. *Pitot*, sect. ii. art. 13, have demonstrated. And re-action being contrary and equal to the action, the force with which the water opposes the motion of the vessel will be applied in a perpendicular direction to the sail, and continued from leeward to windward, impelling with more force a greater body than a smaller, in proportion to the superficies, and the squares of the sines of the angle of incidence, supposing their velocities equal. Whence it follows, that a guara being shoved down in the fore part of the vessel, must make her luff up; and by taking it out she will bear away or fall off. Likewise on a guara's being shoved down at the stern, she will bear away; and by taking it out of the water, the balza will luff, or keep nearer to the wind. Such is the method used by the Indians in steering the balzas; and sometimes they use five or six guaras, to prevent the balza from making lee-way; it being evident that, the more they are under water, the greater resistance the side of the vessel meets with; the guaras performing the office of lee-boards, used in small vessels. The method of steering by these guaras is so easy and simple, that when once the balza is put in her proper course, one only is made use of, raising or lowering it as accidents require; and thus the balza is always kept in her intended direction."

The river of Guayaquil is infested with alligators, as are, indeed, all the rivers of Columbia. The alligator lays about a hundred eggs, and if the inveterate enemy of the alligator, the gallinazo, before mentioned, did not destroy great numbers of the eggs, and the male crocodile devour a vast portion of the young ones, they would overrun the continent. The gallinazo, when it perceives the female alligator digging her nest, conceals herself in some neighbouring tree, and watches till the conclusion of the deposit, for the alligator lays all her eggs in the course of a day or two. After the departure of the female, the gallinazo instantly makes her appearance, and, removing the sand with which the alligator has covered her eggs, proceeds to enjoy her copious repast. Those eggs the mulattoes eat with relish. The method of catching the alligator is similar to that described by Mr. Waterton: we do not, however, hear of any of the Indians mounting him, after the manner of a fox-hunter, as that gentleman describes himself to have done.

"Alligators who have once feasted on human flesh, are known to be the most dangerous, and become, as it were, inflamed with an insatiable desire of repeating the same delicious repast. The inhabitants of those places where they abound are very industrious in catching and destroying them. Their usual method is by a casonate, or piece of hard wood sharpened at both ends, and baited with the lungs of

some animal. This casonate they fasten to a thong, the end of which is secured on the shore. The alligator, on seeing the lungs floating on the water, snaps at the bait, and thus both points of the wood enter his jaws in such a manner that he can neither shut nor open his mouth. He is then dragged ashore, where he violently endeavours to rescue himself, while the Indians bait him like a bull, knowing that the greatest damage he can do is to throw down such as, for want of care or agility, do not keep out of his reach.

Of all the productions of Guayaquil the one which has attracted least attention, but which, judging from the account of Ulloa, richly deserves some care, is the lana de ceibo, of which we will give our author's description.

"The lana de ceibo, or ceibo wool, is the product of a very high and tufted tree of that name. The trunk is straight, and covered with a smooth bark; the leaf round, and of a middling size. At the proper season the tree makes a very beautiful appearance, being covered with white blossoms; and in each of these is formed a pod, which increases to about an inch and a half or two inches in length, and one in thickness. In this pod the lana or wool is contained. When thoroughly ripe and dry, the pod opens, and the filamentous matter or wool gradually spreads itself into a tuft resembling cotton, but of a reddish cast. This wool is much more soft and delicate to the touch than cotton itself, and the filaments so very tender and fine, that the natives here think it cannot be spun; but I am persuaded that this is entirely owing to their ignorance: and if a method be ever discovered of spinning it, its fineness will entitle it rather to be called ceibo silk than wool. The only use they have hitherto applied it to, is to fill mattrasses; and in this particular it must be allowed to have no equal, both with regard to its natural softness, and its rising so, when laid in the sun, as even to stretch the covering of the mattrass; nor does it sink on being brought into the shade, unless accompanied with dampness, which immediately compresses it."

We must now leave the low countries, and commence with our author the account of the Cordillera. From Guayaquil he and his companions proceeded partly by land and partly by water: the torments in this progress inflicted by the insects appear to have been such as nearly drove the party to desperation. And until their elevation caused a sensible diminution in the heat, they laboured under the infliction of an atmosphere absolutely laden with life, and venom, and activity. A place called Tarigagua may be considered the mean point between the heat of the low country and the cold of the mountains; and the feelings of persons arising at this place from opposite directions are singularly contrasted. The one finds the heat so great that he is scarcely able to bear any clothes; while the former wraps himself up in all the garments he can procure. The one is so delighted with the warmth of the water of the river that he bathes in it: the other thinks it so cold that he avoids being spattered

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by it. Of the nature of the ascent from this place mere European experience will enable no one to form a conception. When will the passes of the Andes be lined with galleries and traversed by bridges, like the Alps?

"The ruggedness of the road from Tarigagua leading up this mountain is not easily described. It gave us more trouble and fatigue, besides the dangers we were every moment exposed to, than all we had experienced in our former journeys. In some parts the declivity is so great that the mules can scarce keep their footing, and in others the acclivity is equally difficult. In many places the road is so narrow that the mules have scarce room to set their feet; and in others a continued series of precipices. Besides, these roads, or rather paths, are full of holes, or camelones, near three quarters of a yard deep, in which the mules put their fore and hind feet; so that sometimes they draw their bellies and riders' legs along the ground. Indeed these holes serve as steps, without which the precipices would be in a great measure impracticable. But should the creature happen to put his foot between two of these holes, or not place it right, the rider falls, and, if on the side of the precipice, inevitably perishes. It may perhaps be said, that it would be much safer to perform this part of the journey on foot: but how can any person be sure always of placing his feet directly on the eminences between the holes? and the least false step throws him up to the waist in a slimy mud, with which all the holes are full; and then he will find it very difficult either to proceed or return back."

The descent is as perilous as the ascent. The precipices are too steep for the holes called camelones to remain: the mule has, therefore, nothing for it but to squat on his haunches, and slide down.

"The mules themselves are sensible of the caution requisite in these descents; for, coming to the top of an eminence, they stop, and having placed their fore feet close together, as in a posture of stopping themselves, they also put their hinder feet together, but a little forwards, as if going to lie down. In this attitude, having as it were taken a survey of the road, they slide down with the swiftness of a meteor. All the rider has to do is to keep himself fast in the saddle without checking his beast; for the least motion is sufficient to disorder the equilibrium of the mule, in which case they both unavoidably perish. The address of these creatures is here truly wonderful; for, in this rapid motion, when they seem to have lost all government of themselves, they follow exactly the different windings of the road, as if they had before accurately reconnoitred, and previously settled in their minds the route they were to follow, and taken every precaution for their safety, amidst so many irregularities. There would indeed otherwise be no possibility of travelling over such places, where the safety of the rider depends on the experience and address of his beast.

"But the longest practice of travelling these roads cannot entirely free them from a kind of dread or horror which appears when they

arrive at the top of a steep declivity. For they stop without being checked by the rider; and if he inadvertently endeavours to spur them on, they continue immovable; nor will they stir from the place till they have put themselves in the above-mentioned posture. Now it is that they seem to be actuated by reason; for they not only attentively view the road, but tremble and snort at the danger, which, if the rider be not accustomed to these emotions, cannot fail of filling him with terrible ideas. The Indians go before, and place themselves along the sides of the mountain, holding by the roots of trees, to animate the beasts with shouts, till they at once start down the declivity.

"There are indeed some places where these declivities are not on the sides of precipices; but the road is so narrow and hollow, and the sides nearly perpendicular, that the danger is almost equal to the former; for the track being extremely narrow, and the road scarce wide enough to admit the mule with its rider, if the former falls, the latter must be necessarily crushed; and for want of room to disengage himself, generally has a leg or an arm broken, if he escapes with life. It is really wonderful to consider these mules, after having overcome the first emotions of their fear, and are going to slide down the declivity, with what exactness they stretch out their fore-legs, that by preserving the equilibrium they may not fall on one side; yet at a proper distance make, with their body, that gentle inclination necessary to follow the several windings of the road; and, lastly, their address in stopping themselves at the end of their impetuous career. Certainly the human species themselves could not show more prudence and conduct. Some mules, after being long used to these journeys, acquire a kind of reputation for their skill and safety, and accordingly are highly valued."

In the forests bordering on the more level paths of this tremendous road grow great numbers of canes; of which Ulloa relates some very remarkable properties.

"The canas, or canes, are remarkable both for their length and thickness, and the water contained in their tubes. Their usual length is between six and eight toises; and though there is a difference in their size, the largest do not exceed six inches diameter. The wood or side of the tube is about six lines in diameter; so that, when the cana is opened, it forms a board near a foot and a half in breadth; and hence it will not appear strange that houses should be built of such materials. From the time of their first appearance, till they attain their full perfection, when they are either cut down, or of themselves begin to dry, most of their tubes contain a quantity of water; but with this remarkable difference, that at full moon they are entirely, or very nearly, full; and with the decrease of the moon the water ebbs, till at the conjunction little or none is to be found. I have myself cut them at all seasons, so that I here advance nothing but what I know to be true from frequent experience. I have also observed that the water during its decrease appears turbid, but about the time of the full moon it is as clear as crystal. The Indians add another par-

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ticular, that the water is not found in all the joints, one having water, and another not, alternately. All I can say to this singularity is, that on opening a joint which happens to be empty, the two contiguous ones have water; and this is commonly the case in almost all the canes. This water is said to be an excellent preservative against the ill consequence of any bruises; at least it is drunk as such by all who come from the mountains, where such accidents are unavoidable."

In these forests are also found the vijahua, whose leaf is generally *five feet* in length and two and a half in breadth: it is used for covering houses, and packing salt fish and other goods. The ligneous cordage called bejuco, already mentioned, also occurs in great plenty. In these forests is also found the Matapolo, or kill-timber; a tree which, when it grows near another, seems to imbibe all its nutriment: for as one increases, the other, whatever may have been its bulk, withers and dies; after which it becomes lord of the soil, and increases to an enormous size.

When the company arrived on the deserts near Quito, and commenced its labours, its task may then only be said to have begun. It was found necessary to divide, and take different stations. Here, on their signal-posts, placed amidst eternal snow, and out of the reach of all human aid, and for months almost without a vision of either earth or sky, these learned persons stood by their undertaking. To describe at length either their endeavours or their hardships would far exceed the limits of an article: by one extract from Ulloa's Journal, we may be able to give a good hint of the real situation of these meritorious sons of science. Not being able to keep a tent standing in the hurricanes and snow-storms, the party, with whom was Ulloa, took up their abode in a wretched hut constructed for them, but so small that it was scarcely possible for each to find room for his person.

"We generally kept within our hut. Indeed, we were obliged to do this, both on account of the intenseness of the cold, the violence of the wind, and our being continually involved in so thick a fog, that an object at six or eight paces was hardly discernible. When the fog cleared up, the clouds, by their gravity, moved nearer to the surface of the earth, and on all sides surrounded the mountain to a vast distance, representing the sea, with our rock like an island in the centre of it. When this happened, we heard the horrid noises of the tempests, which then discharged themselves on Quito and the neighbouring country. We saw the lightnings issue from the clouds, and heard the thunders roll far beneath us; and whilst the lower parts were involved in tempests of thunder and rain, we enjoyed a delightful serenity; the wind was abated, the sky clear, and the enlivening rays of the sun moderated the severity of the cold. But our circumstances were very different when the clouds rose; their thickness rendered respiration difficult; the snow and hail fell continually, and the wind returned with all its violence; so that it was impossible entirely to

overcome the fears of being, together with our hut, blown down the precipice on whose edge it was built, or of being buried under it by the daily accumulations of ice and snow.

"The wind was often so violent in these regions, that its velocity dazzled the sight; whilst our fears were increased by the dreadful concussions of the precipice by the fall of enormous fragments of rocks. These crashes were the more alarming, as no other noises are heard in these deserts. And, during the night, our rest, which we so greatly wanted, was frequently disturbed by such sudden sounds. When the weather was any thing fair with us, and the clouds gathered about some of the other mountains which had a connexion with our observations, so that we could not make all the use we desired of this interval of good weather, we left our hut to exercise ourselves, in order to keep us warm. Sometimes we descended to some small distance, and at others amused ourselves with rolling large fragments of rocks down the precipice; and these many times required the joint strength of us all, though we often saw the same performed by the mere force of the wind. But we always took care in our excursions not to go so far, but that on the least appearance of the clouds gathering about our cottage, which often happened very suddenly, we could regain our shelter. The door of our hut was fastened with thongs of leather, and on the inside not the smallest crevice was left unstopped; besides which, it was very compactly covered with straw. But, notwithstanding all our care, the wind penetrated through. The days were often little better than the nights; and all the light we enjoyed was that of a lamp or two, which we kept burning, that we might distinguish one another, and improve our time as much as possible in reading. Though our hut was small, and crowded with inhabitants, besides the heat of the lamps, yet the intenseness of the cold was such, that every one of us was obliged to have a chafingdish of coals. These precautions would have rendered the rigour of the climate supportable, had not the imminent danger of perishing by being blown down the precipice roused us, every time it snowed, to encounter the severity of the outer air, and sally out with shovels, to free the roof of our hut from the masses of snow which were gathering on it. Nor would it, without this precaution, have been able to support the weight. We were not, indeed, without servants and Indians; but they were so benumbed with the cold, that it was with great difficulty we could get them out of a small tent, where they kept a continual fire. So that all we could obtain from them was, to take their turns in this labour; and even then they went very unwillingly about it, and consequently performed it slowly.

"It may be easily conceived what we suffered from the asperities of such a climate. Our feet were swelled, and so tender, that we could not even bear the heat, and walking was attended with extreme pain. Our hands were covered with chilblains; our lips swelled and chopped; so that every motion, in speaking or the like, drew blood; consequently we were obliged to a strict taciturnity, and but little disposed to laugh, an extension of the lips producing fissures, very painful for two or three days together."

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Quito is a town which is as highly gifted with the bounties of nature in her genial moods as she is accursed by her capricious and fatal violence in her moments of passion. The happy temperature of the air, the fertility of the soil, and the grandeur of its scenery, all speak of a paradise to one who does not know that its inhabitants live in continual dread of earthquakes; that the tempests of thunder and lightning are dreadful and amazing; that all the neighbouring mountains, and here are the highest peaks of the Andes, tremble amidst these storms; that rain descends in such impetuous torrents that the streets assume the appearance of rivers, and the squares of lakes. These scenes generally occur in the middle of the day, and continue till near sunset, when the weather clears up, and nature again puts on the beautiful appearance of the morning. The fertility of this country is almost incredible: while some herbs of the field are fading, others of the same kind are springing up: whilst some flowers are losing their beauty, others are blowing. When the fruits have obtained their maturity, and the leaves begin to change their colour, fresh leaves, blossoms, and fruits, are seen in their proper gradations on the same tree. The reaping of the corn and the sowing of it are carried on at the same moment. That corn which has been recently sown is coming up: that which has been longer sown is in its blade, and the more advanced begins to blossom, so that the declivities of the neighbouring hills exhibit all the beauties of the four seasons at once. This fertility, joined with the peculiar temperature of the climate, naturally produces every fruit in its perfection, whether those of the new or the old world. Among the most delicious and beautiful of these is the chirimoyas, which Ulloa describes with an enthusiastic minuteness.

"The chirimoya is universally allowed to be the most delicious of any known fruit either of India or Europe. Its dimensions are various, being from one to five inches in diameter. Its figure is imperfectly round, being flatted towards the stalk, where it forms a kind of navel; but all the other parts nearly circular. It is covered with a thin soft shell, but adhering so closely to the pulp, as not to be separated without a knife. The outward coat, during its growth, is of a dark green, but on attaining its full maturity becomes somewhat lighter. This coat is variegated with prominent veins, forming a kind of net-work all over it. The pulp is white, intermixed with several almost imperceptible fibres, concentring in the core, which extends from the hollow of the excrescence to the opposite side. As they have their origin near the former, so in that part they are larger and more distinct. The flesh contains a large quantity of juice resembling honey, and its taste sweet mixed with a gentle acid, but of a most exquisite flavour. The seeds are formed in several parts of the flesh, and are about seven lines in length, and three or four in breadth. They are also somewhat flat, and situated longitudinally.

"The tree is high and tufted, the stem large and round, but with some inequalities; full of elliptic leaves, terminating in a point. The length is about three inches and a half, and the breadth two or two and a half. But what is very remarkable in this tree is, that it every year sheds and renews its leaves. The blossom, in which is the embryo of the fruit, differs very little from the leaves in colour, which is a darkish green; but when arrived to its full maturity is of a yellowish green. It resembles a caper in figure, but something larger, and composed of four petals. It is far from being beautiful; but this deficiency is abundantly supplied by its incomparable fragrancy. This tree is observed to be very parsimonious in its blossoms, producing only such as would ripen into fruits, did not the extravagant passion of the ladies for the excellence of the odour induce them to purchase the blossoms at any rate."

Among other delicacies the granadilla comes in for an appropriate description.

"The granadilla resembles a hen's egg in shape, but larger. The outside of the shell is smooth and glossy, and of a faint carnation colour, and the inside white and soft. It is about a line and a half in thickness, and pretty hard. This shell contains a viscous and liquid substance, full of very small and delicate grains less hard than those of the pomegranate. This medullary substance is separated from the shell, by an extreme fine and transparent membrane. This fruit is of a delightful sweetness, blended with acidity, very cordial and refreshing, and so wholesome that there is no danger in indulging the appetite. The two former are also of the same innocent quality. The granadilla is not the produce of a tree, but of a plant, the blossom of which resembles the passion-flower, and of a most delicate fragrance. But we must observe a remarkable singularity in the fruits of this country, namely, that they do not ripen on the trees, like those of Europe, but must be gathered and kept some time; for if suffered to hang on the trees they would decay."

The frutilla, or Peru strawberry, is not equal in flavour to that of Europe. The papa, which is the favourite food of the natives, is no other than our excellent friend the potato. The oca is a knotty root two or three inches in length, and twisted and wreathed together, which being roasted, eats like a chestnut. Of the maize the natives make a drink called chica, which seems to be nothing but a kind of sweet wort, like the *cerevisium* of the Britons.

"They also make from this grain a drink called chica, used by the Indians in the times of the Yncas, and still very common. The method of making it is this: they steep the maize in water till it begins to sprout, when they spread it in the sun, where it is thoroughly dried; after which they roast and grind it, and of the flour they make a decoction of what strength they please. It is then put into jars or casks, with a proportional quantity of water. On the second or third day it begins to ferment, and when that is completed, which is in

two or three days more, they esteem it fit for drinking. It is reckoned very cooling; and that it is inebriating, is sufficiently evident from the Indians: those people have indeed so little government of themselves, that they never give over till they have emptied the cask. Its taste is not unlike cider; but seems in some measure to require the dispatch of the Indians, turning sour in seven or eight days after the fermentation is completed. Besides its supposed quality of being cooling, it is, among other medical properties, confessedly diuretic; and to the use of this liquor the Indians are supposed to be indebted for their being strangers to the strangury or gravel. It is also not surprising that those people who drink it, without any other food than cancha, mote, and muchea, are, with the help of this liquor, healthy, strong, and robust."

In the district of Popayan, which lies to the north of Quito, there occurs an insect of very remarkable properties. It is shaped like a spider, and is much less than a bug:

"Its common name is coya, but others call it coyba; its colour is of a fiery red, and, like spiders, it is generally found in the corners of walls, and among the herbage. Its venom is of such a malignity, that, on squeezing the insect, if any happen to fall on the skin of either man or beast, it immediately penetrates into the flesh, and causes large tumours, which are soon succeeded by death. The only remedy hitherto known, is, on the first appearance of a swelling, to singe the party all over the body with the flame of straw, or long grass, growing in those plains. In order to this, the Indians of that country lay hold of the patient, some by the feet, and others by the hands, and with great dexterity perform the operation, after which the person is reckoned to be out of danger. But it is to be observed, that though this insect be so very noxious, yet squeezing it between the palms of the hands is attended with no bad consequence: from whence the plain inference is, that the callus, usual on the hands of most people, prevents the venom from reaching the blood. Accordingly the Indian muleteers, to please the curiosity of the passengers, squeeze them betwixt the palms of their hands, though unquestionably, should a person of a delicate hand make a trial, the effects would be the same as on any other part of the body."

Persons who fancy they feel themselves bitten by the coyba, acquaint some one with their suspicion, who blows it away. Beasts, before they offer to touch the herbage, blow on it with all their force, to disperse these pernicious vermin: a mule has, however, been known to take in some with its pasture, on which, after swelling to a frightful degree, it has expired on the spot. When their smell acquaints beasts that they are approaching a nest of coybas, they start back with affright.

The bridges of this country are little short of being horrific, and scarcely less to be avoided than the rivers and their indwellers, the alligators: they are of several kinds, which Ulloa has taken the pains to expound in the following passage. The

most formidable one is undoubtedly that which is in fact nothing else but a clumsy swing: the tarabita.

"When the rivers are too deep to be forded, bridges are made at the most frequented places. Of these there are two kinds besides those of stone, which are very few: the former of wood, which are the most common, and the latter of bejucos. With regard to the first, they choose a place where the river is very narrow, and has on each side high rocks. They consist of only four long beams laid close together over the precipice, and form a path about a yard and a half in breadth, being just sufficient for a man to pass over on horseback; and custom has rendered these bridges so natural to them, that they pass them without any apprehension. The second, or those formed of bejucos, are only used where the breadth of the river will not admit of any beams to be laid across. In the construction of these, several bejucos are twisted together, so as to form a kind of large cable of the length required. Six of these are carried from one side of the river to the other, two of which are considerably higher than the other four. On the latter are laid sticks in a transverse direction, and, over these, branches of trees, as a flooring; the former are fastened to the four which form the bridge, and by that means serve as rails for the security of the passenger, who would otherwise be in no small danger from the continual oscillation. In the mean time, the Indians carry over the loading on their shoulders. On some rivers of Peru there are bejuco bridges so large, that droves of loaded mules pass over them, particularly the river Apurimac, which is the thoroughfare of all the commerce carried on between Lima, Cusco, La Plata, and other parts to the southward.

"Some rivers, instead of a bejuco bridge, are passed by means of a tarabita; as is the case with regard to that of Alchipichi. This machine serves not only to carry over persons and loads, but also the beasts themselves; the rapidity of the stream, and the monstrous stones continually rolling along it, rendering it impracticable for them to swim over.

"The tarabita is only a single rope made of bejuco, or thongs of an ox's hide, and consisting of several strands, and about six or eight inches in thickness. This rope is extended from one side of the river to the other, and fastened on each bank to strong posts. On one side is a kind of wheel, or winch, to straighten or slacken the tarabita to the degree required. From the tarabita hangs a kind of leathern hammock, capable of holding a man, and is suspended by a clue at each end. A rope is also fastened to either clue, and extended to each side of the river, for drawing the hammock to the side intended. A push at its first setting off sends it quickly to the other side.

"For carrying over the mules, two tarabitas are necessary, one for each side of the river, and the ropes are much thicker and slacker. On this rope is only one clue, which is of wood, and by which the beast is suspended, being secured with girths round the belly, neck, and legs. When this is performed, the creature is shoved off, and immediately landed on the opposite side. Such as are accustomed to be carried over in this manner never make the least motion, and even

come of themselves to have the girths fastened round them; but it is with great difficulty they are first brought to suffer the girths to be put round their bodies, and when they find themselves suspended, kick and fling, during their short passage, in a most terrible manner. The river of Alchipichi may well excite terror in a young traveller, being between thirty and forty fathoms from shore to shore; and its perpendicular height, above the surface of the water, twenty-five fathoms."

The extent of this article, and the multitude of interesting topics which still remain behind for notice, place us in a dilemma, one of the horns of which we must absolutely break, and conclude this miscellaneous notice of one of the most delightful of books simply with a repetition of our recommendation to republish it in an instructive form. We ought to add, that these scientific travellers, Juan and Ulloa, to whom we are so much indebted—to both for compiling, and to the latter for writing these volumes—did not reach Spain without experiencing a similar hardship, though they sailed in different vessels. They were both made prisoners of war by the English, and compelled to a reluctant sojourn in this country, which was, however, relieved to the utmost by the creditable courtesy of the government, and the friendly and honourable attentions of the patrons of science here; both of which Ulloa does not fail gratefully to commemorate.

M. Ant. de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, his Shiftings in Religion. "A man for many masters," Matt. 26. 15. Et ait illis, quid vultis mihi dare? London, printed by John Bill. 1624. 4*to.*

THE sojourn of Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, is a curious chapter in the ecclesiastical history of the reign of James I., and moreover throws light upon the tenacious and pragmatical character of that monarch. De Dominis was a native of Arba, in Venetian Dalmatia; he once belonged to the society of Jesuits, and having left them, became finally archbishop of Spalato, in his native country. His works are numerous and learned. His celebrated book against the Papal power, entitled *de Republica Ecclesiastica*, was published in London, in three volumes, folio, 1617 and 1620. He had previously, however, in Italy, written some lighter controversial works, in which he severely condemned some of the doctrines of his own church; the consequence was, that Italy became a place of unsafe residence for him: he resigned his archbishopric, and retired to England. He had previously been closely connected with the English at Venice: our ambassador there, Sir Henry Wotton, entered into his views, and his chaplain, after-

wards Archbishop Bedell, is said to have there read over and corrected the work *de Republica Ecclesiastica.* It was in company with Bedell that he came to England: he had been previously in intercourse with Archbishop Abbott; for it is reported to have been by his means that the sheets of the celebrated history of the Council of Trent, by Father Paul, were smuggled out of Italy into this country, and conveyed to Archbishop Abbott, who caused their publication.

On the arrival of De Dominis in this country, December 16, 1616, he was hospitably entertained by the Archbishop of Canterbury by the king's command, who, on the 23d April, 1618, endowed him with the mastership of the Savoy, and a few days after added the deanery of Windsor. On the 16th January, 1621, De Dominis wrote a letter to the king requesting leave to return to Italy. Out of this letter, and its purport, arose the proceedings which are recorded in the very scarce little tract which is placed at the head of this article. It is supposed to have been drawn up by Morton, Bishop of Durham, who, as it will appear, was concerned in them. The king, as soon as he learned the intentions of De Dominis, either was, or pretended to be, mightily touched for the honour of the church of England, as also his own, and insisted upon the ex-archbishop answering various interrogatories on the subject of the causes of his return and of the change that it appeared to him must have taken place in his sentiments. With this view he attacked the poor old Italian with bishops and deans, written questions, and oral examinations, until he must have prayed in his own heart for the substitution of corporal, rather than this species of torture. We shall proceed to give some account of the steps of the affair, premising, that though De Dominis had written against the power of the pope and had objected to some of the Romish doctrines, it does not appear that he had ever made professions of that kind that bound him to remain in this country, in its church, and as a subject of the king. He had been disappointed, it seems, in his expectations of the king's bounty, and he had received far more brilliant offers from Italy: if he was influenced by these motives, we leave him to the abuse which has been so plentifully heaped upon him. It is, however, more than probable, that De Dominis was a speculative philosopher, who cared chiefly for opinions in a controversial light: that he was glad of an opportunity of coming to England, where he was enabled to publish his great work; and that, when that was done—when he began to find he was growing feeble, and approaching the decline of life among strangers, and that the way for his return had been smoothed, he became desirous of revisiting the land of his nativity. This is a view that the king could not be persuaded to take of the case, and the bishop and deans taking

their tone from him, set upon the old man, in his chambers in the Savoy, and baited him like true theological bull-dogs. Dr. Goad, who had always pretended to be on a confidential footing with De Dominis, ends one of his reports of an interview with saying, "It is clear he is a *wily beguily*, rightly bred in the nest of the Jesuits."

This is the letter which the archbishop of Spalato wrote to the king, dated the 16th day of January, 1681.

"To the Most High and Mighty Prince James, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, &c. Defender of the Faith, &c. M. Anthony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, wisheth all happiness.

"Those two popes, which were most displeased at my leaving of Italy and coming into England, Paulus quintus and he which now liveth, Gregory the fifteenth, have both laboured to call me back from hence, and used divers messages for that purpose, to which notwithstanding I gave no heed. But now of late, when the same pope (being certified of my zeal in advancing and furthering the union of all Christian churches) did hereupon take new care and endeavour to invite me again unto him, and signified withal, that he did seek nothing therein but God's glory, and to use my poor help also to work the inward peace and tranquillity of this your majesty's kingdom; my own conscience told me, that it behoved me to give ready ear unto his holiness. Besides all this, the diseases and inconveniences of old age growing upon me, and the sharpness of the cold air of this country, and the great want (I feel here amongst strangers) of some friends and kinsfolks, which might take more diligent and exact care of me, make my longer stay in this climate very offensive to my body. Having, therefore, made an end of my works, and enjoyed your majesty's goodness, in bestowing on me all things needful and fit for me, and in heaping so many and so royal benefits upon me, I can do no less than promise perpetual memory and thankfulness, and tender to you my continuance in your majesty's service whereso-ever I go, and will become in all places a reporter and extoller of your majesty's praises. Now if my business proceed, and be brought to a good end, I will hope that I shall obtain your majesty's good leave to depart, without the least diminution of your majesty's wonted favour towards me. I hear of your majesty's late great danger, and congratulate with your majesty for your singular deliverance from it, by God's great goodness, who hath preserved you safe from it, as one most dear unto him, for the great good of his church, I hope.

"Farewell, the glory and ornament of princes,

"Your majesty's ever most devoted servant,

"Ant. de Dominis,

"Archbishop of Spalato."

"From the Savoy, January the 16th, 1621."

On the very day of the date of this letter, the king sent the Bishops of London and Durham, and the Dean of Winchester, to the archbishop, who told him that his majesty had sent them to require an explanation on several points of his letter. He was

asked how he came to hold communication with the popes mentioned in his letter, without acquainting the king? He answered, that he had not done so: he learned all he knew from the private letters of his friends. These the bishops wanted to see: but the archbishop made the best excuse he could—not a very good one. He was particularly questioned as to that part of his letter which applied to his efforts in Italy for the good of the protestant church? His answer showed that he had some notion of promoting an union and pacification between the two churches. Upon this much of the questioning turned; for it appears that James was very jealous on this point, and had heard that it was given out that De Dominis was returning charged with some commission of the kind. The following interrogatories and their answers will serve for an example of this kind of inquisition.

"Being asked, if he had any greater hopes of this present pope's inclination unto peace and union, than hath been in some former popes, and one especially, even during the time of the council of Trent, who, notwithstanding, were overruled by the prevalent faction?

"He answered, that he hoped that there might be somewhat remitted of the rigour on both sides; and that the pope might be brought to yield in some things: that in the fundamental points both religions did agree, and there might be a toleration of both; for the church of Rome, he said, we did acknowledge to be a true church.

"It was replied unto him, that the toleration of two religions would be a certain cause of a combustion in the church, and subversion of the whole state; that we did acknowledge, indeed, the church of Rome to be a church, but a sick one.

"He demanded of us, why we did forsake our mother, being sick?

"We answered, that we had not forsaken the church, our old mother, but the papacy, and the corruptions and superstitions brought in of late into the church.

"He replied, that we had made a schism, and set up a new altar against the old altar.

"We answered, that our altar was an old altar, conformable to that of the primitive church; and that all innovations were from amongst them; and that herein we were content to be judged concerning those offices which we execute at the altar, by the writings of the fathers, the first general councils, and ancient liturgies, unto which we did constantly adhere.

"He said, that the king's majesty, as it did appear by his writings, was willing to acknowledge the pope for the patriarch of the west.

"We answered, that his majesty had written to that purpose in his monitory preface; but that there his majesty, as it doth appear, by consulting the place, doth only speak of the priority of order, not of power and jurisdiction.

"Being asked (because that people would be apt to talk, and to make several constructions of his lordship's departing from us) whether the king's majesty (who had given so many testimonies to the world

of his constancy in the profession and defence of the truth of that religion established in the church of England) had ever, by word or writ, given him the least encouragement to go on in this purpose, to hope to make a reconciliation of both religions (much less to obtain a toleration), and for that cause to entertain any motion from the pope, or if he himself had by any way ever said any thing of this unto his majesty?

"He answered with a great asseveration, that neither the king to him, nor he to the king, had ever spoken or written one word to any such purpose; nor that he had heard any syllable fall from the king's majesty that might give him the least ground of any such hope.

"Being asked how he could receive the communion here with us, and at the same time entertain a purpose in his heart of returning to the communion of the church of Rome?

"He answered, that he thought both were members of the same church under one head, Christ, and that they did agree in fundamental points; that he, for his part, would retain the gold and silver of the foundation, and reject the hay and stubble on both sides built on the same.

"Being asked, what hay or stubble we had built upon the foundation; for that the church of Rome had done it, was evident?

"He answered, that in his opinion there was in both something laudable, something tolerable, and something intolerable.

"Being asked what intolerable things he found in our church, he instanced, in the point of free-will, that we absolutely deny it in the first conversion, and in the puritanical opinions and schismatical conceits of many amongst us.

"For the first it was replied, that he did not seem truly to understand the tenet of our church in that point, and was brought to yield that, as in the articles of our religion it was conceived it might pass, and that he did allow of all of them, and of our book of Common Prayer; as for the other point of puritans, he was told how they were opposed and punished by those that are in authority, unto which he replied that some of the bishops themselves were over-strict Calvinists.

"Being asked (because we could not trouble him with many of their errors) what he did think of the point of transubstantiation, if that strange opinion were not enough to keep him from communicating with both?

"He answered, that notwithstanding that, he might communicate with both well enough.

"And being urged by the Bishop of Durham, that he had heard him say to the king, that he never did nor would believe transubstantiation?

"He answered that he had so said, and was still in the same mind. But that it was an error only in philosophy, not in divinity.

"Being asked how he, who seemed to be so afraid of himself being here (as now of late, when the French Ambassador, Monsieur Cadenet, came over, that he begged leave of the king to keep in all that time) could be secure of danger, if he should go to live among Jesuits, especially having so wounded the church of Rome by his books, and therein so much extolled the church of England, except that he did

think of a palinodia, which we trusted that he would never be brought to do?

"He answered with a great protestation, taking off his hat, before God and Christ Jesus my Redeemer, I will always acknowledge from my heart, and profess openly, that the church of England is a true and orthodoxal church of Christ; and if I ever think or say otherwise of it, let all men report me to be a very knave; yea, I will deal freely with the pope, though I do it with the hazard of my life, and commit the success to God."

The right reverend interrogators were not content with making a minute themselves of what passed at this interview, but they required the archbishop to send to them his own report of it. He did so, enclosing the paper, written in his own hand, but without his signature, in a letter to the Bishop of Durham. It struck the bishops, that, without his signature the paper was of less value, and they sent the Dean of Winchester back to him to procure it. He succeeded, using considerable dexterity, which, apparently, was by no means necessary: he had, however, another design—to extract as many admissions as he could from the *wily beguily*. We give the dean's report in full, because it contains several facts material to the history of the affair, and is besides very curious:

The Dean of Winchester, his Relation of his Conference had with the Archbishop of Spalato, the 22d of January, 1621.

22*d of Jan.* 1621.

"Because my Lord Archbishop of Spalato had forgotten (as it seemed) to set his hand and subscription to his own answers, I was desired by my lords, the Bishops of London and Durham, to go unto him, and to thank him, in their name, for his fair and free manner of dealing, in setting down his answers so ingenuously with his own hand, which no doubt would give his majesty better satisfaction than any verbal relation could do: and if I could handsomely draw him unto it, to get his own subscription in like manner: and so I went accordingly, and found his lordship well pleased that he had given satisfaction; and the rather, because he hoped that by us his true intent and meaning should be sufficiently cleared unto the king's majesty. And finding his lordship apt to entertain me with some longer discourse, I was bold to move some things unto his lordship upon occasion of the speeches which passed the day before.

"I asked him how he could possibly think that the toleration of two religions could stand with the internal peace of this or any other kingdom.

"His answer was, that albeit some such words had slipped from him the day before, yet, indeed, his earnest desire and hope was, that by a mutual yielding on both sides, both religions might be made one, as he in the fundamental points did verily take them to be.

"I replied, that we had retained the foundation, the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, which we neither would nor could swerve from: but he might do well to bend his endeavours to move the pope

to give way, that the hay and stubble, the same might be removed and burned, but not with a fantastical fire, such as was that *ignis fatuus* of purgatory, which they were too bold to build, even upon that place of the Apostle, 1 Cor. iii., where he warneth to stick to the foundation, Jesus Christ, and to take heed what were built upon the same.

" He answered, that for purgatory, it was indeed a foolish fancy; and confessed, that they of the church of Rome had added many things which it were far better they were removed than retained. And he hoped, that for the peace of Christians, they would yield to remit somewhat: but said withal, that we must not be too rigid in condemning of those things which might have a good or tolerable construction.

" I replied, that albeit some prudent and peaceable man amongst them might perhaps be of his lordship's mind: yet what hope could he have that the prevalent faction, and the Jesuits especially (who are now so powerful), would ever be brought to acknowledge the errors of the pope and their church.

" He answered: if the pope himself were inclinable to yield in some things for the public peace, both Jesuits and others would be brought to consent thereto.

" I replied, that it was to be wished rather than hoped for, as times now are, and men's dispositions.

" I asked his lordship, what he meant by that distinction of his, that transubstantiation was an error only in philosophy, not in divinity; and I desired to be better informed of his meaning in that point.

" He answered, that by the principles of theology we might hold, that, by the omnipotency of God, one body might be in many places at once; but it was contrary to philosophy so to think. And though it be said, Acts iii. 21, that it is necessary that the heavens should contain Christ's body until the time that all things be restored, yet he might, by way of miracle, be present also in many places at once on earth.

" I replied, that it would be a miracle to make me understand how these two assertions could stand together.

" So we left to treat any further of any matter of controversy, because I was not willing to be troublesome, but to hasten rather my return from whence I came.

" Only I asked how the purpose of his return should be known in London (as he seemed to say the day before), and how it should come to be divulged.

" He answered: That it was known, was most certain; for that divers of his acquaintance, both Italians and English, had come unto him, and questioned with him about it; and named his apothecary, that he had very lately been with him, and called upon him for the payments of some monies he did owe before he did take his journey: that he thought the report of it was spread by the Venetian ambassador; albeit he was of opinion, that it was also known to the ambassador of Spain.

" I asked, whether his friends in Italy knew of it: and if they did, what was their opinion of it.

"He answered, that these three months past he had received no letters from them, yet that he doubted not but they knew the whole matter; and that there was a great preferment for him of 12,000 crowns, that is, 3000*l.* sterling per annum, yet he conceived they would not be forward to advise him to return.

"Then, said I, let me, my lord, as one that loveth and honoureth you, persuade you to be very well advised before you leave this country; for out of hell (as Petrarch, I remember, in one of his epistles, calleth Rome) there's no redemption.

He answered, I have resolved with myself to follow God's appointment; and, therefore, so soon as I shall receive the pope's breve, I will set forward on my journey.

"I asked him, when he did look for that breve.

"He answered, within a week or two.

"So, I offering to take my leave, he requested that he might have his humble service presented to his majesty, whose hands, he said, he hoped to have the honour to kiss before his going. If his majesty were in never so remote a place from hence, he would repair unto him, even though he were in the remotest place of Scotland. And having the paper in my hand of my lord's answers, I did only cast out a word, as it were by chance, that if it seemed good unto his lordship, he would add his subscription also. He replied, that it was written all with his own hand. I said that it was so, and that his subscription needed not, except it would please him for form's sake; and so he willingly did it. And then I took my leave, wishing that God would direct him the best way for his own good, and the true peace of the church.

"This is the sum of all that passed at that time betwixt my Lord Archbishop of Spalato and me.

"JOHN YONGE."

With these papers the Bishop of Durham posted down to Newmarket, where the king then was, and communicated their contents to him. The king declared he would not see the archbishop, and the Dean of Winchester was again commissioned to inform De Dominis of his majesty's pleasure. He executed his mission with his former dexterity; and, although he simply dealt in advice and insinuations, he made the poor archbishop feel how unnecessary were his requests for information respecting the way to Newmarket, and the goodness of the roads. We will give but one short passage of this interview: it is very characteristic.

"I answered, that the king's majesty, all his life long, had been labouring to beat down the folly of those men, who, whilst they strive to shun the faults of the one side, run headlong into the contrary faults of the other side—such as condemn every thing in the church of Rome. I said, that in his conference with my lord of London, your lordship and me, he did acknowledge that the reformation of the church of England was wise and moderate: and (as one of the meanest instru-

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ments employed in his majesty's service) I told him how that now of long time, his majesty's endeavours had been bent, not without great cost and care, to restore the ancient episcopal government, decent rites, and face of a church, in the kingdom of Scotland, So I desired him, as a well-wisher, to be well advised before he left us, and put himself into the hands of those whom in all appearance he had made his enemies.

"He answered, that a ship heavy laden would not be turned about with every small wind; that he hoped to go upon good grounds when he went. I replied unto him that of the poet, O navis, navis, referent in mare te, novi fluctus: O quid agis, fortiter occupa portum."

These interviews were far from satisfying the king: he sent the archbishop eleven more interrogatories. The king required of him another report of the former conference: a statement of the opinion he entertained of the church of England before he came, and answers to divers other questions respecting the union already spoken of, and also further explanation on the details respecting every sentence he had formerly used which was not explicit and particular. Before, however, these interrogatories were sent to De Dominis, the king received another letter from him respecting his request to be allowed to depart, the only answer to which was the addition of a twelfth interrogatory. In the replies of the archbishop to these interrogatories, we find some interesting statements respecting his own life and opinions, which induce us to give an extract of his answer to the second and third interrogatory:

"To the second point, which concerneth the church of England. Before my coming hither I conceived a good opinion of it in general, and in the gross; as having heard of the moderation which she kept in her reformation, by retaining the unity of the fundamental faith in such manner as I have declared in my answer before. But as for disputable opinions and controversies, I could not resolve and determine with myself what it held right or wrong, until I had obtained conference with some of the learned men of this kingdom. If the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury will show some of my writings which I sent him from Venice, any man may therein see my opinion at large. I know that in those writings I did give him notice, that I would first be instructed touching such dogmatical points, before I would settle my opinion in them: that is, I would be informed and convinced theologically about them. And so it came to pass, that touching some of those, I did fully assent and adhere unto this church, as not dissenting from the catholic church: but touching some others I did dissent; yet rather, from some private men and teachers in the church of England, than from the church of England itself. As, namely, about free will, and the effecting of grace and predestination, and justification, and necessity of works and merits, and such like. Yet I profess that in these points I never dissented from the articles of the church of England, because I hold them all (understood in a right sense) to be true, or at least profitable, and none of them heretical.

"To the third point: I ever was, and yet am of opinion, that the churches of Rome and of England (excluding puritans) were radically one church, not two; and consequently that salvation might be had in both of them, if there be no schism: especially after I had heard explications of the opinions of the church of England, which I hold catholic. It would be a long work to repeat particulars, which rather belong to a general colloquy. In my opinion, therefore (whereof I am able to give good reason), any man may go with a safe conscience from the protestants to the papists, and from the papists to the moderate protestants; so be it he do it not in schism. Because such a change is not a going from one church to another, that is a different church, and essentially designed from it (for there is but one church of Christ) but a going from one particular church to another particular church, both which are true members of the catholic church; only a man must beware and abstain from the accidental errors and abuses, if he meet with any, on either side. For myself, I left the Italian churches, and departed from them in body only; not that I was urged with any intolerable scruples of conscience, as though I could not be saved in those things, but because I would search more thoroughly into the protestants' doctrine, and inquire further into the causes of dissensions and schism, that I might the better cast for some wholesome remedies. I had also a desire to write freely, and publish such my writings (which I might not do in Italy), and to enjoy the benefit of hearing his majesty's wisdom. And are not these and such-like causes sufficient to move men, even of greater gravity than myself, to undertake such a journey as I did? The suspicion then of an intelligencer cannot touch me. I am no spy to pry into your forts, armies, and treasury: I was never made partaker of the secret counsels of the state: I never saw any of the havens of this kingdom, which are the forts of it: I have in a sort drowned myself in my books, and macerated myself, as buried in my study, daily spending there ten hours in reading, meditation, and writing. How fit a man, then, am I to be thought a spy? how nimble or able in body am I to survey the secret parts of this kingdom? Yet, nevertheless, I will confess that I am a spy in some sense; such an one, to wit, as Joshua was, or Caleb, Numb. xiii., spiritually, not corporally; so that I do find here, why to commend this church as a church abhorring from puritanism, and reformed with moderation, and worthy to be received into the communion of the catholic church, and whence I can carry a goodly cluster of so many excellent works of true piety; out of which may be pressed wine of joy, to the comfort of all them which hate puritan strictness, and desire the peace of the church. Paulus quintus the pope neither dispensed with my coming hither, nor was privy to it, nor used any connivance at it, but was exceedingly displeased with it: witness, Colen and the Spanish forts lying along the Rhine, to all which he sent a mandate from Rome to forelay my passage, and to intercept my person, and to imprison me. Sir David Murrey, and Sir Robert Barnes, men well known at court, can witness with what terrors I was then troubled, and almost astonished; insomuch as though I was then sick and like to die, yet I was glad to hide myself in a secret corner of the ship, and to lie there in straw miserably day and

night, concealing myself, least any man should descry me in those suspected places, and betray me to the papists. Can any man imagine that I should come with the pope's consent, that made so serious a work against the pope? (too boldly I now confess) and that a work of so many years' study and labour? or can any man say that I made that book but for a cloak of my other purposes, being a book so exact, and so full of authorities and arguments of all sorts? Therefore let no man think that I was of one mind when I came out of Italy, and of another now: for I keep one and the same mind still without any change; and continue in the same resolutions which I had at my first coming hither. Only I have much increased my knowledge about the differences of religion, and have attained to know many things belonging to controversed points of doctrine, which I never knew before. For I never found exactly on whom the schism lay till within these few months, after many disputations. I have also learned to know how many things are absurdly objected by our papists against the protestants, from which they are most free: and I likewise perceived that the protestants also do reprehend many in the church of Rome, which might be easily either defended or excused, which were too long in this short treatise to write."

With the answers the archbishop enclosed several letters from Italy, which he had received on the subject of his departure. "All which being presented to his majesty," says the Bishop of Durham, "he was not so satisfied but that he gave farther direction for certain *other* interrogatories to be offered unto the archbishop." The new interrogatories related chiefly to the intercourse which De Dominis was said to have had with the pope, and demanded of him whether the king had not always been ready to provide for his welfare. Many passages were also picked out of his works; and it was required to know whether he still remained of the same opinion. We shall extract De Dominis's account of the bounty he received at the hands of his majesty, and his motives for returning.

"If I knew that I should any way do (I will not say the least true wrong), but even the least shadow of wrong to his majesty, I would wish rather to lose my life than to be injurious to so great and so good a prince. In the second year after my coming hither, I received from his majesty, in ecclesiastical revenues, not much above four hundred pounds, of year's revenue: yet some that were not well willers unto me told his majesty that I had above a thousand pounds per annum, and this report grew current amongst courtiers; yet I thought it no little shame to me to become a daily and importunate suitor, and thereby to be observed and noted for an insatiable man. I know it is a saying that well fits God and the king, non amas et deseris, you leave me because you love me not; yet I take God to witness that I never dealt, either with the pope or any other prince, about any promotion or provision for me. There was an offer made to me of a rich church in general, but not of any one in particular:

neither did I give any ear to that offer. I never proceeded to contract for any, or to receive any certain notice of any I never stood much upon preferment, nor pressed it far. Nay, during all this treaty and motion, I did never trouble my mind with any temporal respects. I desired security only above all things, that I might return home to my friends freely and safely, and lead my old age quietly amongst them, after I had now finished and set forth my advices for the public good: and withal, that I might hold up and settle my house, which in my own country is a family of great rank and account amongst noble families, and of great ancestry, and now is like to come to ruin, almost by reason of my absence especially. And lastly, that I may procure safety to my nephews and nieces, children of my brother lately slain by his enemies, who are left without mother, and without government, being now marriageable. I will add one thing further—that I cannot but accuse myself of great stupidity, in that I conceive not how it can be anyways injurious to his majesty, if a foreigner, that is not his native subject, and hath not sold his liberty out-right (although he were even hired by his majesty with a set stipend, for some service to be performed about him) be enticed away from his service, either by love of his country, or by proffers of eightfold better entertainment with his own, or some other prince, so be it he humbly crave licence to depart, and go not to another prince before he procure to be dismissed with good leave. In which case, that I may use a fit example, shall an outlandish physician, that serveth his majesty, be censured to do an injury to his majesty, if (at some other prince's invitation of him, with promise of a much greater stipend), he shall ask his majesty's good leave to depart from him? What do captains every day? Do they not go from one prince to another, without infamy to themselves or injury to others, according as he may be preferred to higher offices and greater stipends? Wherefore I am not anyway guilty to myself of doing his majesty wrong herein, the doing whereof I would utterly abhor."

His majesty still was not satisfied. It was thought fit to require him "to express himself more fully in the point of schism." Dr. Goad was sent to visit him, and "to fall into speech concerning thereof." Dr. Goad made a report, but still the king was not satisfied: several more interrogatories were put to him, and he answered them by a letter to the Dean of Winchester. He was then applied to for an acknowledgment of the books he was the author of, in writing, and an attempt was made to get the original MS. of his work *de Republica Ecclesiastica*. Spalato, in his answer, simply states, that the MSS. he had printed remained with the printer, that they were nothing but confused and mangled schedules; and he acknowledged the book *de Republica Ecclesiastica* to be his work.

Here it appeared the king was wearied, and the Bishop of Durham lauds him for the "constant course held with this man to clear his majesty's honour and integrity, and to lay such a Versipelles in his true colours open to view." Others may

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rationally maintain that his majesty's honour was not concerned, that it was unworthy of a king to carry on such an inquisition, and that it would have been a much worthier course to permit the man to go as he came.

The conclusion of the matter was this: Spalato was called before his majesty's commissioners, who held a court at Lambeth. By them he was admonished "of his evil carriage towards his majesty, and ordered to quit the kingdom within twenty days, and never to return." In the "act sped at Lambeth," the whole proceedings are summarily repeated, and De Dominis's recognition required of the whole of them. He was told by the Archbishop of Canterbury that he had called the church of Rome Babylon; of which expression Spalato made an apologetical defence, saying, that the case was altered somewhat, that Gregory XV. was a very good man. The archbishop retorted, "belike Babylon has become Sion." He had then his dismission given him. "So," says the Bishop of Durham, "you have this his present scene and act, who put forth himself on the stage with great reputation, and is gone off with reproach."

De Dominis had in one of his own writings said, "things are brought to such a pass in these times, that ecclesiastical controversies are now no longer committed unto divines or counsellors; but are to be defended at Rome, or from Rome, by hangmen, and tormentors, and executioners, and bloody-minded men, and parricides." The poor archbishop proved the truth of his own words: he was committed to the castle of St. Angelo by Pope Urban, where he died in 1625, in his sixty-fourth year, the third year after he left this country, not without suspicion of poison. The last words of the Bishop of Durham's book are, "may not he prove a true prophet, that in the beginning of this rumour of his intended return to Rome wrote thus of him and it. That either an *halter*, or *fire*, or *poison* will be the end. Now, Lord bless the man." He did prove a true prophet. Some time after his death, his bones were taken up, and burnt with his writings, by order of the inquisition.

It ought to be added to every notice of this unfortunate prelate, that, besides his theological writings, he was the author of a treatise on optics: "De radiis visus, et lucis in nitris perspectivis, et Iride Tractatus," in which we have the high authority of Sir Isaac Newton for saying were first explained, on just principles, the phænomena of the colour of the rainbow.

Historical and Antiquarian Magazine.

BRISTOL IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

No work of man has changed its character and the aspect of its outward form, during the lapse of years, so frequently as cities, in their origin, their meridian, and decay.

In our own country, the increase of cities from small beginnings to their eventual prosperity, as having been patronized by church establishments, or enriched by commerce, have employed the industrious investigations of many a local antiquary, and with satisfaction to those who are content with their general history. There is no deficiency in the number of these topographical publications, which abound in evidence of past transactions, dates of buildings, and accurate lists of civic functionaries; yet they frequently record insulated facts, disjoined from each other by a long interval of time.

Nor has the imagination been excluded from some instances, where, upon the foundation of matters of fact, a portrait of the domestic habits and character of our forefathers has been happily attempted from such documents. But we do not consider these fictions as of equal value with truth; and, under that impression, we the more willingly present to our readers a view of Bristol, or rather Bristow, as it really and truly existed, as to its exterior form, its buildings, its churches and streets, with their principal inhabitants, at the close of the fifteenth century. Excluding therefore from our recollection and mind what had preceded in former, or has passed in subsequent ages, we shall confine ourselves to a descriptive panorama of that particular period. If from such a delineation our readers can walk about the old streets to survey buildings, some just then completed, and others the very sites of which are now barely known; and by a strong illusion seem to be present with the venerable aldermen in the reigns of Henry and Edward, they will be fain to participate in the interest which these subjects may create.

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It is necessary, in the first place, to advert to the sources of information from which the authenticity of this sketch will be derived. They are principally two: the actual survey made by William Wyrcestre, between the years 1470 and 1480, for the architectural and local description of the town; and extracts from the wills of several chief citizens in that day, for personal furniture, and their habits of living.

To the first mentioned an introduction is necessary; not that William Wyrcestre is unknown to antiquaries, though his private history and his literary pretensions have hitherto been partially examined. He was, in fact, one of the minor[1] stars in the dark hemisphere of learning in the fifteenth century; but as an indefatigable transcriber, and topographical investigator, his active perseverance deserves exclusive praise.

Among numerous MSS. which he had selected and transcribed from others, and which are still extant, that which is original, containing topographical memoranda of Bristol, is under present consideration. It is preserved in the library of Benet College, Cambridge, and was published as the second part of the volume, by Dr. Nasmith[2], which contains the itinerary of Fitz-Simeon, noticed in our last number.

Full of repetitions and desultory notices, which he committed to paper at the time of their being made, merely to refresh his memory, Wyrcestre is yet, when unravelled, an interesting topographer. He is much more minute and copious than Leland, who succeeded him; and in that respect more valuable. It might not be a task of much difficulty to lay down a map from

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[1] His contemporary natives of Bristol were WILLIAM GROCYN, and JOHN PHREAS or FREE, vicar of Radcliffe, and originally a Carmelite friar in Bristol. They have the merit of having first introduced the study of the Greek language into England. Free, having received information from the Italian merchants trading to Bristol, that multitudes of strangers were crowding to their universities to acquire the learned languages, passed over to Ferrara, where he became a fellow student with Walter Grey (afterward Bishop of Ely), by whose patronage and assistance his studies were supported. He induced W. Grocyn, then fellow of New College, to pursue the same studies under Demetrius Chalcondylas, and other learned Greeks. His very elegant epigram on a girl having pelted him with snow is well known.

"Me nive candenti petiit mea Julia—rebar
Igne carere nivem, nix tamen ignis erat,
Sola potes nostras extinguere Julia flammas
Non nive, non glacie, at tu potes igne pari."

Wyrcestre contributed a MS. of Free to Baliol College library. "Johannis Phrai de Cosmographia ex dono venerabilis viri W. Wyrcester." *See Warton's Hist. Poet.* vol. ii. p. 423. *Bale et Leland de Scriptor. Anglicis.*

[2] *Ex cod. autographo autoris in Bibliothecâ Coll. Corp. Christi Cantab.*

N. 210. 1. Itinerarium W. W. de Bristolliâ.
2. W. W. de civitatibus, monasteriis, et abbatiis, deque longitudine et latitudine eorum; rebusque memorabilibus.

his measurements, and description by scale, and thus to exhibit Bristow, as it stood, in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

The churches, streets, public buildings, and even the houses of the principal merchants, are, some of them cursorily, and others accurately, described; but the small writing and his barbarous Latin have rendered translation difficult; and upon that account he has been often dismissed without a competent examination. Let him, however, be valued for that which to the lover of national antiquities is really valuable, as a patient and able investigator of all that could be seen in his native town, when he lived there; the streets and edifices which he frequently measured, with his own paces, until accuracy could be obtained; and the panorama which he holds forth of objects partially or entirely sunk in the abyss of time. As to locality, or fixing the sites of buildings or streets, his information is satisfactory; and so many of them have been removed for modern accommodation, or rebuilt, in the three last centuries, that a very interesting view of BRISTOW, as it stood in the earlier periods of its history, is presented to us. A certain discrepancy of dimension, whether by feet and yards, or his own paces, may be brought into a very probable compass, by collation of them with each other, as they occur in his different notices.

All the cities and great towns, during the middle centuries, offered a nearly similar appearance to exterior view. Encompassed with lofty turreted walls, having large gateways and narrow streets, spacious houses of carved wooden frame-work; many small, and one or two large and magnificent churches, —these will complete the description of the greater part of our old towns: and yet, in local features, each may be proved to have borne a distinct character from any other. It is from this consideration that such remarkable objects being minutely pointed out will increase the interest we take concerning any one of them in particular.

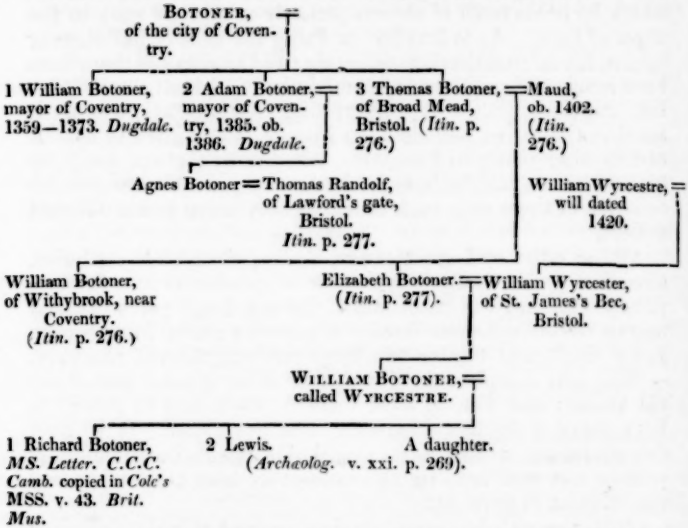
Of Wyrcestre's biography[1] and an account of his multifarious

[1] William Wyrcestre was the son of a person of the same name, who was a worthy burgess of Bristol, and engaged in trade. He was born at a house in a street called St. James's Bee, in 1415. (Itin. p. 277.) His mother was Elizabeth Botoner, of an opulent family settled at Coventry; by two rich individuals of which, the sumptuous church of the Holy Trinity in that city was erected, upon the authority of Dugdale, who describes their arms. "Argent on a cheveron gules, three bezants, between three lions' heads erased of the second, crowned or." After having passed four years as a student of Hart-hall, in Oxford (Itin. p. 172), he became a retainer to Sir John Fastolf, of Caistre Castle, in Norfolk, and, in process of time, his secretary, physician, and finally his executor. In the *Paston* letters, published by *Sir John Fenn*, in 1787, vols. 1, 3, and 4, there are several from him, respecting his employments, and the affairs of his executorship, and of the siege of Caistre Castle by John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

MSS.[1], a requisite communication is condensed and given in the subjoined note.

He then assumed the designation of W. BOTONER, called WYRCESTRE, preferring his mother's name to that of his father.

In the decline of life he established himself in Bristol, having a house and garden near St. Philip's church-yard gate, and various other property, "tria gardina, W. W." (Itin. p. 210—214.) There he cultivated medicinal herbs, and practised physic. His chief amusement in his old age was most minutely to survey his native town by paces and measurement, and committing the result of such investigation, daily, to his note book. This circumstance will account for the desultory manner in which the MS. we are now examining is compiled and written. There is evidence collected from his notes, that he died about the year 1484. He so frequently mentions the individuals of his family, that the following sketch of his descent may be considered proved:



[1] WILLIAM WYRCESTRE appears, during a long life, to have been in the habit of making extracts from MSS. upon multifarious subjects, as they became interesting to him, from the literary pursuit in which he happened to be engaged. Although these excerpts or selections do not entitle him to be considered as a man of deep learning (let us recollect what was the learning of his age), they will sufficiently prove that he had an inquiring mind, and industry very uncommon for a layman, exerted in such pursuits; whilst he was actively engaged in the concerns of his master, Sir John Fastolf. These common-place books must have been numerous; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that many should be extant, though much dispersed. The curiosity of some of them will appear from the annexed catalogue, which is the first ever made.

There is in the British Museum (*Coles's MSS. vol.* 43, *p.* 1 *to* 50) a transcript from the Itinerary, in Benet Coll. Cambridge, which is described "Codex chartaceus, forma oblongâ, in folio, charactere valde deformi exaratus, interlineationibus ubique scatens, ita, ut videtur, autographicum autoris, in itineribus suis compilatum," &c. Mr. Cole says, that Dr. Nasmith published the MS., together with Fitz-Simcon's journey to Je-

From its earliest origin, Bristol has had many advantages of situation, considered as a place of commerce, and during the

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rusalem, which is noticed in our last number, altogether without notes or elucidation, which would have added much to the usefulness and merit of his edition.

I. In the library of Benet Coll. Camb. No. 210. 1. Itinerarium de Bristolliâ. 2. De civitatibus, monasteriis, abbatiis, deque longitudine et latitudine eorum; rebusque memorabilibus. "Mense Maio, 1879." 1479.

II. Gulielmi Vigorniensis de Sacramentis. "Scriptum, 1473. MSS. in Bibliothecâ Coll. Magd. Oxon." Librum hunc Dno. Fundatori inscripsit Auctor. This book had been written in 8vo. for his patron Sir John Fastolf. He has inserted an account of his present, with a date 1473. He complains in another instance, "se nullum regardum ab episcopo accepisse." Dr. Chandler, in his history of that college, remarks uncandidly, "that he probably received from Bishop Waynflete as much reward as he merited;" without a due consideration of the real state of literature in this country.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the Latin language began to emerge from the legal and conversational barbarism into which it had lapsed among lawyers and the less learned ecclesiastics; and it may be fairly acknowledged, that the Latin of William Wyrcestre is Anglicised and imperfect, yet not exclusively so.

III. Brit. Mus. Cat. Ayscough. Art. 26. A large collection of medicinal recipés, from several authors, English and Latin: "extracta de libro Bertholi Physici de Johanne Grene, Bristolliæ 9 die Octob. 1870." 1470. There is a treatise called "Dietarium Salutis," and many charms. He was a witness to William Canynge's will, dated Nov. 12, 1474. "Johanne Grene, chirurgico ejusdem villæ."

IV. In the MS. Itinerary, omitted by Nasmith, is the following letter (MS. Cole, v. 43), written by his son, R. Botoner: "I pray you to commende me to my mother, and sister, and broder, and all my frendys. Your boke is sent to Wynchestre. Wrote on Tuesday iii weke of Lent. To W. W. to be delyveryd in haste. Lothe to offende. BOTONER."

The book mentioned was a translation of "Cicero de Senectute," from the French of Laurence Premierfaict. Extract from the Itinerary: "die 20 Augusti, 1473, presentavi, W. Episcopo Wyntoniensi apud Esher librum Tullii de senectute, per me translatum in anglicis, sed nullum regardum recepi de episcopo." p. 368. It was printed by Caxton. Ames erroneously attributes it to Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who certainly translated the "De Amicitiâ." He was misled by similarity of name. W. W. expressly says, in the preface to the "De Senectute," that he translated that treatise by command of Sir J. Fastolf.

V. MSS. Cotton. 504. p. 10. Catalogus illustrium virorum, præcipue ecclesiasticorum scriptorum, a passione Christi usque ad annum 14. Theodosii, ex Diodoro Hispaliensi Genadio Massiliensi excerpt. per W. W. 10mo. mensis Septemb. 1469.

VI. MSS. 101. Benet Coll. Camb. Codex chartaceus Henrici Principis Anglorum. "Aristoxenus Musicus Oxoniensis doctissimus," mense Maii 1474.

VII. Ejusdem. 115. Excerpta e quodam libro—Vocalia Hebraica, in Latino exposita, habita in quodam Psalterio Collegii Sti. Petri Westmonasteriensis, scriptum in linguâ et literis Hebraicis, 20 die Augusti, 1471.

VIII. Mus. Brit. Catal. Ayscough. No. 169. W. W. de ordinibus religiosorum tam nomine quam regulâ, compilatus de diversis chronicis in civitate. London. ad compilationem Dni. Nicolai Ancrane, Prioris St. Leonardi prope Norwich, 1464.

IX. Ejusdem. No. 179. De diversitate linguarum et grammatices secundum Fratrem Ord. Francisci ad Papam Clementem V^m^. per W. W. Declaratio affectûs vere mathematici Roger Bacon transcript. per W. W.

X. MSS. Laud. Bodl. Lib. Oxon. Tabulæ Alphonsi Regis, scriptæ satis eleganter per manum W. W.

XI. MSS. Ejusdem. Stellæ versificatæ pro anno 1440, ad instantiam J. Falstolfe, militis. A very early performance.

XII. MSS. Cotton. Julius F. vij. 5. W. Botoner registrarium seu excerptio versuum proverbiarum, de libro Ovidii de arte amandi, de fastis, et de epistolis. A.D. 1462.

XIII. Annales, annexed to Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, printed from a MS., No. 49, in the Library of the Heralds' College.

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lapse of several centuries, it has ranked as the metropolis of the west.

The site of the ancient town lies in a deep valley of an oval shape; in the centre of which runs a high ridge. It is then intersected by the river Avon, in its course from Bath to the grand estuary called the Bristol Channel; and the small river Frome, before it was partly filled up, surrounded the town walls on the east and north sides, where it united itself to the Avon. During the earlier centuries of the Norman dynasty, there were three chief divisions: that of the town within the walls; the castle with its demesnes, which were extended over the parishes of St. James, greater and less, and St. Michael. Crossing the river, the knights templars had a preceptory, with a very large fee or demesne; and the other part was parcel of the manor of Bedminster, held for many descents by the Barons of Berkeley, which third division was fortified, likewise, by lofty walls and towers[1].

XIV. MSS. Soc. Antiquar. Lond. No. 41. A paper volume, in 4to., compiled by William of Wyrcestre, and addressed by his son to King Edward IV. A collection of state papers, chiefly relating to the regency of John, Duke of Bedford, in France, Sir J. Fastolf, &c., 32 articles. It is supposed to have been transcribed, t. Hen. 8vi.

Notices of William Wyrcestre occur in Bale, Pitts, and Tanner. Warton's Hist. of Poetry, v. ii. p. 62. 119. Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 55; and Archæologia, v. ix. p. 257. 259.

As a specimen of Wyrcestre's familiar Latin, the following is added:

"Dominicâ, 10 die Septembris, equitavi ad Collegium Westbury, et locutus fui cum Johanne Gryffyth de Bristol, merchant, ibi morante.

"Item equitavi usque Shyrehampton, loquendo cum Thomâ Yong, armigero, pro ii libris meis recuperandum, uno de libro magno ethicorum, alium de libro vocato "le myrrour de dames," co-operto rubro corio, et jentavi secum. Dedit mihi lætum vultum, pro amore patris sui, cum uxore ejus favore." p. 275.

"Sunday, September 10, I rode to Westbury College, and spoke to John Gryffyth, a merchant of Bristol, dwelling there.

"Likewise, I rode as far as Shirehampton, and spoke to Thomas Young, Esq. about recovering two books of mine, one a great book of Ethics, and another a book called "The Myrrour of Dames," covered with red leather, and I breakfasted with him. He gave me a cheerful countenance for the love his father bore me, and his wife welcomed me."

[1] From WYRCESTRE'S Survey of BRISTOW, 1470—1480.

Points.	Streets.	Page.	Churches.	Convents, Chapels, and Hospitals.
E. from the High Cross.	Wynch-street (now *Wine-street*).	567		
	Mary Port.	248	St. Mary in Foro, or Le Port.	
	Peter (formerly *Castle-street*).	168	St. Peter.	
	Defence-lane.	189		
S.E.	Castle-street (*on the site of the Castle*).	182		
	The old (or Castle) Market.	209		Barstaple's Hospital, Lawford's Gate, p. 210.

We will now proceed to arrange the extracts, and the translation of the Itinerary, as the streets are geographically placed below.

"The length of Wynch-street, opposite to the Pillory, going directly from the top of the Pittray to St. John's Gate, contains 410 paces, passing through a lane or byeway two yards broad." P. 209.

"The length of three very large and lofty houses in the street called Maryport with a vault beneath, arched with stone of the depth of 40 steps or stairs, is, from the shambles in front, 18 yards." P. 186.

"Coming from Newgate as far as the second lane, directly enter into Defence-lane, from the street called St. Peter's, before a fountain of stone, lately erected from a legacy bequeathed by William Canynge." P. 136.

Points.	Streets.	Page.	Churches.	Convents, Chapels, and Hospitals.
	King's-street.	152		
N.E.	The Pithay.	236	St. James the Great.	The Franciscans, p. 116.
	Broad-mead.	162		The Gray Friars, p.
	Lewyn's-mead.	189		The Dominicans, p. 233.
	St. James's Back (*or Bec, on the banks of the Froome*).	277		
	——— Church-yard.	120		
	——— Barton.	206		
	The Castle (*Suburban*).	250—270		The Benedictine cell to the abbey of Tewkesbury, p. 120.
	Parish of St. Philip, and James the Less.	208	St. Philip and James the Less.	
W.	The Tholshyll.	120	All Saints.	The Calendars, p. 172.
	Corn-street.	270	St. Werburga.	
	St. Leonard's, with the Lanes.	167—175	St. Leonard (destructa).	
	St. Augustine the Less (*Suburban*).	229	St. Laurence (destructa).	Abbey of Canons of St. Augustine (now the Cathedral), p. 188.
	St. Augustine's Bec (*on the banks of the Avon*).	186		The Gaunt's Hospital, p. 173.
S.W.	High-street, or St. Nicholas-street.	175	St. Nicholas.	
	Baldwyn-street.	168		
	Baft-street.	199		
	March-street.	178		
	The Welsh Bec.	166		
N.W.	Small-street.	167	St. Giles (destructa).	
	St. Leonard's } Lanes.	252—	St. Stephen.	Carmelites, p. 188.
	St. Stephen's }	174		
N.	Broad-street.	175	Holy Trinity, or Christ-church.	Chapel of St. George, p. 239.
	The Quay.	171—172	St. Audoen (destructa).	
			St. John.	

"Le veyl mercate, the length of the old market to Lawford's Gate, is 660 paces." P. 209[1].

"The street on the north-side of the Market-place is not built upon." P. 210.

"The street from the cross (before the Castle-wall) to Lawford's Gate, called the Old Market, by the church of the hospital of the Holy Trinity, founded by Barstaple, is 600 paces long."

"King's-street, where the cooks and sellers of victuals (1217) usually dwelt, near the old market, on the east side of the choir of the church of the Friars-preachers." P. 182.

"King's-street begins at the tower of Monken-bridge, and towards

Points.	Streets.	Page.	Churches.	Convents, Chapels, and Hospitals.
	St. Michael (*Suburban*).	173	St. Michael.	Nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene, p. 243.
N.E.	Tower-lane.	176		
N.W.	Hore-street (now *Horse-street*).	172		
	Knifesmith-street (now *Christmas-street*).	195		Hospital of St. Bartholomew, p. 217.
S.	High-street.	170		St. Mary's Chapel on the bridge, p. 116. 284.
	The Bridge.	116		Knap's Chapel of St. John, p. 189.
	St. Thomas-street.	204	St. Thomas.	
S.E.	Mary Port-street.	186	St. Mary in Foro, or Le Port.	
	Worscep-street and Bocherew (now *Bridge-street*.	168 169		
	Defence-lane.	189		
	Temple-street.	236	Temple, or Holy Cross.	
	Tucker-street.	182		Augustine Friars, p. 204.
S.W.	Redcliffe-street (*Suburban*).	169	St. Mary Redcliffe.	

[1] The apparent discrepancy which not unfrequently occurs, in the various notices in the Itinerary, has given rise to the charge of general inaccuracy and contradiction, which a stricter investigation would, in a great degree, obviate and reconcile. In a comparison to be made of the different mode of measurement, his "gressus meos" and "steppys" may be best considered by a collation of instances, at twenty inches; and when Wyrcestre gives the dimensions of the same place, at one time by steps and at another by yards, they will be found to correspond with that computation, though sometimes above it. In these cases, the measure by rule, which he used for the interior of buildings, was probably the more exact; and that having first measured conjecturally, or by his own steps or paces, he entered it in his memoranda, with several corrections, subsequently added. When the terms "virgas, yerdys, and vethym" occur, they are the real measure. In the MS., the half eight, or Arabic 4 (8) is often used, which is mistaken by Nasmith for a cipher, as 188—108 feet for 148, which would make the measure altogether erroneous. The fairest test is a comparison with the modern dimensions, as given in Barrett's History of Bristol, 4to. 1789; but without entering into a detail of proofs which our limits will not allow, the following instance may be cited:

Total length of St. Augustine's, or Cathedral church:
Wyrcestre, 180 feet; Barrett, 175. Width, with the aisles, W. 72 feet; Barrett, 73.

the style, at the corner of St. James's Church-yard, and on to the Barrs, towards Earl's Mead, 100 paces." P. 192.

"The Barrs, at the end of Broad-mead, going towards Marshal-street, where there is a prison for prostitutes (fatuæ mulieres). Les Barres (probably the licensed stews), 'ubi metrices morantur,' near the south side of St. James's church-yard." Pp. 168. 236.

"From the Pithay-gate, ascending towards the pillory, there is a very deep well, over which is a building of freestone to protect the drawers from the rain." P. 194.

"Pithay-street, by the well to the old gate in Tower-street-wall, ascending the hill, is 130 paces; entering Tower-street, near St. John Baptist's church-yard, under a very ancient gateway." P. 236.

"Wynch-street was more anciently Tower-street." P. 182. "It is one of the quadrivial ways from the cross." P. 175. "The broadest part is 22, and the narrowest 16 paces." P. 216. "The length of Wynch-street, opposite to the pillory, by the top of the Pithay-hill to St. John's Gate, and by the church-yard, is 400 paces."

"The course of the Wear-water, going by the convent of the Dominicans or Friars-preachers, and the bridge to the end of the way, called Broad-mead, is 224 paces." P. 167.

"The width of Lewyns-mead from the beginning, opposite St. James's church, going towards Froome-gate, is eight paces." P. 192. "From Froome-gate to the corner of St. James's church-yard, 480 paces." P. 232.

"Le Bak, in the parish of St. James." P. 277.

"The north-side of St. James's church-yard is 220 steps; and the east, 124." P. 116.

"There is in the church-yard of St. James's, near the Franciscan convent, a fair, square chapel of freestone, with a roof and windows of stone, and contains on each side of the square 10 feet, with eight buttresses." P. 246. 253.

"St. James's Barton or Granary."

We give Wyrcestre's account of the castle[1] in his own language.

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[1] Robert the Consul, or the Red, Earl of Gloucester, illegitimate son of King Henry I., built or re-built the castle of Bristowe, about the year 1110; but it does not appear that he had completed it before 1138, when he received his half sister, the Empress Maud. The great tower, or keep, was exactly on the model of the Tower of London, not much inferior in its dimensions, and is said to have been faced, at least, with stone brought from Caen in Normandy. It commanded the military possession of the west of England, and was the royal residence whenever the sovereign made a voyage to Dublin, before the conquest of North Wales. Edward II. escaped from incarceration there, but was retaken, and suffered a violent death at Berkeley Castle. Richard II. held his court at Bristol.

This castle was divided into two large wards, which occupied three acres of ground. The upper of them was entirely military, and the lower palatial, as in the castles of Carnarvon and Conway. There were a hall, spacious apartments, and other appendages. After the reign of Richard II. it fell into a rapid decay, from desertion both by the court and garrison; a circumstance which is noticed by Wyrcestre, and farther confirmed by Leland. Scarcely a vestige of it now remains; and the spacious site is known only by the names of streets, which are so designated.

The length of the hall is 36 yards, breadth 18. Height of the external walls above the windows, 14 feet; in a state of ruin. To the left of the royal hall was the royal

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"*The Quantity of the Dongeon of the Castell of Bristow, after th' Information of* ———, *Porter of the Castell.*

"The tour called the dongeon ys in thyknes, at fote [the foundation] 25 pedes, and at the ladyng place, under the leede-cuveryng 9 feet et dimid.

"And in length este and weste, 60 pedes; and north and southe, 45 pedes; with IIII toures standyng upon the fowre corners. And the hyest toure callyd the Mayn, id est, mightiest tower, above all the fowre toures, is fyve fethym hygh [30 feet] abofe, and the wallys be in thiknes there, VI fote. Item, the length of the castelle wythin the wallys est and weste ys 180 virgæ.

"Item, the bredth of the castell from the north to the southe wyth the grate garden, that ys from the water-gate to the mayng rounde of the castill, to the walle northwarde towarde the blak-frerys, 100 virgæ. Item, a Bastylle lyeth southward beyond the watyr-gate, and contayneth in length 60 virgæ. Item, the length of the bulwark at the utter gate of St. Philip's church, conteyneth 60 yerdes large. Item, the yerdes called sparres of the hall-ryal [the king's hall], conteyneth yn length about 45 fete of whole pece. Item, the brede of every sparre, at fote [1], conteyneth 12 inch and eight inch." P. 260.

"The parish church of St. Philip lies in the south part of the town of Bristol, where was formerly a priory of the order of St. Benedict." P. 247.

"The length of the priory church of St. James is 54 'steppys,' and the breadth 40. The length of the presbytery of the said church is 40 steps, and the length of our lady's chapel 40, and 12 wide.

"At the High Cross [2] are four quadrivial ways, viz. High-street, Bradstrete, Wynchestrete, and Seynte Collas [Nicholas] Street." P. 175.

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chamber, 17 yards long. There was a slab or table of marble stone, 15 feet in length, at which the king sate, at the upper end of the hall.

There were two chapels, one for the garrison, and the other for the king and his court during their residence. The kitchens and offices were very large, and the constable's house in a great tower now dilapidated (unde magna pietas surgit!) the more's the pity! p. 270, 271.

The curious topographical inquirer may collect ample information respecting this castle in *Mr. Seyer's* "*Memoirs of Bristol*," 4to. 1821, the two first volumes of which have already been given to the public. Two more will conclude this satisfactory and elaborate work.

[1] This circumstance proves, that the great hall was not divided by an arcade of stone, but by upright beams of oak, as was that of the Booth-hall at Gloucester, lately rebuilt.

[2] The ancient market-cross was of excellent tabernacle work, with niches, containing regal effigies, and was not inferior to others at Coventry, Gloucester, and Winchester, the only one now remaining. It was erected in 1373, to the height of thirty-nine feet. Wyrcestre's account of it is imperfect—"Crux magnifica apud Highstrete vel vocata Hygh-crosse." It was considered as a nuisance, and sacrificed to modern convenience in 1733; re-erected in the centre of the College-green, and again taken down in 1763. Mr. Hoare, the banker, with a true spirit of antiquarian piety, begged the fragments, which he restored at an expense of £300; and it now ornaments the celebrated pleasure grounds at Stourhead.

"The short street, called Corn-street, leading from the west end of the house of the Kalendars, is in length 170 paces, and five yards broad." P. 172.

"The length of the lane passing by St. Leonard's church-yard and Small-street, is 214 paces; and the length of St. Lawrence-lane, from Small-street and St. Lawrence church." P. 120.

"The church of St. Augustine [the less] lately erected [in 1480], contains in length, with two aisles, the chancel excepted, in length 24 yards, and in breadth 42 feet, as related to me by a parishioner." P. 229.

"The High-street from St. Nicholas church, where the breadth is 20 paces, to the High-cross, by the Cokery, [i. e. the taverns and cooks' shops], is 176 paces." P. 264. "From St. Nicholas Gate there are two lanes: one passes by the east gate of the church of St. Werburgh, near the great stair, and is 120 paces long; two leads in a direction opposite the south door of St. Werburgh's church, to Small-street, 136 paces long." P. 240.

"From the Tower-gate of Baldwyn-street, to the great corner at the beginning of the Quay, by the town wall, 180 paces." P. 168.

"Baldwyn-street, at the south side of which the river Froome formerly ran." P. 249.

"Baft-street begins opposite the cross in Baldwyn-street, and leads only to the Town-wall opposite the Marsh, passing near the west end of the chapel, upon the Bac. It is 240 paces long, 20 paces in the widest, and three yards only in the narrowest part." P. 199.

"The length of the street called 'Le Bakk,' continues from Avon-bridge westward; along the Quay on the bank of the river, is 220 steps." P. 166.

"The road called the Bak, where the vessels from Wales lie, beginning at the conduit near the bridge, to the farthest gate, called Marsh-gate, contains in length, by the side of the river Avon, 3030 steps or paces." P. 198. "The slip in the street, called Le Bakk, near the chapel of St. John Baptist, has 80 steps or 'steyres' down to the water, where the good women [mulieres honestæ] wash linen clothes; and I have seen twelve at a time washing their linen or other clothes; for when the tide is out the water becomes clear, and they can wash at certain hours of the day." P. 226[1].

"At the end of the High-street, near St. Nicholas's Gate, is a lane with a descent of 30 stairs, into Baldwyn-street." P. 216.

"In Worship-street, Bocherew or Shambles, are three very lofty houses, under which are as many very large and deep vaults, belonging to the king for the collection of his custom upon wool and other merchandise; and for the loading of the ships bound for other coun-

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[1] "Gradus primus, anglice a Slypp, super Le Bak proxima vico de Baldewyn-strete continet in longitudine 80 gradus, anglice steyres." p. 226. "Duorum longorum graduum de le Bak, usque ad fundum aquæ Avon, ubi mulieres lavant pannos lineos—aliquando 12 mulieres ad pedem aquæ de Avyn, lavantes pannos lineos et alia necessaria vidi, ut mulieres honestæ; sic ibidem quando fluxus maris returnat, et quod aqua Avyn veniens a portû Bristol sit clara et pura, sic lavant certis temporibus dici." p. 226.

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tries, and containing the warehouses of the principal merchants, in four other very spacious cellars. The length of the four great houses is 25 paces, and of the whole street, 300." Pp. 170. 189.

" Defence-lane begins at the Shambles, and making a right angle towards Castle [St. Peter's] Street before the new fountain, made by a legacy of W. Canynge (*de bonis*), with a lofty building of freestone, to the upper end of Wynche-street, contains 135 paces. Defense-lane, coming from Newgate to St. Peter's-street, under the great wall, between the castle and the town." Pp. 189. 236.

" Castle-street or lane, near St. Peter's church, in which the town-gate of the castle was situate." P. 182.

" Avon-bridge. The length is about 72 yards, and its breadth [within the houses on either side] 10 yards. The length of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, built across the bridge, is 25 yards, and seven yards broad, and there is a large and fair vault of good workmanship beneath the said chapel, in which the sheriffs and jurats of the town hold their courts, and consult for the general good. And there are, likewise, four cellars formed in the abutments of the bridge." P. 170. " The height of the chapel, consisting of four stories from the water, is 50 grades [83 feet 4 inches], and the vault for the aldermen contains the same space as the chapel; and having likewise four great windows of three lights each on either side. The whole structure consists of the vault, the chapel, a hall with offices, a lofty chamber, and another more lofty. The square bell-tower of the chapel, having been measured with the bell-ropes, is 18 fathom (brachia) high." P. 224. " Memorandum, that Elias Spelley, burgess of Bristol, was the chief benefactor, as appears from the portraits of himself and wives, painted in the east window of the chapel." P. 224. It was dedicated February 4, 1361.

" Marsh-street to the Marsh-gate is 360 paces long, and nine wide at the gate." P. 250. " The length of the Bac, continued toward the west from the bridge, along the quay, is 220 paces." P. 166.

" Small-street is 240 paces long to St. Giles's church, and leads to a lane, called St. Laurence-lane." P. 167.

" There are six lanes leading to the Quay, on the banks of the river Froome, the second passes by St. Stephen's church, 90 paces long and 30 wide; the third, fourth, and fifth, surround the said church, near the north porch, newly built, and the new bell-tower; and the sixth passes through a vault under the house of Shipward to the triangular open space upon the quay, where is erected a fair conduit of freestone." P. 173. " And going straightways towards St. Leonard's church-yard, there begins a row of houses, built upon beams, so that a man may go under cover (sicco pede) for the length of 49 paces to the church aforesaid." P. 274.

" The length of ' Le Bradstrete,' Broad-street, beginning at the St. John's gate, and continuing by the High-cross, and proceeding straight to St. Nicholas' church, is 660 paces." P. 247.

" The Quay, from its beginning before the walls of the Jew's house, near the stone-gate, at the end of Small-street, to the angle of the wall, upon which a very large house of stone is built, standing oppo-

site to the abbey of St. Augustine, extends along the causeway, above the Froome, 480 paces, well told." P. 215.

"The length of the lane called Michael's Hill, beginning at the bridge of St. Mary, in Hor-street, leading to St. Michael's church, in the west part of Steep-street; having on the eastern side the garden of the Carmelites; and so going on to the freestone-cross above the well, is 170 paces, towards the church-yard." P. 240. "Frog-lane, at the end of Michael's, beginning at the cross and well, leads toward the Abbey Church of St. Augustine, and the Gaunts, and so passing through the Sanctuary of St. Augustine to a place called Lymotes, is 840 paces to the bottom of St. Brendane's-hill." P. 242.

"Hoor-street[1] begins at the end of the wall of the Carmelites' garden, where the image of Our Lady is placed within a tabernacle." P. 278.

"The mmwey throw the seyd yate of Seynt Johan going ynto Christmas-strete, callyd Knifesmyths-streete." P. 176.

"The narrow part of St. Thomas-street is five paces, for 66 in length; then, going by the square conduit of freestone, as far as the great town-wall, and returning through Redcliffe-gate, is, on the whole 305 paces." P. 182.

"At the end of Tucker-street[2], beginning behind Temple-street, is a very deep slip or stairs, down to the water, and proceeding on the bank of the Avon, by a lane, in Temple-street, to the pillory[3], is 420 paces, near the church." P. 103.

"Redcliffe-street begins at the foot of Avon-bridge, and is 360 paces long to the beginning of Temple-street, near Stullage-cross." P. 169.

"Temple-street, beyond Temple-gate, towards the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, is 420 paces long." P. 169.

In justice to our most ancient topographer, whose itinerary is not confined to Bristol, but extends over many parts of England with nearly equal minuteness, we have been tempted to make these copious extracts from dry mensurations, to show what was the real locality of that celebrated town. The way to a description of the ecclesiastic and public buildings is thus prepared.

Of the churches which have an interest from architectural merit or singularity, a few only are selected.

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[1] So called from William Hore, or Hoore, who was mayor in 1312.

[2] The tuckers or cloth-workers were largely established in Bristol as early as the thirteenth century. They had the extensive mills near Bedminster, called Trilly or Trene mills (p. 206), as being constructed with wood, as the molendina, or corn mills, were of stone.

"To a draw-bridge then shall ye,
Th' one halfe of stone th' other of tre." *Old Romance.*

[3] The Lords Berkeley, in right of their manor of Bedminster, exercised all baronial rights, punishing by loss of life or limb, pillory, &c. in the Redcliffe district: this privilege occasioned many deadly contentions, which were frequently renewed.

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In the twelfth century, immediately preceding that in which the Castle, the Abbey of St. Augustine, and the Priory of St. James were founded, a distribution of the town into parishes appears to have taken place, under the authority of the Bishops of Worcester. Like Norwich and several others among the larger old towns, the churches were very thickly placed, most of them being of very small dimensions, and of the rudest architecture. As piety became aided by wealth, in the growing prosperity of individuals, fraternities and parishes vied with each other in re-constructing their churches upon the same consecrated ground. There were likewise perpetual funds for their embellishment, which were constantly replenished, "ad fabricam," by testamentary bequests of the more wealthy inhabitants. Before chantries for the obituary masses were endowed, they were built, as additions to the several churches, to the number in some of them of seven or eight. Upon these shrines and altars the most delicate architecture and carving were usually bestowed, and remained to be destroyed either by the reformers and puritans, by modern repairs. Several of these churches were very highly adorned in their interior parts. The richest particles of masonry were applied without regard to expense; and the enlarged windows were decorated with stained glass of curious and brilliant imagery. Those churches in Bristol which are at this time the more remarkable for their beauty were certainly built about the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In an era when stained glass, representing scriptural stories and portraits, were the coveted ornaments of all churches, those of Bristol were probably replete with that species of embellishment. It is not, however, certain, that any manufactory of it was established there, but at Coventry, York, and London; and much of the finer sort was imported from France and Flanders. From the facility with which it could then be procured by the merchants, we cannot doubt but that it abounded in all the sacred buildings in this town[1]. Very few fragments, however, now remain, excepting in the Cathedral church.

Fanaticism at the Reformation, and during the occupation of the town by the troops of Fairfax and Cromwell, and, more than all, the love of destroying and repairing by the same hands, and the interested motives of the repairers themselves, have banished the "dim religious light" from almost every window; and the churches are *now* fitted up, like lanterns, with raw white or

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[1] Several legacies for purchasing stained glass are upon record—"c marcas ecclesiæ St. Mariæ in Foro (*St. Mary Port*) ad faciendas fenestras."—*Adam Inhyng*, 1418. "Ad vitrandam fenestram, juxta crucem, in ecclesiâ Trinitatis (Christ-church) cum *vitrio* (meaning *coloured* or *stained glass*)."—*Julian Draper*. 1413.

green glass. A selection may be made of St. Augustine's the Cathedral, St. Mary Radcliffe, St. Stephen's, and the Temple.

The abbey was founded, for canons of St. Augustine, by Robert Fitz-Harding, the ancestor of the Barons Berkeley, in 1148. The first church was entirely Norman, of which the chapter-house and vestibule are undoubted remains: the elder Lady Chapel is of the next age. The present or new church was begun in 1311, by Abbot Knowles, aided by the benefactions of the Lords of Berkeley; four of whom have ancient tombs and armed figures within its walls. This church was not finished in its present state till 1363[1]. Wyrcestre affords a sufficient evidence that it was not farther completed in his days; and that there was then the chapels, with a choir and transept only. He gives the following dimensions:

"The Chapel of St. Mary [the elder], contains in length 13 yards, and in breadth nine yards and a half.

"The processional-way behind the principal altar, before the [lesser] Chapel of St. Mary, is five yards. The length of the reredoss [skreen] of the principal altar to the end of the choir, contains nine yards, beginning at the end of the before-mentioned space. The whole breadth of the body of the choir and of the two aisles extends 24 yards." P. 242. "It is likewise measured by gressus." P. 289.

Of the magnificent church of St. Mary Radcliffe, rebuilt or completed by William Canynge[2], the celebrated mayor of Bristol, a much more ample account than our present limits will admit would interest many of our readers. In what may be condensed from the mass of imperfect information already before the public, care will be taken to correct, from genuine authorities, certain errors as to Canynge's personal history.

Wyrcestre has bestowed upon the examination of this singularly fine church more of his care and time than upon any of the rest; and his mensuration will be found to be more generally correspondent with the modern. The following very minute and mason-like account was probably communicated by Norton, the

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[1] When Henry VIII. determined to erect Bristol into a city and bishop's see, his commissioner for the new foundation, Thomas Wright, remodelled the whole interior in 1541. The choir was then advanced to the end of the building, and the greater part of the present nave taken out of it, as it originally stood.

This cathedral is among the smallest in England; but it has a certain singularity in its interior construction, which produces considerable beauty and picturesque effect. In external height the aisles equal the nave. Instead of arcs boutants, or flying buttresses, a complicated structure of crossing arches occupies the roofs, and supports, in their stead, the side walls of the nave. Of this plan we know not of any other instance.

The portraits in stained glass represent, Thomas Baron Berkeley, ob. 1313; Maurice Baron Berkeley, ob. 1368; James Baron Berkeley, 1464. In the great east window are the arms of the chief nobility who were the partisans of Edward IV.

[2] The name of WILLIAM CANYNGE was brought very frequently before the public

master-mason, who is mentioned as having been consulted by our author.

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during a curious literary controversy agitated some years ago, respecting Chatterton and his imaginary Rowley, which is now set at rest.

This excellent man was the third son of John Canynge, of a very opulent merchant's family, the individuals of which had frequently enjoyed the highest civic honour. He was born about 1400, and is stated to have been a child at his father's death, in 1405. His mother re-married Thomas Young, a rich merchant, whom he appears to have succeeded, and to have amassed great wealth. His public spirit was commensurate with it: he enjoyed an extensive influence with his fellow townsmen; was five times their mayor; and their burgess in parliament 1451—1453.

He possessed and employed in commerce a greater number of vessels than any other merchant in Bristol, which are enumerated by Wyrcestre. "He employed 800 men for eight years; and of ships he had, Le Marie Canyng, 400 tons; Le Marie Redclive, 500; Le Marie and Johan, 900, which had cost him 4,000 marks; Le Gallyote, 50; Le Katerine, 140; Le Marie Batt, 220; Le Margarett of Tylney, 200; Le Lytel Nicolas, 140; Le Katerine of Boston, 220; beside a ship lost in Iceland of 160 tons burthen." p. 99. This last circumstance proves that Bristol had then a trade with the north seas. The probability, however, is, that their actual burthen did not exceed that of one-half of our modern ships, which, as they are now constructed, as measuring 500, will convey 8 or 900 tons; whereas, it is more probable that the vessels belonging to Canyng would not bear a burthen equal to their measurement.

It has been erroneously said, that King Edward IV. levied a fine of 3,000 marks upon him "pro pace habendâ;" but it was, in fact, a loan, forced from him as the richest merchant, and not a penalty for delinquency. He had built a very spacious house upon Redcliff-hill, above the river; thus described by Wyrcestre—"A fair tower built by W. Canynge, which contains four large bay windows, with chambers of ornamented architecture. The whole house is 16 yards in front, and 20 in depth." P. 254.

About 1466, Joan, his wife, died; and William and John, his only sons, probably died before her, the elder only leaving any issue. Under this affliction, his whole mind was bent upon some great work of munificence and piety, and he resolved to apply his wealth to the completion of the church of St. Mary Redclive, upon a scale of cathedral magnitude, and the most perfect architecture of that age. It has, indeed, no rival of just pretensions in any town in England. The sums expended must have been such as to exhaust even his large property. Wyrcestre asserts that he employed and paid one hundred artificers every day upon this work (habuit operarios et carpentarios, masons, &c. omni die, c. homines). There is no doubt that this grand edifice was left by its founder complete, excepting that the spire was unfinished. The beautiful surrounding parapet, with its pinnacles and open work, had fallen into decay, and are removed. Some practical hints for a restitution have been offered, if a future benefactor could be anticipated. (See *W. Wyrcestre Redivivus* before quoted).

Probably before this great undertaking was brought to a close, he had resolved to become an ecclesiastic; and for ten years previous to his death, November 17th, 1474, he was dean of the college of Westbury, near Bristol, where he died. By his will, dated 12th November, 1474, it is evident that he was then possessed of nearly twenty dwelling houses, with cellars and shops, besides gardens and orchards of great value, which he entailed upon William and Isabel, the children of his eldest son, who likewise died soon afterwards, in their minority. The residuary interest was then vested in his executor, William Spencer, afterwards mayor, in trust for the corporation; and the sums raised were applied to the ample endowment of two chantries in Redcliff church, an hospital, and a public fountain. Canynge's immediate progeny then became totally extinct.

Canynge had prepared for himself in his lifetime, two tombs, both of which are now placed in Redcliff church. The first consists of an altar tomb, upon which are extended the effigies of himself and his wife. He is represented in his mayor's gown, which has lately undergone a tasteless renovation of painting and gilding; the present inscription, too, is much more recent. The other is of white alabaster, originally erected in the church of Westbury College, but brought here at the Reformation.

"The tower of Redclyff contains a diameter of 23 by 24 feet. Its height is 120 feet, and with the spire, as it now remains broken by a storm, is 200 feet high. The diameter, at the top of the fracture, is 16 feet, and it has eight panes or sides. Every stone at the beginning of the spire is two feet thick; but at the top of the fracture only four inches. The diameter of the 'garlonde' [the parapet round the summit] where the cross is placed, is 11 feet. Thickness of the walls at the foundation is seven feet, and five at the top of the tower." P. 244.

"The dimension or proportion most artificially wrought in freemason work of the western porch of Redclive church. Width seven feet, height nine feet. The square in the dome. 'The weste dore fretted yn the hede with great gentise and smale, and fytted with entayle, with a double moolde, costly don and wrought.'" P. 268.

"These four proportions in both. A champ ashlar [a water-table]

He there lies in his priest's habit; the face was certainly taken from a cast after his death. At his feet is a small figure of an old man, apparently in great agony, which is intended as an allegory of St. Paul's injunction "to put off the old man;" and alluding to Canynge's change of life.

The pedigree compiled by Barret (*Bristol*, p. 628) is altogether ill-arranged and inaccurate. He has mistaken the term "nepos" for nephew, instead of grandson. The following stands on the authority of wills and other evidences:

Robert CANNINGE, or CANYNGE, of Bristol. 1322. — ARMS. Argent, three Moors' heads in profile couped proper, wreathed argent and azure.

- Robert. 1340.
- William Canynge, Mayor in 1372, 81, 85, 89. Will dated October 2, 1396. = Agnes, daur. of John Stokes, whose tomb in St. Thomas's church is mentioned in her grandson's will in 1474.
  - John Canynge, Mayor 1392 and 1398. ob. 1405. = Joan, daur. of Wootton, re-married to Thomas Yong.
  - 2. Jeffery.
  - 3. Simon. Will, Nov. 10, 1411. = Margaret.
    - 1. John. mentioned in his father's will. ob. S.P.
    - 2. Thomas Canynge, Ancestor of the Cannings of Foxcote, co. Warwick; of Baron Garvagh in Ireland, and of the late George Canning, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was Lord Mayor of London, 1457.
    - 3. William Canynge, founder of Redcliff church, Mayor in 1449, 52, 56, 60, 66. ob. 1474. = Joan, daur. of. ob. 1466. buried in Redcliff.
      - William Canynge died before his father, = Isabel, daur. of — Vowell of Wells, re-married — Powlett.
        - William Canynge, died under age.
        - Isabel, died under age.
      - John. ob. S.P. before his father.

To these a general remainder was bequeathed by their grandfather, W. Canynge, 1474.

of ashlar-work; a cors, wyth an arch buttant [a flying-arch]; a botterasse. A body boterasse [a buttress against a wall], and a corner botterass." P. 269.

He likewise measured the interior, with Norton, the master-mason.

"The whole length of the church of St. Mary Redclive is 63 yards, exclusive of Our Lady's chapel. The breadth is 18 yards; total 231 feet. The said chapel 13 yards, one foot and a half by 21 feet." P. 82.

"The length of the first gate or north porch is seven yards, and the chapel continued from the gate of entrance, is six yards more." P. 221.

"The height of the arched and fretted vault (voltæ frettæ archuatæ) of the nave and aisles, and likewise the aisles of the transept from north to south, is 80 steps from the ground, from information given me by the plumber, on the 7th of September, 1480, each step containing eight inches at least. The length of the transept 67 paces. The aisles are 26 paces. The chapel of the north porch contains in circumference 44 yards, and is ornamented with the statues of the kings, (cum ymaginibus regum operatis subtiliter in opere de free-stone)." P. 272.

"Between each pillar and arch there is a space of 10 feet. The transept has eight arches: every window in the 'ovyr-storye' has five glazed divisions, and is 10 feet wide; and those in each aisle have three." P. 83. "There were six bells in the tower, the largest of which weighed 7024 lb. avoirdupois, and the smallest 1300 weight." P. 244.

"The 'sevaree' [square space] between every two windows opposite of the nave, is 22 feet by 16." P. 244.

Respecting the beauty of its architecture, the church of St. Stephen commands our attention. The tower has been designated by an amateur antiquary, a native of Bristol, as "the fairest form ever effected by the taste and skill of the last Gothic school, in the most graceful tower in England [1]." It arose from the sole munificence of John Shipward, a worthy mayor, who, in this instance, rivalled his predecessor William Canynge.

"The height of the tower of St. Stephen's rises to 126 feet to the parapet, and there are 31 feet of foundation below the ground table. The western side, with its triangular buttresses, contains nine yards. The church is 30 yards in length, 19 wide, and 44 feet high. There are seven arches on either side, seven windows with four lights in each." P. 235.

A very interesting, and, upon a late examination, correct account both of the tower and the south porch, is subjoined for

[1] "William Wyrcestre Redivivus—Notices of ancient architecture in the fifteenth century, particularly in Bristol, with hints for practical restorations." Bristol, 1823, 4to.

the evidence which it affords of the architectural terms in use during the fifteenth century [1].

The architecture of the church of the Holy Cross, or Temple, is altogether singular, especially the leaning tower, which is about a hundred feet high, and has a declination from the centre, at the south-east corner, of no less than three feet and nine inches. This church is dated in 1342, of pure Gothic. William Wyrcestre mentions

"The most beautiful church of the Temple, or Holy Cross, the length of which is 53 yards, by me so measured. A square tower [the addition made to the former, and of a different style] was built about 1460, by the parishioners, as a belfry, for large and deep-sounding bells." P. 228.

This addition was carried up perpendicularly, upon the old tower, in its sunken state, and has since had the effect of a coun-

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[1] Altitudo Turris Sancti Stephani Bristoll. continet in altitudine from the erthe-table to the gargoyle, 21 brachia, id est 42 virgas. Et altitudo a la gargoyle usque le crope, qui finit le stone worke 31 pedes. Et latitudo ejus ex parte orientali et occidentali 12 pedes. Et ab boreali in meridionali, 14 pedes. Et a terrâ usque fundamentum profundissimum, continet 31 pedes. Et habet 4 storyes, et ibi, in quartâ storiâ, sunt campanæ. In superiori *historia* tres orbæ in quâlibet pannellâ. In secundâ et tertiâ historiâ sunt duo orbæ, in quâlibet panellâ 4 panellarum. In inferiori pannellâ in duobus panellis south and west fenestræ, in aliis duobus panellis ex parte boreali et occidentali sunt duo archæ." p. 282.

N.B. The *croupe* is the summit of the pinnacle; *Historiæ*, *Stories*, the four sides of the building altogether; *Pannella*, one side only; *Orbæ*, carved and ornamented frames for windows, not always inserted.

The account of the porch exhibits a specimen of a free-mason's chart. "*De Operacione artificiosâ porticûs meridionalis ecclesiæ S. Stephani, de opere manuali Benet Le Free Mason.*

Terms.	Explanation.
A Cors within.	
A Casement. . . .	A moulding deeply hollowed.
A Bowtell. . . .	Boltellus, a perpendicular shaft.
A Felet. . . .	A narrow flat moulding.
A double Ressaunt. . .	Now called an Ogee moulding, double or single.
A Boutel.	
A Fillet.	
A Ressaunt.	
A Felet.	
A Boutel.	
A Felet.	
A Casement with levys. .	A moulding formed of carved foils, rosettes or leaves, sometimes crockets.
A Felet.	
A Casement, with tray foyles.	Trefoils in the moulding.
A Felet, &c.	

In the middest of the dore a batelle. This term sometimes means battlement; but it does not, probably, in this particular instance. Perhaps it may mean here the arch formed by the three quarter circles conjoined after the Burgundian manner then recently introduced. P. 220.

terpoise [1]. It is surprising that Wyrcestre does not particularize so remarkable a circumstance.

We now come to the public or municipal buildings. Of the castle, a description has been given, and, therefore, the town-walls only should be noticed. They were of extraordinary massiveness and height, and most complete according to the military system of that age. The perpetual feuds and jealousies between the castle and the burgh rendered all these precautions of defence, in earlier times, absolutely necessary. Wyrcestre says that there were no less than twenty-five large embattled towers, round or square, forming the circuit of the old town.

"The thickness of the wall, leading to Redcliff-gate is two yards, where men walk, and two yards and two feet beneath." P. 203.

Two of these towers were remarkable for their superior architecture [2]. Bagod's Tower, built on the wall opposite to the church of the Franciscans, and Viell's Tower [3], erected near the quay. These town walls rivalled those of York and Chester.

Of remarkable buildings for public accommodation, were

"The Tholsylle, where the mayor and common council meet from day to day, as it may be required, under cover of a ceiling leaded over, opposite to the west door of Christ Church. Upon the bridge there is a fair and large room beautifully vaulted, beneath St. Mary's Chapel, for the session of the sheriffs and jurats of the town to consult for the public good." P. 170.

"The council-house for the mayor, sheriffs, bailiffs, and principal

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[1] A few observations in comparing this with other leaning, or apparently falling, towers, may not be irrelevant.

A due examination of this declination will prove, and the eye taking in the leaning angle from the base will readily perceive, that the new structure retires perpendicularly, and that, therefore, the total declination is of the old tower. Upon opening the ground in 1772, it was seen that the foundation walls, strengthened by beams of timber, extended for fifty or sixty feet under the street, having been made as an under-ground support to the original tower, in a direction from the south-west corner.

The tower of St. Jean at Caen leans nearly as much out of its perpendicular. But those most noticed are the tower "Degli Asinelli," of brick, at Bologna, which is 326 feet high, and overhangs its base 3 feet and 9 inches; and another there, the Gassendi, 153 feet high, declining 8 feet and 8 inches, of brick; likewise, the circular campanile, of stone, at Pisa, which rises to the height of 130 feet, and projects fourteen feet. Upon a comparison, therefore, of the height of each of these very remarkable buildings with their declinations, this of Temple will be found to be in one-fourth of a degree less than that of Pisa, but much greater than that of the Asinelli.

——— "ruituraque semper
Stat (mirum!) moles." *Lucan. l.* 4.

[2] "Turris longus et largus, quadratus, versus turrim de Monkenbridge, ex opposito ecclesiæ conventûs Sancti Francisci, in quâ turri, Baggod nunc manet." p. 256. Clement Baggod, or Baghott, was mayor in 1442.

[3] "Turris prænobilis, per Johannem Vielle armigerum edificata, continet in circuitâ ultra 30 virgas super primum angulum de le Key." p. 255. John Viell was mayor in 1438.

merchants, is situate on the open space above the Tholsylle, opposite the chancel of All Saints' Church." P. 171.

Eight public fountains are noticed by Wyrcestre. Pp. 189, &c.

"Le Crane, with the engine-house, is strongly fixed in the ground, on the Bac, near the Marsh-gate." P. 277.

The "Slippes," or broad stairs, leading down to the river at low water, have been already mentioned.

"The Pillorye, near the oldest gate in the wall, in the middle of Wynche-street, is a round building handsomely constructed with free-stone, both for dimensions and height, with chambers and windows artificially barred with iron: and upon the platform of the roof of this building is erected a collistrigium of timber frame-work, in order to *collistrige* or pillory infamous men, especially dishonest bakers." P. 194[1].

"The breadth of Gylde-hall in Brand-street, contains, with the chapel of St. George, and the cellars, 23 yards." P. 239.

As a necessary appendix to the castle was the Marshal's-street, through which the garrison passed in their way to Montacute, Kingsdown, and the jousting-place for their military exercises.

"Mons Acutus, in the road leading to the jousting-place in old times[2]." P. 212.

An inn or tavern is mentioned, "at the sign of the Swan in

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[1] A very curious account of these ancient pillories is given by Mr. Douce in his "Illustrations of Shakspeare, and of Ancient Manners," 2 vols. 8vo. 1807. v. i. p. 144—150. He gives several wood-cuts of "Collistrigia" from illuminations in ancient MSS. This was a very severe punishment, and frequently inflicted for crimes beneath the notice of the police in the present day. At Constantinople, a cheating baker, when detected, has his ear nailed to the doorpost of his shop, and is left in that position until some kind friend liberates him by cutting it off.

Another extract may better appear in a note. "Officium domûs latrinæ, anglice 'a privey' tam pro mulieribus quam hominibus, in latitudine meridionali spatii triangularis de Pithray." p. 194.

"Spacium intereeptum, in loco latrinarum officii super pontem, ad inceptionem mansionum partis pontis de Redclive." p. 198.

This accommodation is extended to the public at large in Paris, and most other large towns in France.

[2] This singular elevation, a part of the King's-down, commands a complete and magnificent view of the city, as spread over the concave valley at its feet. It is still known as the Montacute (modernized to Montagu), and is more celebrated, not as of yore, as the "jousting-place" for military exhibitions in the tented field, but for its tavern, where the modern turtle feasts are now no less trumpeted by fame. In the fourteenth century, by an odd coincidence, one Roger Turtle was mayor no less than seven times, 1326 to 1341, a circumstance which elicited the following *jeu d'esprit*:

> "If old *Roger Turtle* was seven times mayor,
> An honour which fell to no other man's share;
> His descendant, a *Turtle*, in this modern day
> Bears as *mayor elect* a perpetual sway."

Wynche-street, p. 217; and surrounding All Saints' Church were the public cooks' shops, in great number."

Several very large and handsome houses occur, as the residence of the more opulent merchants [1].

The embouchure of the river Avon to the Bristol Channel is formed for the space of several miles through a vast and deep ravine of perpendicular works, rising on one side, and a wooded and equally lofty acclivity on the other. These rocks were dedicated to St. Vincent, and in a large cave was a hermitage and chapel, of which he was the tutelar saint. Wyrcestre was so far interested in the place as to give a more minute detail of it than of others. It was then usually called Ghyston-Cliff. His account, in his own English, is as follows:

"The chapel of Seynt Vincent, of Ghyston-Cliffe, is IX yerdes long, and the brede is III yerdes. The length of the kechyn is six yerdes, and brede 3 yerdes. And from the chapelle of St. Vincent ys to the lower water, 40 vethym. And from the over [upper] parte of the mayne grounde londe of the seyd high rocke, downe to the said chapelle of St. Vincent, been XX vethym reckoned and proved; and so from the mayne high firm londe of the seyd rok, down to the lowest water grounde of the channel of Avon and Froome, is 60 vethym, and moche more; proved by a young man of smythys occupacion yn Redcliff strete, that seyd it to me, hath both descended from the highest of the roks downe to the water-side." P. 185. The same in Latin. P. 275.

The warm [2] spring was known in the fifteenth century; but Wyrcestre, although a physician, does not speak of its medicinal qualities, which are not known to have been discovered before the reign of James the First; and, though since so much celebrated, are not now held in former estimation.

"There [3] is a spring about low shot at the black rock, in part of

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[1] The largest and handsomest of these was Canynge's tower, attached to his dwelling house, an account of which has been given.

"Ad occidentalem partem ecclesiæ Sti. Petri de edificacione magnifici hospitii Nortons. Built by T. Norton, mayor in 1413." p. 207.

"Ex opposito venella in Wynche-street, sive Castle-street, domum ubi R. Newton recordator villæ et justiciarus regis manebat." p. 247.

"Vielle Place mansionem ad principium de le Key de lapidibus magnis, domum H. de Vielle." p. 251. "Domum Johannis Pavye prope templum S. Egidii, in Smallstrete." p. 252. "Domus Shyppard." p. 219. John Shipward was mayor in 1444.

[2] The Bristol hot wells have been the subject of many learned treatises. The *laminæ* of these stupendous rocks are of vast size, all lying in an oblique position, extended for the space of several miles. From these cliffs the classes of the botanist may be enriched with an infinite variety of curious plants, many of which are unique. Internally, the chasms and fissures are of interminable depth; the sides of which are clothed with a strong ferruginous earth, upon which the singularly fine crystals grow, so well known as the Bristol stone, and which were once considered and set as the English diamond, before the foreign pastes and other fictitious jewels superseded their use.

[3] "Fons est ibidem, circa lowshot apud le blak rok in parte de Ghyston cliffe, in fundo aquæ, et est ita calidus, sicut lac, vel aqua Badonis" (the Bath water), p. 185.

Ghyston-cliffe, at the bottom of the water, which is as warm as milk, or the Bath water." P. 185.

We will now quit the topography, and offer a view of the domestic history, habitations, and manners of the burgesses of Bristol, at the particular period to which we are confined.

"Fortunam et mores antiquæ plebis."

The best possible evidence will be derived from their several wills[1], now preserved in the archives of the corporation, from which such extracts will be made as may tend to elucidate the subject.

Several of the principal houses have been noticed in Wyrcestre's survey. There were some of stone; but they were usually of timber-frame, having their fronts very curiously carved, with overhanging stories towards the street. In the two succeeding centuries they were much more highly carved and ornamented. But the common merchants' houses, from the minute description given of them in their wills, were uniformly upon the following plan: There were few without cellars, co-extensive with the whole area of the house, and excavated under the pavement of the streets, in which all the heavy goods were stored. Of such "cellaria," sometimes vaulted with stone, or otherwise covered with beams of timber, not less than one hundred and sixty-nine within the walls, exclusive of those in the piers of the bridge, and on the other side of the river, are enumerated in the itinerary. It is a very curious fact, that subterranean Bristol nearly equalled its surface. All heavy goods were removed by halliers upon sledges or drays, and not on wheel carriages, from the quays, upon which they were landed.

The ground-floor was entirely occupied by "shopæ," which, from their number under one roof, must have been small shops, or stalls, which were let out; behind, was a very spacious room called "aula," or the hall, in which silk and woollen goods were placed, occasionally serving for the family festivities. Upon the first floor were the "parlura, coquina, camera," the chambers in

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[1] The Book of Wills, or, as it is sometimes called, the "Orphans' Book," is a very large and thick folio, bound in vellum. It commences with Testam. Johis Wodehous, May 8, 1282, 10 Edw. I., and concludes, as far as they are written in Latin, with Test. Johæ Kemson Viduæ, 1479, 18 Edw. IV. The mayor and common council were guardians of all orphan children of burgesses, supervisors of wills, and in many instances, residuary legatees. "*Inveniendo securitatem Villæ, sicut mos est et consuetudo.*"

Extracts from Wills.

"Tenementum meum, cum solario et cellario, shopis, &c." } *W. Canynge*,
"Unum magnum tenementum cum 14 shopis." } 1475.
"Cum magno 'vaulte.' In aulâ meâ capitali." }

which the proprietor and his own household dwelt. Above all, with sometimes an intermediate story, beside that under the roof, were those called "solaria," and allotted either as sleeping-rooms, or for the more valuable articles of merchandise.

Wealth had then produced luxury, which was first of all exhibited[1] in personal apparel, costly gowns of silk, and furs, basilards or short swords with their ivory handles inlaid with silver, and embroidered girdles, by which they were appended in front. Plate[2] gilt and embossed was rare, and specially bequeathed. Bowls, large cups for wine, saucers for drinking it, and broad plates and dishes for sweetmeats and confectionary, with small spoons, appear to have been the only pieces. In some instances we have bequests of armour. Rich beds of cloth, silk and embroidery, which occur so frequently in the wills of the higher

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[1] The will of Henry Gildeney, 1430, affords a very curious and interesting evidence of the kind of wealth in which the opulent merchant or burgess lived. He possessed wearing apparel, personal armour, and plate, both plain and parcel gilt, of a quantity and value apparently above men of his own rank. "Camelaukam meam de skarlett cum furrurâ in eadem." (*The Camail was a large hood, covering both the head and shoulders, as is seen in all the portraits of Chaucer; and was so called because composed of camel's hair. Scarlet was equally esteemed with furs or pelisses.* The different kinds of valuable furs are specified, such as "*gris, furques, martens*, and *fitchew*;" but not ermine.) "Capitalem meam togam de skarlett, cum tribus bottyns (*buttons of silver*) cum furrurâ 'de gris,'" (*fur of the grey, or badger*). "Alteram togam de sanguine cum furrurâ de martens" (*sanguine is usually called "color blodius," from its obvious resemblance*). "Basilardum meum harnizatum cum argento, et optimam meum duploidem, et unum par novum caligarum. Alterum basilardum cum le yvori hafte." (*A peculiar sort of short sword. This had an ivory haft, and was garnished, ornamented, or mounted with silver.* Duploidem, *a doublet, or juste-au-corps, composed of canvas and chain mail. The shoes were war shoes, jointed with iron.*) The basilard is seen in the engraved brass figures of burgesses, upon tombs. "Optimam armaturam meam cum uno polcax et lancêâ" (*my best personal armour*). "Zonam harnizatam cum barris argenti rotundis" (*a girdle for the basilard, garnished with small silver ornaments called barrels*). "Togas pennulatas" (*gowns, with hanging sleeves winged from the shoulder*). In 1410, John Hunte bequeathes "sellam meam cum freno, et arcum et sagittas et bokelere."

[2] Most of the opulent merchants had a display of plate, the articles of which were repeated, "secundo et tertio meliorem." It was placed as a deposit in the "buffetorium" (a word which occurs in some of the wills; *buffetorium et cistas meas*, my *bouffet and chests*); or upon a standing cupboard at the head of the table, as well as upon it, and was a visible demonstration of wealth very gratifying to the possessor. "Duas *potas* argenti," "*cou pam* deauratam, cum co-opterio" (the cover), "unam zonam deauratam" (*a girdle embroidered with gold*), "ollam argenti continentem quartam vini" (*a jug containing a quart of wine*), "cypham cum co-opterio vocatum Bolle."—*Walter Derby*, 1385.

"Unam calicem argenti (*a silver chalice*), unum pelvem deauratam" (*a gilt ewer*). "Unum cyphum cum imagine Scti. Johannis" (a cup, with the figure of St. John upon the cover).—*Alice Stokes*, 1393.

"Unum chargeriam argenti vocatam. *Flat pece*" (*a dish or charger for meat*); "dimidiam duodenam cochlearum" (*half a dozen spoons*); "unum discum argenti vocatum Spycedisch deauratum, unum craterem argenti cum co-opterio swaggid" (*chased or embossed*); "cyphum stantem cum co-opterio et unam perlam in eadem." (*This has been usually called the grace-cup of parcel gilt, and this had a pearl set in the cover*); "patellam" (*a small plate*); "Belle pece secundo meliorem" (*a small dish, of wrought or embossed silver, to hold confectionary*).—*Henry Gildeney*, 1430.

ranks[1] are not mentioned. It was usual for a husband to devise to his wife the furniture of his own chamber, "*totam cameram meam;*" but coverlids and best linen sheets are specified, and once or twice a best bed of tapestry-work, with a tester.

Bequests for obituary masses and requiems were dictated by the same superstition as in other places. There was a certain rate paid for them in point of number and duration; but sums actually bequeathed depended upon the piety of the individual[2]. Their legacies to their servants and to the poor were large, and extensive in their objects[3]. They were enjoined, for the relief of the lame and blind, mending highways, and giving portions with poor maidens in marriage[4]. The provision made for the payment of just debts was of prime consideration[5].

That their obsequies should be solemnized according to the ritual, with care, if not with pomp, as in certain instances, was an especial direction[6]. In order to avoid the manifest injustice of entirely alienating property from the children or relatives of the deceased, for the perpetual support of chantries and obits, the priests were contented, or found it their policy to be contented, with such establishments for a term of years, with remainder to certain individuals of the testator's family, named in their wills; and in some instances, for pious uses in general, according to the discretion of the mayor and chief burgesses for the time being[7], and of which many instances occur during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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[1] See *Testamenta Vetusta.*

[2] The legacies to the parish churches were chiefly vestments richly embroidered, and service books. "To St. Stephen's, duos libros vocatos missales" (two books called Missals); etiam sex paria vestimentorum, viz.: unus par de velvett super velvett broideringe cum unâ cruce de redde velvett, item aliud de nigro velvett, broideryd cum unâ cruce de clothe of golde; the others were no less splendid.—*J. Shipward*, 1403.

John Vielle, 1398, orders a thousand marks "et unum annulum ferentem unum lapidem de columpnâ ad quam ligatus fuit Dns. Noster Jesu Christus" (*a ring bearing a piece of the stone pillar to which J. C. was tied*) to St. Stephen's church.

[3] "Johanni Berkley serviente meo £40; Waltero Bontflower serviente meo 66 marcs, 8 solid." *Walter Derby*, 1385. "Margaretæ Lewes unum lectum 1 superlectulum, 1 par lodicum, 1 par lenthiaminum et £6. Cuilibet puellæ serviente meo 1 lectum" (*a bed, one pair of blankets, and one pair of sheets, and six pounds in money. To each of my servant-maids a bed*).—*William Coder*, 1473.

[4] Walter Frampton above mentioned, directs many messuages to be sold and divided into four parts "unam pauperibus cæcis et claudis" (blind and lame); 2^{dam}. in maritagiis pauperum juvencularum. 3^{tiam}. in emendatione viarum et pontium. 4^{tum}. inter religiosos mendicantes" (four orders of which were established in Bristol).

[5] "Si quis voluerit jurare super librum, quod sum in debito, illi, quod solvatur."—*John Vielle, Jun.*

[6] "Twenty-four men to carry torches et cuilibet portatori togam de nigro friseo (*frieze cloth*) cum caputio de albo friseo; et in ecclesiâ Sti. Stephani, quotidie, ij. torchys ardentes, coram sepulchrum meum."—*J. Shipward*, before mentioned.

[7] "Pro 2 sacerdotibus, celebraturis, ad summum altare, per 25 annos, singulis diebus

In several of the wills of the aldermen, who may be supposed to have attained the years of extraordinary discretion, there are prudential clauses respecting their widows, which might not so well suit with modern liberality [1]. Walter Derby, in 1385, leaves many tenements and an ample dower to Joan his wife; but upon this absolute condition,

"That she should not re-marry, but keep herself sole and chaste; but if she should take to herself a man, to cohabit with her, (which God forbid!) and the same can be lawfully proved, then that the mayor and common council shall immediately, and without delay, enter into possession, and sell them for pious uses."

Walter Frampton, in 1388, states the same case more severely, and orders,

"That the tenements so bequeathed shall be sold separately, by the sound of the trumpet, at the High Cross, without fraud or collusion."

In later wills, requests occur to the mayor and sheriffs, to take the best security, in case of a second marriage, that the widow, being executrix, and her new husband, should not be empowered to injure the portions of the children of the former marriage. Such was the wisdom of our simple forefathers!—but as the opinions and manners of society are proportionably improved since the fifteenth century [2], our churches are now built by taxes levied upon the people; and the property of orphans is protected and diminished by interminable suits in chancery.

With regard to the state of navigation and shipping about this period, the former enumeration of those which belonged to Canynge will give us a clear view of its extent, if we consider that he was one only of many opulent merchants, who were his

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post obitum meum; et post, completos, unum sacerdotem qui teneat anniversarium meum," &c. (*two priests to celebrate before the high altar for* 25 *years, and afterwards one, for my anniversary*).—*Ejusdem.*

[1] "Item, volo quod quam cito dicta Isabella se maritaverit, vel, quod absit, concubinaria fuerit; vel, quod absit, scortata fuerit, et hoc probari poterit, quod tunc executores mei, si vivant, intrent et penes se retineant omnes possessiones dictæ Isabellæ, et eam totaliter expellant, absque aliquo processû judiciali vel autoritate superioris, &c. et dicta tenementa, &c. vendant, factâ trinâ publicè proclamatione, cum tubâ, ad altam crucem, et plus offerenti vendantur, sine omni fraude, et collusione postpositâ."—*Ejusdem ut sup.*

"Johannæ uxori meo totam cameram et omnia utensilia aulæ et coquinæ (all household furniture); with several tenements eâ conditione, ut non maritetur, sed se solam et castam servet quamdiu vixerit," &c. with the same forfeiture.—*Walter Derby*, 1385.

[2] In the course of two centuries, the following churches were built by individuals:

St. Mary Redcliff, by	W. Canynge.	*St. Stephen*, J. Shipward.
St. John,	John Frampton.	All of them mayors of Bristol.
St. Werburgh,	Walter Derby.	

contemporaries[1]. But what is of national importance, is the spirit of maritime discovery, which is noticed in the Itinerary, and which existed at Bristol, even before the time of Amerigo Vespucci, and her own Sebastian Cabot, who has been hitherto placed at the head of our English navigators[2]. The passage is very curious. He first notices "the loss of a ship called the Cog-Anne, which was bound to Jerusalem to convey pilgrims, and was lost in 1457, near Modon port, on the continent of the Morea, when thirty-seven men from Bristol were drowned; and that the bishop caused a new chapel to be made, to pray for their souls." P. 202. And p. 227, where he says, "that Robert Sturmy was the captain of the vessel."—"In 1480, July 7th, the ship of John Jay, the younger, of 800 tons, and another, began their voyage from Kingrode to the island [the continent] of Brasile, to the west of Ireland, ploughing their way through the sea .... and Llyde was the pilot of the ships, the most scientific mariner of all England [scientificus marinarius totius Angliæ], and news came to Bristol, on Monday, 18th of September [1481], that the said ships sailed about the sea during nine months, and did not find the island or coast, but returned to a port on the coast of Ireland for the repose of their ships and mariners." P. 268. This attempt to discover the American coast was fourteen years before it was effected by Columbus, in 1493.

In the "Proeme" to the "William of Wyrcestre Redivivus," the author has introduced himself in an imaginary dialogue with the venerable Wyrcestre, and exclaims, "How do I envy you a sight of Bristow, in the year 1480! *Then* were the massive walls and gates entire—the castle, with its lofty and magnificent keep, "the fairest tower in westernlond," proudly reared its head—now levelled with the earth, "the baseless fabric of a vision." The two beautiful churches of the Franciscans and Carmelites, one with its slender spire, and the other with its handsome tower, each then rivalling the neighbouring church of St. Stephen, and now known only by their sites—so many windows "richly dight" with iridical colours—shrines and altars of exquisite carving all demolished by indiscriminating zeal, or hidden from the sight, by worse taste." P. 10.

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[1] Naves Bristolliæ pertinentes, 1480, p. 224. The great wealth of several of the merchants is proved by their munificence.

[2] Born 1451, ob. 1516. Sebastiano, the son of Giovanni Cabotto, a Genoese merchant settled in Bristol, was born there in 1477. He discovered "Newfoundland" in 1497. It is probable that at the time of his death, in 1557, he had attained to his eightieth year.

There is not a more rational object of antiquarian curiosity than the real state of ancient towns, and their progressive transformations. Who, that examines the old maps of London, but finds the comparison with the modern metropolis a very interesting investigation?—as a view hitherto unknown is presented to him, and many an association, moral and political, arises in his mind. This is a sensible curiosity, which leads to important reflections. We become conversant with the forms of past ages, not merely by imagining what they might have been, but by receiving evidence of what they were. By such means "old things become new;"

ΤΑΡΧΑΙ ΟΤ ΟΙΣΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΚΑΙΝ' ΕΙΣΙ ΣΑΦΩΣ.

ŒCONOMIA ROKEBEIORUM.

[BY THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.]

> Rokeby's lords of martial fame,
> I can count them name by name:
> Legends of their line there be,
> Known to few, but known to me.
>
> *Song of the Minstrel. Rokeby. Canto V.*

WHERE the Greta meets the Tees stand the two villages of Rokeby and Mortham. Rokeby is on the left, and Mortham on the right bank of the Greta, about half a mile nearer to the point of union: they form together but one parish, the church being at Rokeby. The elegant seat of Mr. Morritt at Rokeby is surrounded by a park. At Mortham are considerable remains of one of those embattled and turreted mansions, which, in former times, afforded places of abode, as well as the means of personal security, to that class of gentry which was only just below the peerage. There was once a Castelet of similar construction at Rokeby. A little higher on the stream of the Tees are remains of the abbey of Egliston, where many of the ancient lords of Rokeby and Mortham were interred.

A celebrity has recently been given to the romantic beauties of this vicinity by the "Rokeby" of Sir Walter Scott. "The situation of Mortham," he observes, "is eminently beautiful, occupying a high bank, at the bottom of which the Greta winds out of a dark, narrow, and romantic dell, and flows onward through a more open valley to meet the Tees, about a quarter of a mile from the castle." Few persons visit this neighbourhood without observing with what extreme accuracy of observation

and felicity of expression the poet has described the passage through the glen:

> "A stern and lone, yet lovely road
> As e'er the foot of minstrel trode."

Or view "Egliston's gray ruins," or "Rokeby's turrets high," without feeling that the charm of poetry is thrown over them. A rare and enviable privilege! In the land of ancient song, every little stream, every mound, creek, and promontory, every lake and every village, is ennobled by being mixed with the fine imaginings of the gifted bard. But in England few indeed are the places which speak to us through our poetical associations. Sir Walter Scott has in this respect done much for his own country; and we perhaps more delight to accompany him to the margin of the lakes, and over the fells and the fields of his own land. We could wish such a charm to be thrown over more of the landscape of England.

The poet has touched upon the historical interest which belongs to Rokeby and Mortham; and he has given what professes to be a pedigree of their ancient lords. It was no part of his plan to enter critically into the history of those lords; and it is, after all, but a confused idea of the rank and character of the ancient Rokebys, which the reader can form from the poem or the notes. It is our intention in the present article to furnish the reader with some distinct and definite information on this subject, that he may see something of the antiquity, the character, and the eminent services of the family who held for many centuries this now "charmed" spot. In preparing it we shall be much indebted to a manuscript history of the family, composed in 1565, by Ralph Rokeby, a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn. He has given to his memoir the title "Œconomia Rokebeiorum." It was originally composed for the instruction and benefit of five nephews, the then rising hope of the family. It was revised by the author in 1593, when additions were made to it. Again, in 1654, it was transcribed by another member of the family, Thomas Rokeby, Esq. of Gray's Inn, afterwards Sir Thomas Rokeby, and a judge. It has been since transcribed, and some additions made to it, by the present Mr. Rokeby, of Northamptonshire, from whose copy the few extracts in the notes to "Rokeby" were made, and the song of "The Felon Sow of Rokeby, and the Friars of Richmond," printed, which song or "jargon," as Ralph Rokeby calls it, has been preserved, by being incorporated with the history of the Rokebys in this manuscript [1].

[1] Two copies of this manuscript have been seen by the writer of this article: the one made by Mr. Rokeby, the other among Thomas Wilson's genealogical collections in

We scarcely need inform our readers that all the lands abutting on the course of the Tees, as their northern border, were given by the conqueror to Alan, Earl of Bretagne, and constituted his English Earldom of Richmond. These lands were distributed among the junior members of his family, and his other followers, and in that distribution Rokeby became parcel of the possessions of the family known by the surname of Fitz-Alan, a northern baronial house, whose principal seat was at Bedale. The heirs of Brian Fitz-Alan, the last of the family, are returned Lords of Rokeby, in the great inquest of the 9th Edward II. But their interest at Rokeby was little more than nominal, for beneath them there was a subinfeudation in favour of a family who, residing on the lands of Rokeby, were usually described as *de Rokeby*, till, at the time when the convenience of an invariable surname began to be felt, that *description* became a personal appellative.

It was the tradition of the family, that they had been seated on their lands from before the Norman conquest. Nothing is more probable; for of the actual owners of single manors a very large proportion sprung from the Saxon population, persons who were continued on sites on which they had resided before the conquest, only holding their lands by a different and perhaps more burthensome tenure. Of the chiefs of this house, about or a little after the conquest, nothing however is known. The pedigree printed in the notes to "Rokeby" contains the traditionary genealogy. When it was compiled, or by whom, is unknown; and Ralph Rokeby, who looked upon these subjects with a critical eye, has not deemed it deserving of being admitted into his narrative. "Howbeit," says he, speaking of the generations before Edward II.'s time, "to convey your pedigree by just descents, the negligence and ignorance of former times hath denied any evident and certain proofs:" but he appeals to the record of the trial between Scrope and Carminow, in which one of the Rokebys was a witness, for proof of the ancient gentility of the house, all the witnesses being persons of ancient family, arguing that that which was ancient then, is, *a majore*, ancient now.

The house in which the Rokebys resided stood on the site of the present mansion. In the notes to "Rokeby" we are told that in the present house part of its walls are inclosed. Ralph Rokeby says, that he had heard it was burnt by the Scots in King Edward II.'s time. Only the chapel and dove-

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the public library at Leeds. The latter wants the judge's additions. It was from this copy that Dr. Whitaker printed "The Felon Sow of Rokeby," in his *History of Craven*, and subsequently the whole manuscript in his *History of Richmondshire*.

cote, with some portions of the ground-sills of the walls, were remaining. Rokeby was abandoned about the time of Edward II. or Edward III., and the family crossed the Greta, establishing themselves at Mortham, where they had acquired a house and estate by marriage with the heiress of a family of equal rank. A grant of free warren at Mortham, Brignal, and Cabergh, was made to Thomas de Rokeby in 9 Edward III.[1]

In the person of this Thomas de Rokeby the family first appear prominent in public life, and his introduction to the public service in the high employments in which we find him afterwards placed was owing to a remarkable incident.

The circumstance is related by several of our old chroniclers, but most minutely by Froissart, who tells us that, in the first year of the reign of King Edward III., the Scots, under the command of the Earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas, ravaged the country as far as Newcastle. Edward was in those parts with a more powerful army, and an engagement was expected and wished for, when the Scotch army suddenly disappeared, and no information could be gained respecting the route they had taken. The young king caused it to be proclaimed throughout the host, that whoever should bring certain intelligence where the Scotch army were, should have one hundred pounds a year in land, and be made a knight by the king himself. Immediately fifteen or sixteen knights and esquires passed the river with much danger, ascended the mountains, and then separated, each taking different routes. On the fourth day, Rokeby, who was one of them, gave the king exact information where the Scotch army lay.

This is not a legendary story, invented by some family annalist or doting chronicler of public affairs, the veracity of the chroniclers being here supported by the most authentic records of the realm; and it is a gratifying fact, that we are so often enabled to *prove* circumstances in our old chronicles, which on a first view have an air of romance and fable, by authentic documents. In the patent rolls, 1 Edward III. is a grant to Thomas de Rokeby of 100*l.* to be taken annually from the exchequer, till 100*l.* lands shall be provided for him, in which the service is described nearly as it is related by Froissart[2]: and in the same rolls, 5 Edward III. m. 7, is a grant to him in fee of the manor of Paulines-Gray, in Kent, with lands in the North, which had lately belonged to Michael and Andrew de Harcla,

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[1] See the Calendar to the Patent Rolls. Rokeby is not named in this grant. In the same calendar is reference to a grant of free warren, 39th Henry III., to Henry de Rokeby, in all his lands in Rokeby: but this was another Rokeby, now Rugby, in Warwickshire.

[2] This patent is printed in the Fœdera, ii. 717.

but by them forfeited, in release of his 100*l.* annuity from the exchequer [1].

After this, we frequently find the name of Sir Thomas Rokeby in the Scotch rolls, appointed to commands against that nation. In the 11 Edward III. 1337, he was high-sheriff of his county, and in that year had a second money-grant from the king, namely, 40*l.* per annum from the exchequer, till he should have a grant of 40*l.* land in fee [2]. In 12 and 13 Edward III. he was governor of the castles of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling. In 17 Edward III. 1343, he was again sheriff, and continued in that office without intermission for seven years, during which time he was employed in various important affairs. In 1343, he was commissioned, with two other persons, to arrest and detain any proctors of the cardinals, who should make their appearance in his county with bulls from the pope. In 1344, he was appointed to represent the king in the convocation of the clergy of the province of York. In 1346, he particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Neville Cross, when David, king of Scots, was taken prisoner. He was one of the few "magnates" present at that battle to whom the letter of thanks was addressed, of which there is a copy in the Fœdera [3]. Ralph Rokeby was informed "by his good friend, Mr. Michael Heneage, of the Tower," that Sir Thomas was at that time admitted into the rank of bannerets. Several royal warrants addressed to him, in reference to business arising out of this great defeat of the Scots, may be seen in the Fœdera, among which is one by which he and other "magnates" of the North are summoned to Westminster to treat concerning the defence of England and the war with the Scots. Early in the next year, he was going to the war of Scotland, attended by twenty men at arms, namely, one banneret, two knights, and seventeen esquires, and as many archers [4].

In 23 Edward III. 1349, his services were required in another quarter; for in that year he was sent to Ireland in the character of lord justice, and he held that office till 29 Edward III. 1355, when Maurice Fitz Thomas, Earl of Desmond, was appointed to succeed him [5].

It may be presumed that his removal from this office was not the effect of royal displeasure, but rather that he might be

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[1] See the Calendar to the Patent Rolls. Sir Thomas Rokeby the judge had the original patent, which he says he "bought of one Washington, whose living it is to sell antiquities and printed reports. Jan. 1, 1654."

[2] Patent Rolls, 11 Edward III. m. 23.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 91.

[4] Fœdera, iii. 113.

[5] The warrant to surrender what belonged to the office is dated July 8, in that year. See Fœdera, iii. 306.

employed in the negotiations then going on with Edward Baliol about the surrender of the crown of Scotland, which was brought to a conclusion in the January following, as his name appears among the witnesses to all the instruments relating to that transaction printed in the Fœdera; and in the succeeding summer he was reinstated in his office of justice in Ireland. The warrant to prepare four ships at the port of Liverpool to transport him thither is dated 26th July, 30 Edward III. 1356. He died soon after his arrival; for there was an inquisition in that very year, in which he was found to have died seised of certain lands in Ireland, of rents from Langbargh, Wapentake, &c. His Irish lands became the king's, and were granted in the 32 Edward III. to Robert de Clinton.

The administration of Sir Thomas Rokeby in Ireland is famous for the attempt he made to abolish the custom of *Coigne* and *Lidory*, a species of arbitrary purveyance for the persons in authority; and there floated down a tradition respecting him, arrested by Hollinshed, and from him copied by various writers, that being once censured for using wooden dishes and *treen-cups*, as if they were not befitting his dignity, he replied that he would rather drink out of such cups and pay gold and silver, than drink out of gold and silver and make wooden payments.

In the latter years of this Sir Thomas Rokeby, he appears with the addition of *the uncle*, and another Sir Thomas Rokeby occurs, who is called *the nephew*. He seems to have accompanied the elder Rokeby to Ireland [1], and to have had a share in the glory gained by the English arms at Neville-Cross [2].

It must have been a third Sir Thomas Rokeby who was high sheriff of Yorkshire in 8 Henry IV. 1407-8, in which year the Earl of Northumberland made his last attempt to remove Henry from the throne, where he had been so instrumental in placing him. Sir Thomas collected the posse comitatûs, and met the earl on Bramham Moor, where a battle took place, in which the earl and the Lord Bardolf were slain. Ralph Rokeby intimates that there was too much of precipitation in the conduct of his ancestor on this occasion, and says that it was the tradition of the family that his proceeding was disapproved by the king, though he was successful; and "that much of his lands was seized for his contempt in fighting of an enemy without a commission." He was high sheriff a second time in the last year of Henry IV.

The next person of this family who filled any eminent office in the state was William Rokeby, a clerk in the reigns of Henry

[1] Fœdera, iii. 332.

[2] Ibid. iii. 95.

VII. and VIII. He was of a branch separated from the main stock, and flourishing in a distant part of the same county, being descended from Alexander Rokeby, a younger son of the last named Sir Thomas. Excepting that he was educated in the University of Oxford, nothing is known of his early life. He enjoyed two benefices in Yorkshire; but the steps by which he advanced to so high a dignity as that of Lord Chancellor of Ireland are not shown to us. In that character he was sent by Henry VII. to Ireland about 1500. In 1507 he was made Bishop of Meath, and in 1512 Archbishop of Dublin. He held this dignity, and also the office of chancellor, though with some intermissions, till his death in 1521. A sepulchral chapel in which he lies interred, built by himself at Sandal Parva in Yorkshire, beautiful notwithstanding all the tasteless alterations that have been committed upon it, still remains; and his tomb, spoiled of some of its brasses in the beautiful style which prevailed in the first half century of the Tudor reigns.

Sir Richard Rokeby, comptroller to Cardinal Wolsey, was a younger brother of the Archbishop. He had a monument in the church of the Savoy. His memory was also perpetuated by an inscription in the church of Beverley, which is here transcribed from Ralph Rokeby's manuscript, for the sake of the information it affords respecting a remarkable casualty.

"Lord have mercy on all the souls of men, women, and children, whose bodies were slain at the falling of this church, which were fifty and five persons. The fall was on the 29th of April, 1526; and on the souls of them which have been good benefactors and helpers of this church up again; and on all Christian souls that God would have prayed for: and on the souls of Sir Richard Rokeby, knight, and Dame Jane his wife, which gave 200*l.* to the building of this church; and on the souls of William Hall, cooper, and his wife."

This branch of the family ended in heiresses soon after the time of the Archbishop, of whom two were married to two brothers of their own name, descended from the house of Mortham.

When William Rokeby, the Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was running the race of high preferment, the eldest branch of the family were living quietly upon their hereditary patrimony at Rokeby and Mortham. In the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII. the head of the family was another Sir Thomas Rokeby, who had three sons. The two younger were the ancestors of families of the name living at Marske and Staningford, as Ralph Rokeby says, in "a worshipful ability and place of credit in our country."

The eldest son of Sir Thomas was Ralph Rokeby, who succeeded him at Mortham, and who lived there in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. The æra of the "jargon" of the

Felon Sow of Rokeby, which may be read in the notes to the poem [1], is referred to the time of this Ralph, and the Mrs. Rokeby who is mentioned in it is supposed to be his wife Margaret Danby, eldest of the three coheirs of Robert Danby, of Yafforth, Esq. also cousin and coheir to Sir Richard Coniers, Knight. The marriages in all the generations had been with the principal families of the north, but this marriage gave to the subsequent lords of Mortham and Rokeby a share in the representation, and a right to the quarterings of some of the most eminent houses in the northern parts of the kingdom [2].

This Ralph Rokeby and Margaret his wife were the parents of the father of Ralph Rokeby, the antiquary of the family, whose narration is more curious and interesting when he has to speak of persons with whom he was himself intimately acquainted. Their issue was four sons, and one daughter who married a Scrope, a younger brother of the Lord Scrope of Bolton.

Thomas, the eldest son, was the owner of Mortham, and resided there: to use the words of his nephew, he was "a plain man as might be, whose words came always from his heart without feigning; a trusty friend, a forward gentleman in the field, and an hospitable housekeeper, whereby he lived so in the good will and good heart of his countrymen, that his son and heir, Christopher Rokeby, being assaulted at Gaterly horse-race by Christopher Neville, brother to the mighty Earl of Westmorland, whom the said earl had sent thither with a hundred [3] men to kill him, was both defended and guarded from the violence of his adversaries, and was able so to have rebounded the blows given him by them, that they should have spilt the best blood in their bodies if his party had been willing; for there was not a gentleman in the field but cried, 'a Rokeby!' But the good old Thomas being in the commission of the peace, commanded and entreated 'peace!' as he said, 'Give it grieves me to see him bleed, that bleeds, yet peace, the peace!' Christopher Rokeby was then wounded with five or six wounds, and his servant Bain-

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[1] Were not this singular piece of ancient rhyme so easily accessible, we should have been tempted to introduce the whole or a part of it in our pages. In what Ralph Rokeby says of it, that "old William Luther, Sir Edmund Mauleverer's man, held it to be so rare a record, that he would not teach it to his own son, for fear his skill in antiquity should thereby be blemished," we have a curious trait of the craft of the ancient minstrelsy of England, by which it is to be feared many a famous ballad of the olden time may have been intercepted in its descent to posterity.

[2] The course which the representation of such families as Danby and Coniers takes is always matter of curiosity. We add, therefore, that the sisters of Margaret married James Stangwayes and John Acklam; and that these ladies, with Roger Lascelles, Sir Richard Stangwayes, and Elizabeth married to William Bulmer, were the cousins and coheirs of Sir Richard Coniers, as appears by the partition deed, dated 7 Henry VIII. of which Ralph Rokeby had a copy.

[3] The MSS. do not agree in this numeral: perhaps *ten* should be the word.

bridge was killed at his foot, who ran between his master and death; and therefore his king highly loved him that could so well get the love of his country. He was, at all services against Scotland in his time, a leader of men; and left his son and heir Christopher Rokeby, all the appurtenances to a captain, as good as then was in use, videlicet, guide of coat armes, now in the house of Hotham; bandiora vecchia honor di capitano; ensigns of colours for a foot-band; tents; war-carriages; drums; all on the top of Morton [Mortham] hall; and on one side thereof furniture for so many men, besides the store of the square tower."

"The second of these brothers," we follow the lively narrative of Rokeby, "was John Rokeby, by my faycan and by St. Mautrins (for those were his usual phrases of speaking) a worthy priest, and doctor of the civil and canon law; of so excellent and profound skill and learning that the parts beyond the seas, Arches at London, and the Exchequer Court at York, do yet resound of his great praise in that knowledge; yea, it was said of him for law, as it was of Plato for philosophy, *ipse dixit*. In the course of two and thirty years that he supplied the judicial place at York, he never had sentence annulled by appeal, but only one, and that was given by a rash chaplain of his, called Sir Anthony Jurson, in his master's absence. He was also from his childhood given to chastity and shamefacedness, contempt of riches, liberality, integrity, and hospitality. I could bring evident proofs of them all; but I shall recite but one or two, and leave you for the rest to the report of others of your friends. For contempt of honour and riches:—he had so confirmed King Henry VIII. his divorce from his brother Prince Arthur's wife, being of his counsel in that cause, and so confounded by the canon law the Pope's absolute power, arrogated to himself to dispense with the eternal law of God, which prohibiteth the brother to take his brother's wife, as incest, that the king, as I have heard, offered him the bishoprick of London; but he refused it, and chose rather a competent living in the church at York, with these words: 'Nay, I pray your grace, give me rather some poor living in my native country far from your grace.' And, now, whether his desires were moderate or no, I leave to your and all men's consideration. Assuredly in my opinion he took a very wise resolution, for I think him well-happy that is well-hidden. For his liberality and hospitality, all his friends and many strangers continually tasted. Some had of him 100*l.* and more, as his nephew Christopher and Anthony; also, I do myself with bounden thanks acknowledge to have received of him at one time to supply my necessities, ten pounds: so did my brother George Rokeby other ten pounds for to take his lease at Molton: so did my sister Grace at her marriage with George Mackworth, Esq.: so did also a great sort of

poor people at York and elsewhere. And although his table was open to all, yet when any of his friends especially had suits before him, they were barred to dine or sup with him. If any letter was sent to him concerning any matter depending judicially before him, they were openly read by the notary in the face of the court. King Henry VIII. once commanded him to give sentence in a cause of matrimony betwixt Sir Anthony Lee and one of the king's favourites. He entered it thus: 'It is the king's pleasure, but it is against the law.' He was one of the honourable council established to assist the Lord President in the north parts; and in his latter days was sent commissioner into Scotland with Sir Thomas Gargrave, knight, and others, to reform the laws of the Marches. Finally, he lived a great learned man, a good counsellor to his prince, and died in honourable gray hairs, a good Christian, as I pray God we may all do. He lieth buried in York Minster, where hangeth a table of verses to his praises.

"Richard Rokeby, third son of Ralph and Margaret, was a soldier, and servant to the Lord Scrope of Bolton, whose standard he bore at Flodden-field. He had issue by his wife, a daughter of Ellerker of Risby, Thomas Rokeby, who lived a lusty servitor and an able leader of men; who, being one of the lieutenants to Captain Ralph Ellerker his cousin, appointed to serve on the border in the Middle Marches for the strength thereof against the Scots, by too much toiling himself in the service, especially before the muster-master at the cassing of their band, melted his grease within him, and came to my house at York, and there died without issue, an honest and a brave soldier. God send the good Queen of England many such at her need!

"The fourth of these brothers was Ralph Rokeby, serjeant at the common law. I will not say more of him because he was my own father, but that, in the skill of his science and other good things, he was the doctor's brother-german, as well as by blood. He refused to be Lord Chief Justice of England, when Justice Morgan fell mad and distracted in his wits[1]. He got a patent for the discharge of his attendance at the common law, and he served as one of the council in the north. It hath done me good to hear the old benchers of Lincoln's Inn speak well of him, especially Sir William Cordell, knight, Master of the Rolls, who would often acknowledge he had been in effect informed by him in the laws of England. He died in the great good love of his country, I thank God, and is buried in Wakefield church, in Yorkshire.

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[1] It is observed by Sir Thomas Rokeby, that this is probably a mistake, as Morgan was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and not of the King's Bench.

" And yet I may not so injuriously defraud my father of his due as to omit his service against Wyat, the rebel of Kent, against King Philip and Queen Mary and the Spaniards, who, being noised to be coming towards London, my father went to Westminster in his serjeant's robes to plead, and under them a good coat-armour, and hearing at Charing-cross the near approach of the rebels, he hastened him to the Queen's court at Whitehall, strung and fettled an archer of the livery-guards' bow that stood there unstrung, and there threw down the serjeant's robes for that time, and went to the Gate-house, to serve there with a bow and sheaf of arrows, and there tarried until the enemy was yielded."

This Ralph Rokeby the serjeant had four sons, but one of them only seems to claim any particular notice. This was the second son, whose name was also Ralph, the historian of the family. He has modestly omitted any particular account of himself; but we may collect that he was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, where he had for his chamber-fellow John Stubbs, who lost his hand for writing against the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou. He was also acquainted with William Lambarde, another of the lights of Lincoln's Inn: and with Camden, his " especial good friend," from whose pen we have an elegy on the death of the wife of Rokeby. He was nearly connected also with Sir John Ferne, having married his sister, the author of the two curious heraldic tracts, " Lacie's Nobilitie," and " The Glorie of Generositie." He was secretary to the council established in the north, which would occasion his almost constant residence at York.

Of his eldest brother William Rokeby he says, that he was " an honest lived man, a fearer of God, and a good justice of the peace in his country." He had a family of four sons, who with a cousin, son to a younger brother, are the five youths of the house for whose benefit especially the history of it was compiled. In the ancient spirit of the family, all these betook themselves early to the profession of arms. " And you," says the writer of the Economia, " Thomas, William, and Ralph Rokeby, who all of you have served her majesty in the field before you were nineteen years of age; and you, Thomas and William, who have served two French kings both by sea and land, and marched continually in winter and summer a year together, and been at the winning of many towns; that is to say, the suburbs of Paris, Estampes, Tronvile, Chasteau-Neuf, Vendosme, Allençon, Maine, and Valaise, under the general charge of the two great peers of the land, the noble Earl of Essex and the worthy and noble Baron the Lord Willoughby; and under the particular leadings of Captain Gurnan of Dieppe, before the Lord Willoughby's arrival in France (which brave and noble conductor's only pre-

sence and first arrival in France raised the Leaguers' siege of the king at Dieppe, when they were both the camps within musket shot one of the other), and under the guarding of Captain Christenmas. After, you, William, under the conduct of Captain Nicholas Baskervile, and, lastly, under the brave Colonel Sir Roger Williams, knight, at many other services, when my good William, I will not wrong you so far as to forget the carriage of the colonel's colours in the breach at the taking of Dreux castle this last summer; and all this before a hair budded out of your chins. And my good cousins, I thank you both for the volley of shot at the funeral convoy of my learned and honest chamber-fellow in Lincoln's Inn, Mr. John Stubbs, buried in the sea-sand towards England, near the town of Havre de Grace [1].'

None of the persons of whom we have spoken since Thomas, who behaved so well at the horse-race at Gaterly, resided at Mortham. But Thomas was succeeded there by his eldest son, Christopher Rokeby. He, like so many of his ancestors, was engaged in the border warfare. Ralph Rokeby's account of him is, that "he was one of the defenders of Haddington under Sir James Wilford, knight; a captain at Musselborough field, and at Leith; and Captain of Norham Castle in Norham Chase, lost by the imperfections of some whom I name, not for the reverence of their house. He deserved well of her majesty, and had yearly paid forth of her Exchequer 100*l.* for service done in Scotland; what it was I know not, but it did greatly endanger his life; and Turner, his man, was once in Scotland turned over the gallows, and was half-hanged before his pardon came. And since that time, he was provost-marshal of the field, and captain of 300 men against the rebels in the north, in the eleventh year of her majesty's reign.

"The same Thomas had also issue, Ralph Rokeby, his second son, apprentice at the law, who was and is yet a counsellor-assistant to the lord president of the north. He also, before that, supplied the room of her highness's justice of Munster in Ireland, under Sir Edward Filton, lord president there, to his great charges, and also to his good credit. My acquaintance, Henry Catline, who served with him in the field there, told me that at every alarm the velvet jack was one of the first put on, and the soldiers drank sack at his charges; for both which they entirely loved him. He was afterwards named to be lord chancellor of Ireland, but made friends to shun it: and God bless long over

[1] In another place Rokeby speaks affectionately of this unfortunate man. "And for good Mr. Stubbs, I highly thank God for him, for his correcting of many unruly humours in me, and training me up in the paths of God's fear and service." Perhaps the above is the only notice of his death.

England our most gracious sovereign lady, good Queen Elizabeth, who hath since given him for recompense of his good service the mastership of St. Catherine's, and made him one of the Masters of Requests to her majesty; and truly he hath much good in him—God be thanked for him. Amen. Nostræ nunc decus familiæ."

These amusing sketches are evidently made immediately from the life. This Ralph Rokeby died a bachelor, June 14, 1596, being 70 years of age. There was an inscription to his memory in the church of St. Andrew, Holborn, preserved by Stow. It was placed there by his heirs. The lord chancellor Egerton was his executor, and is said to have received to his own share not less than 10,000*l.*

" Old Thomas had also issue Thomas Rokeby, his third son, whom I mention with reverence, for that he beareth about continually with him an *arre*, or mark in his face, an ensign of valour and honourable service done to his country: for being at Norham, chief lieutenant to his brother Christopher Rokeby, he had a spear broken on his face. After, in the chase, he dismounted himself to mount his captain who had lost his horse slain under him, where, exposing himself to all dangers for his brother's deliverance, he was taken prisoner when others fled."

After Christopher Rokeby there were two generations of Rokebys at Mortham. The manuscript supplies us with nothing but the names and marriages: yet they were not all persons of unmarked character; for it appears by the visitation of Yorkshire, 1584, that John Rokeby of Mortham, the son and heir of Christopher, was then in prison in the Fleet, *religionis causâ*. He left a son and heir, who bore the favourite name of Thomas, and was knighted. He had a son named Ralph, to whom Ralph the antiquary of the house was godfather; but he seems not to have been heir to his father; for the judge in his additions states, that Sir Thomas was succeeded at Mortham by his son Francis Rokeby. This Francis married a daughter of Fawcet of London, and had two sons and three daughters.

Of these persons little more than the names have descended. After having seen what other chiefs of this ancient house were, it would have been gratifying to have known something of the personal habits and character of those in whose time it fell to decay; and especially of Sir Thomas Rokeby, whose necessities must, it may be presumed, have been great, when he disposed of the domain at Rokeby to the son of a Kendal merchant. This sale, we are told in the published accounts of the family, by whom Rokeby was purchased, was made by him in the reign of Elizabeth[1]. But if the judge is correct in saying that his

[1] Wotton's Baronetage, v. 225.

son succeeded him at Mortham, it would seem that the possessions on the right bank of the Greta remained for some time longer in the hands of the family, and that it was left for some other member of it to close the connexion of it with these their ancient hereditary seats.

It is believed that no male descendants remained of Christopher, after the time of the civil wars, and that the representation of the family then vested in the eldest male descendant of Thomas, the brother of Christopher, him who is mentioned as carrying about with him the *arre* in his face, made by the spear. The eldest grandson of this Thomas inherited very considerable estates from his father and mother, and was created a baronet in 1661. His son and heir apparent was a soldier, and died before him, leaving by a daughter of Coke of Holkham an only son, Sir William Rokeby, the second baronet, who died without male issue in 1678. The title was then enjoyed by his uncle, Sir Willoughby Rokeby; but he dying without issue in the July of the same year, the male issue of Sir William, the first baronet, became exhausted, and the title extinct.

The representation of the Rokebys then passed to William Rokeby, Esq. of Ackworth-park, in the county of York, son of Thomas Rokeby, a younger brother to the first baronet, slain at the battle of Dunbar. This William and his son dissipated much of the property of the family; but still the honourable rank which belonged to the representatives of such a line of distinguished ancestors was maintained by the good conduct of the younger brothers of William, Thomas, who was a lawyer, John, Joseph, and Benjamin, who were brought up to merchandise.

The male issue of William became extinct in 1706, by the death of Thomas Rokeby his son in that year. Sir Thomas Rokeby, a fellow of Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, an outer barrister of Gray's Inn, and finally one of the justices of the court of King's Bench, had died before him, and without issue. To this Sir Thomas there is a sumptuous monument in the chapel of Archbishop Rokeby at Sandal. John, the next brother, also died without issue. But Joseph, the fourth of these brothers, left an only son, who bore his name, Joseph Rokeby, of Newbigging in Yorkshire, Esq. in whom vested the representation of the family from 1706 to 1[illegible], in which year he died without issue.

Benjamin Rokeby, the youngest of the five brothers, acquired a good estate at Arthingworth in Northamptonshire, by his marriage with Rebecca, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Langham. They had issue an only son, Langham Rokeby, Esq. of Arthingworth, who, in 1741, became the elder male representative. The only male descendants from him are his great-grandsons, Langham Rokeby, Esq. of Arthingworth, and Henry

Ralph Rokeby, Esq., a Commander in the royal navy. In these gentlemen is the representation of the old lords of Rokeby and Mortham; and numerous and prolific as the branches of this family once were, it is not even known whether there is now any other Rokeby remaining whose connexion with it is capable of proof. The political economist may show that population advances in a geometric ratio: the genealogist, however, knows that a very narrow circle will often circumscribe all the males of a family which can be traced for fifteen or twenty generations.

When the lands of Rokeby passed to the Robinsons, they were still in possession of a family distinguished by spirit, enterprise, and a love of literature. We find them connected with our literary history, our diplomacy, our colonial, and our military service. The name of Mr. Morritt, whose father purchased the domain, is connected with our literature by his own elegant contributions to one department of it, and by its perpetual union with the poem, the scene of which is laid in his beautiful demesne.

In the armorial insignia used by the Rokebys there was an allusion to the name: they bore a sable chevron between three rooks on a silver field. The motto, "IN BIVIO DEXTRA."

PUBLIC LIBRARIES, CAMBRIDGE.

If any thing had been wanting to confirm us in a conviction of the justice of our strictures on the existing state of the Public Libraries in this country, it would have been amply supplied by the general and bitter outcry which has been raised by some of the persons who are interested in the continuance of the present disgraceful abuses in those establishments at the article on the subject in a former number.

Having then noticed the Oxford Libraries, we now intend, in prosecution of the design formerly announced, to enter into the consideration of those in the sister University; and hereafter we may take occasion to communicate some general information respecting the collections in the possession of various corporate bodies.

The Cambridge libraries, on the whole, give place in importance and number to those at Oxford. The public library, in particular, is much inferior to the Bodleian in the extent and value of its treasures. The income is, we are assured, very limited; consisting of some minor rents, and a trifling quarterly dole from members of the university. With this supply, however judiciously distributed, very extensive or very rapid

additions are not to be expected; and it is to be hoped that ere long means will be suggested for a more efficacious subsidy. The power of profiting by its learned stores, and even of entering its precincts, is religiously confined to masters of arts; each of whom, during residence, may have in his possession ten common volumes, or five of those contained in the "locked up classes." By this regulation, the junior students have little means of availing themselves of the books, as every individual M. A., although not devoted to any branch of literary investigation, may be conceived to have his list full; since, by way of recreation we suppose, after severer studies, the novels and romances which every season brings forth are said to constitute no small share of the reading of these reverend gentlemen. It either was or is in contemplation to submit a grace to the proper authorities to enable bachelors[1] of arts to consult books in the library, if not to remove them to their rooms. In deciding on the merits of such an application, it is impossible to suppose that the university will not act in entire accordance with the desire it has so frequently manifested of dismissing useless as well as mischievous enactments, and of keeping pace with the enlarged and growing feeling of the age. A more extended concession would probably lead to considerable inconvenience; but, under sufficient guarantee against maltreatment, not the most strenuous assertor that "whatever is, is right," can be so bigoted as to refuse the boon, which is about to be sought, for the extended franchise might, indeed, rather be subservient to the dignity and splendour of the institution. It could hardly be conceived unreasonable, in return, that the under-graduates, or the B. A.'s, or, still more comprehensively, all *in statu pupillari*, in which designation both previous ranks are embraced, should pay something beyond their miserable pittance: nor can this suggestion be objected to, as tending to aggravate the expenses of the university to those of slender means, for sizars are exempted by statute from the present quarterage. We can perceive no insuperable difficulty in establishing just securities that the books shall not be exposed to danger in consequence of the proposed regulation. Indeed, the oath taken by all other graduates to this effect might be imposed upon the bachelors without any inconvenience; for we do not agree with the writer on public libraries in the Westminster Review, that these solemn precautions are either futile or uncalled for. Let it be remembered that the library is open to every individual of a numerous class; and that a person wishing to prosecute any inquiry is not, as in the British Mu-

[1] Graduates in the faculties of law and physic, and even graduates of *music*, are not debarred from enjoying all advantages of the library.

seum and Bodleian library, shown into a room to wait until the volumes demanded are brought to him; but that he is allowed to range freely and unreservedly over every book and press in the collection, locked and unlocked, printed and manuscript. We are the last to encourage a multiplication of oaths on idle pretexts, but we certainly think that something more than a sense of duty is requisite to prevent wilful spoliation or accidental damage; nor are we convinced that the much ridiculed minuteness[1] of the Bodleian statutes on this head is by any means unnecessary. All who are acquainted with the volumes belonging to any circulating library, we do not solely speak of such as are private property, but of such also as have been accumulated by public subscription, and whose use is confined to subscribers alone, will admit that very little proper feeling on this point exists[2]. While, however, the interests of the younger members of the university have been hitherto thus neglected, it is our duty to add that strangers experience great courtesy and attention. It is with much pleasure that we are enabled to state that a new and laborious catalogue has been prepared, but we are not aware whether it is to be printed, though on the utility of doing so there cannot be two opinions.

Of the Fitzwilliam collection it is needless to say much. The presence of a M.A. is requisite to sanction the removal of a volume from the cases, and nothing can be taken out of the Museum. The latter rule is alone sufficient to prevent the contents from being of much utility; for few persons would like to impose so tiresome a task upon a gentleman as to oblige him to stand by whilst he peruses or extracts from a work. After the unrivalled chapel at King's, the attention of the stranger is most strongly riveted by the Trinity library. The building is a production of Sir Christopher Wren; but its outward attractions are far surpassed by the beauty[3] of the interior, nor are the con-

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[1] The anathemas of the ancient owners in some of Archbishop Parker's MSS. at Bennet are only second to the terrors of Ernulphus.

[2] The care and anxiety shown by the very lowest grades of our continental neighbours in the preservation of works of art furnish an example to be imitated, we fear, in some cases, even by those who from birth and education might be supposed to have emerged from barbarism. Evelyn, who was mainly instrumental in procuring the donation of the Arundel Marbles to the university of Oxford, in little more than a twelvemonth had the mortification of observing "that people approaching them too neere, some idle persons began to scratch and injure them, I advis'd that an hedge of holly should be planted at ye foot of ye wall, to be kept breast-high onely, to protect them, which the Vice-Chancellor promis'd to do the next season." Diary, 13th July, 1669. Nor has much improvement yet taken place in the minds of the lower orders with respect to such of the public monuments as are exposed to their barbarous outrages: of this the noseless or headless statues in Westminster Abbey afford a disgraceful example.

[3] It is incumbent upon us to except from panegyric a window at the south end, which cannot fail to offend the eye. It portrays Science or Britannia, we forget which, and either will do, presenting Sir Isaac Newton to King George III. while Lord

tents unworthy of the glorious shrine in which they are deposited. A great proportion of its riches has been supplied at different periods by the attachment of private persons in various ways connected with the college, and we believe that no foundation in either university can exhibit so long a roll of valuable benefactions. In casually turning over the pages of the catalogue, we were grieved to see an entry of *lost, i. e. stolen,* affixed to a curious volume of Nash's pamphlets; and we inspected the Latin account of Kett's rebellion, from which a sacrilegious hand had torn a MS. appendix, copied from a manuscript in the neighbouring library of St. John's, this being evidently a more compendious way of mastering its contents than by transcription. These facts will serve to corroborate our opinions in the preceding page. It is, we understand, in contemplation to collect all the black-letter books into compartments by themselves, which will tend we hope to their better conservation; their value is as yet scarcely known. The MSS. are many and important, and among them some lucubrations of Roger Ascham are said to have been recently discovered. Here, too, is the Capel closet of works relative to Shakspeare, bequeathed with the preposterous and illiberal injunction that no person shall be permitted to make a *complete transcript* of any part of its contents. The manner in which the books are circulated among the students is worthy of all praise; for in addition to those to which he is entitled for his own use, every fellow can give a note for six volumes to any other member of the college; besides which, graduates and scholars are permitted to study in the room itself[1].

The library of St. John's, though less extensive, is by no means devoid of value: we believe all the fellows have access to it, but the books are not circulated among the members. The library at King's is shortly to be removed from the range of chapelries on the south side of the large building to a handsome apartment near the lodge: it contains the rich collection of Jacob Bryant, and possesses some MSS. Laudable vigilance is used in adding most standard works on history, and the books are easily obtainable.

Bacon complacently prepares to record the ceremony!!! If the Society be unable to remove this precious composition, it is lawful to breathe the hope that a stray tile or branch will be driven through by some charitable storm.

[1] We know not which of these provisions enabled the writer in the Westminster Review, to whom we have so often alluded, to affirm, that "there is little appearance of the books being put upon severe duty, if, indeed, any be required of them." viii. p. 112. Our own experience is directly the reverse.—Although we anticipated that some of our remarks would meet with hostility, since they offend many darling prejudices, we were not prepared for the stupid pertinacity which insists upon attributing the articles in this publication and in the Westminster to the same individual.

XUM

Among the small colleges, Corpus Christi, or Bennet, is distinguished by the possession of the inestimable manuscripts bequeathed by Archbishop Parker. The hours of access are in the summer from six to eleven A. M., and from one to five P. M.; in the winter from eight to eleven, but a fellow and a scholar must be present. Three books may be taken to the lodge or to a fellow's rooms: should six volumes in folio, eight in quarto, and twelve of smaller size, be missing, and not recovered within six months, the whole, together with the archbishop's plate, are to be transferred with similar charge to Caius, and if there forfeited by similar neglect, to Trinity Hall; to revert again, in case of the same neglect, to Bennet. Vexatious as these regulations undoubtedly are, they are not to be denied the merit of accomplishing the safe-keeping of the treasures which they are devised to secure; but how much better would it be if a regular librarian were appointed there and elsewhere, instead of requiring the presence of any other person as a protection. In the centuries which have elapsed since the death of the venerable donor, the only discoverable injury that has taken place to the collection was recently, when it was found that the margins had been nibbled by some mice, who got at them when laid in garrets while the college was rebuilding. The depredations luckily were slight, and affected only the extreme edges.

If, however, pre-eminence in the rarities and curiosities of literature be assigned to Corpus, to Queen's must be awarded the palm of usefulness and merit. The munificent spirit by which this society has been actuated deserves to be honourably mentioned. They have recently provided a beautiful impression of their statutes, with fac-similes; and have secured the assistance of Mr. Horne, whose bibliographical and biblical talents are familiar to every reader, to superintend the compilation of a catalogue, which has just appeared in two large volumes. The work is compiled upon a principle of prospective utility, as it comprises very many books which as yet will in vain be sought upon the shelves, but which it is *intended* to procure as the funds of the society may permit. Here also the books are now furnished to the students with the same liberality as at Trinity. Our readers will appreciate the pleasure which we feel in rendering this tribute of respect to the *good works* of one of the bodies whose case, from the tenour of some censures which have gone forth, they must have regarded as almost desperate; and where so much has been performed, in comparison with what has been effected at other colleges, it would be perhaps invidious to inquire whether all has been done in the best manner possible.

The library of Caius College is rich in manuscripts, heralds' visitations, and pedigrees, and more particularly so, we believe,

in early poetry[1], but access to it is rigidly forbidden to all but the *senior* members of the college; and the following fact will prove that these worthy gentlemen are not much more in the habit of disturbing the spiders in their possession of the volumes than the members of the college of the same name at Oxford[2]. A *conviva satur*, resolutely bent upon effecting his release from this world of care, selected the library as the spot in which his attempt would be most secure from interruption, and his sagacity was fully demonstrated by the event; for, though he was missing for some time, no suspicion was entertained that he would have entered *such* a place; and it was not until after many weeks that the body was *accidentally* discovered by one of his compeers in a state of utter decomposition! The contents of this library have, it is said, been lately arranged, but in what manner may be inferred from the pleasant story, that Burton's Anatomy was classed with works on surgery. All the world has heard of the worthy monk who felicitously placed an essay on impossible roots among botanical treatises; and we ourselves have known a dashing collector exhibit to admiring auditors a tractate *de re venatica* as a history of Venice. That no very great advance in bibliographical acquirement is necessary in the administration of college books is convincingly proved by the tale that, at no very distant era, the library-keeper at Christ's advertised for the *first* volume of Taylor's Demosthenes, it being, he said, missing from the cases under his care. The conscientious personage who discharged the functions of librarian might have paused with advantage to remember the grave axiom, "De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio."

The Pepysian volumes can be opened only under the eyes of a fellow: and though we are certain there can be no dissentient voice as to the readiness to oblige which is evinced, a delicacy to trespass on the time and kindness of a stranger is often more effectual in deterring applicants than the most churlish refusal on the part of the guardians of the golden fruit. Still even a direct negative is preferable to being put off from day to day

With half replies, and those not half to th' purpose[3].

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[1] A MS. of King Alisaunder was, we think, collated by Mr. Weber. Whatever may have been the incapacities of this editor in other departments of our literature, in this he was entitled to the praise of accuracy,—the greatest of which the labours of a copyist are capable. The Royal Society of Literature has declared its purpose of editing Wickliffe's Bible, with other monuments of our early language. May we hope that the other romances which Weber had transcribed may yet be published by its assistance? Imperfect as this must necessarily be esteemed at the present day, as an effectual argument of the Society's worthlessness we shall perhaps hereafter transfer it to our pages. It always saves a vast expense of trouble, *habere confitentem reum*; but, when a confirmed delinquent persists in refusing to cry *peccavi*, it is something to be able to convict him under his own hand and seal.

[2] N. S. i. 286.

[3] Earl of Bristol's "Elvira, or, The Worst not always True," 1667.

Trinity, King's, and Queen's are, we believe, the only societies that maintain a librarian in regular attendance.

We know not that the remaining colleges require minute enumeration. They all contain from two to three MSS.: but Pembroke Hall demands a few words. It is not many years since that we obtained a glimpse of its library[1], when we perceived, in a sunken apartment opening out of it, a quantity of books, linen, and other valuables bequeathed to the college, fast rotting under the combined influence of neglect and damp. If this scandalous neglect of property has not since been remedied, we do hope that this public allusion to the fact will be effectual: but in case the worthy fellows of that fraternity still continue indifferent to the books which were thus suffered to perish, they will, we trust, no longer resemble the dog in the manger, but present them to a college capable of appreciating their value. Of the other foundations, as well as those already commented upon, we shall have better opportunities of judging, on the appearance of a work, which has been some months announced, "on the book-rarities in the university," by certain of its alumni.

In the article on this subject in the first volume, we ventured to express a wish that all the MSS. in public libraries were collected into ONE GRAND REPOSITORY in the metropolis; but if, in emulation of Caliph Omar, we had advised a general conflagration of them, the proposition would, we are persuaded, have been listened to with greater temper. Without indulging any aspirations for the crown of literary martyrdom, we repeat, for the benefit of all who abhor the heresy, or who despise the theory, that our suggestion *must* sooner or later be realized, unless pains be promptly taken to render the various collections of national benefit, which are now either wholly or partially concealed from the public, or suffered to rot and moulder through criminal indifference. This desirable object is of course within the jurisdiction of parliament; and the powers of the Record Commission might be extended, provided, however, and which we hold to be a *sine qua non*, that it had more effective commissioners and more able and zealous officers, so as to oblige the various curators to prepare accurate lists of their respective MSS., to be afterwards examined by itinerant commissioners, and then given to the public. Incredible as it will appear to some learned gentlemen in both universities, a disposition is at length displayed to purify collections in colleges and other corporate bodies from worms and cobwebs, and their utility will be no longer confined to the few who enjoy the power, and the still fewer who possess the in-

[1] The celebrated Stanley presented to this library the curious Album of Ortelius. The information may be of service to the conductors of the autographic works mentioned in page 351, ante. The book contains many English names: it is in the original binding, but much worn.

clination to consult them. The *Catalogus MSS. Angliæ* is no toriously incomplete; still it is an honour to its projectors, and a stigma on the country that a more complete work of the same kind has not long since appeared. The jejune list of *printed books* in the British Museum has been not inaptly likened to a production of Mr. Babbage's calculating machine rather than the performance of rational beings[1]. If the catalogue of the Cambridge Public Library be printed, we earnestly pray that such books as are wanting in it, but occur in the private colleges, may be inserted, so that at one glance it may be seen what works on any subject are contained in the university.

Hopes have been from time to time entertained of the immense advantages which will be conferred upon the history and antiquities of England by the learning and munificence of her two great universities. On this topic we shall not dwell; but the comparative inefficiency of the university press of Cambridge has not unfrequently been openly bewailed by those nurtured in her bosom; and if this be the feeling with which it is regarded by persons who from predilection may be supposed willing rather to palliate than to be severe, it cannot be very difficult to divine what is thought upon the subject by the world at large. If we look over the long series of publications which has issued from the Theatre and the Clarendon, and then turn our inquiries to the offspring of the sister press from the times of Hayes, and Buck, and Cornelius Crownfield to the present, the contrast is indeed humiliating! When the Porsonian types were first paraded to astonish the eyes and confound the scandal of every unbeliever, bright prospects were unveiled; but, alas! this *spes melioris ævi* has, in the execution, shrunk and dwindled, almost to nothing. Without asking what work of magnitude[2] and character has been produced, if any of our readers have compared the London editions of the dramas of Æschylus published by the Bishop of Chester with their predecessors, we suspect they have found that every advantage lies with the reprints. Moreover, while it is scarcely possible to name an ancient author[3] whose writings have not, either directly or indirectly,

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[1] Its great fault is, that *authors* alone, and not *subjects*, are referred to; but in one case we actually found a work cited under the *baptismal*, instead of the surname of the writer.

[2] The single exception, of which we are aware, is Dr. Maltby's Morell, which, after being suffered to reach an enormous price, is now superseded by a second edition, in a more convenient form, at London.

[3] We rejoice to learn that Mr. Gaisford's Suidas is actually *sub prelo*. The same gentleman was reported to be engaged on a complete Plato, and no one can bring higher qualifications to the task. When these great works are accomplished, we trust neither Athenæus nor Hesychius will long remain without competent editors.

been ushered in a beautiful and accurate shape from the Clarendon, its utility is far from being restrained solely to the noble efforts of those who flourished

"when time's youth
Wanted some riper years."

To say nothing of its republication of Raleigh, Hooker, Barrow, and nearly all[1] the best and standard writers of the church, the student of his country's history is indebted to Oxford for the only unmutilated editions of the Life and History of Lord Clarendon, and of Bishop Burnet's Own Time.

On all sides too we hear complaints of the exorbitant prices fixed upon the Cambridge books[2]; a tax the more unpardonable, inasmuch as every fresh publication, almost without exception, bears in its front an acknowledgment of expenses defrayed or lightened by the munificence of the syndics. The Oxford books again are not merely recommended by neatness of exterior and moderation in cost, but are executed with correctness both exact and exemplary, while the Cambridge reader is disgusted and fatigued by pages of *errata, addenda, corrigenda.* Nor is this only true of the mathematical works, which are probably in more general demand, as they have been imagined to constitute the peculiar care of this philosophic body; for we are assured that the second edition of Dr. Blomfield's Choephoroe, published at an advanced price, and which has probably sins enough of its own to answer for, is disfigured by all the errata of the first.

Those who may be considered better able than ourselves to speak with confidence upon the subject, endeavour to remove some of the imputations to which the establishment is confessedly liable, by stating, that it is less fortunate in endowment and revenue. If this be conceded, we cannot easily be persuaded that an improved system of management may not bring about a beneficial change. But if its endeavours be really cramped by a deficiency of funds, we know not how the senate could more wisely and more profitably bestow some little portion of those resources which, if we may give credit[3] to the expensive

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[1] It is to the Clarendon that we are indebted for the best editions of Bishop Pearson on the Creed, and Barrow's Theological Works. Both, we think, with Strype and others who might be named, should have commanded a little reverence on the banks of Cam; but more than ten slow years elapsed before Porson's Euripides was sent forth in his own types, and even yet Bentley's immortal Phalaris, to be graced with every ornament, is commended to the dingy print and paper of some inglorious typographer. Nor is the fate of Newton to be less admired!

[2] A solitary exception was announced in the advertisements accompanying our last number, in professor Scholefield's Æschylus. We happen to know that more than one purchaser yielded slow credence to the assurance of his eyes.

The only fault we have to find with the Oxford delegates is, that the works printed under their sanction are not sufficiently published *beyond* the university. They will not be accused of taking lessons in the art of puffing.

[3] Our readers may be surprised when we express a hope that these reports are to be

plans from time to time said to be in agitation for the improvement of the public buildings, it can so readily command, than in giving their press that rank in the eyes of Europe which it may so naturally be expected to occupy, and which would redound to the credit of its directors.

Here, for the present, our remarks conclude; and we take the opportunity of expressing our hope, that in the animadversions which we have already made, and in such as we may hereafter feel it our duty to offer on the conduct of these venerable institutions, we shall not be considered as indulging a feeling of deliberate vituperation or systematic disrespect. That we should be compelled to express such an expectation is far from creditable to those who have uttered so unjust and illiberal an opinion of our motives and feelings. It is to be regretted that, of those who have the wish and power to correct abuses in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, so large a number should be removed by the various avocations of active life from the halls of the university to the busy haunts of men. But we are not therefore to despair; and secure of the cordial assent and good wishes of the few who, though full of academic honours, still devote themselves to the cultivation of their minds in elegant and useful study, we are entitled to hold lightly the hatred and bigotry of all who neglect that mental progress which they would fain stifle, and affect to hold cheap those gigantic strides in intellectual endowments for which this age and country are alike remarkable. Again we repeat that we do not write for the ignorant or the prejudiced, for they naturally detest doctrines which must bring them into contempt. Our efforts are grounded upon a principle which sooner or later must be as generally admitted as that the sun is the source of heat and life, namely, that books should be open to all who wish to consult them. Let those to whom our opinions are most obnoxious remember, that though they now abhor the idea that the book of truth and wisdom should not be freely read by all classes, their predecessors thought differently. Such then being the effect of the progress of education, what do they expect will be the opinion of posterity, of men who, not content with appropriating great part of the revenues of their colleges to the support of their bodies, instead of applying some part of them, or, if this be impossible, some part of their own time and talents to the advancement of

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received with no more deference than is accorded to newspapers in general. It is currently said, however, that the celebrated Cuvier offered to the university a complete collection of models in plaister from his matchless fossils, provided they would find a suitable place for their reception; and that this splendid offer *was declined!*

If, as we devoutly trust, the whole be a calumny, we are glad, by this public statement, to expect an indignant refutation: if the details be unfortunately *true*, the circumstance cannot be too widely promulgated.

learning, do all in their power to render the productions of wiser men as useless as possible; and in many cases, suffer their labours to be ruined by damp, cobwebs, and worms. Whilst they smile, with amusing superciliousness, at the bigotry and ignorance of "slothful monks," for God's sake let them reflect how little the productions of *resident* fellows and higher personages in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge will bear a comparison with the labours of those "slothful monks" in this, but more especially in other countries. Nay, more, let them contrast what has been done for literature, either ancient or modern, by those who it may almost be said are pensioned to study; whose wants are provided for by the liberality of others, and often by the very monkish priesthood which they despise, in the comparison with what has been effected by men who have had to strive against the tempests of the world, and to provide for the day which is passing over them.

Whether these examples do or do not stimulate them to exertion is not so important a question as whether they will not possess at least the negative merit of rendering the MSS., which are unfortunately distributed in such an infinity of places, available to all who are willing to use them. If they do not, we repeat that they will one day either be compelled to do so, or the treasures of which they are such bad guardians must be intrusted to other hands.

NOTICES RELATING TO THE ANCIENT "COLLARS OF THE KING'S LIVERY," AND, IN PARTICULAR, THOSE WHICH ARE STILL DENOMINATED "COLLARS OF SS."

[BY GEORGE FREDERICK BELTZ, ESQ. LANCASTER HERALD.]

THE custom of encircling the neck with a gold or silver chain or collar, in order to distinguish the wearer for his rank, wisdom, or prowess, is of the highest antiquity, and coeval, probably, with the earliest application of the precious metals to purposes of personal decoration. Amongst the Jews, the ouch, or carcanet, formed part of the sacerdotal ornaments; in Egypt and Babylon a gold chain was bestowed as a symbol of official dignity; and a collar, stripped from the body of a vanquished Gaul by a Roman warrior, gave the surname of *Torquatus* to the Manlian family.

It cannot be doubted that this external mark of preeminence, one of the first fruits, perhaps, of inequality in the relations of social life, was in general use in ancient Europe, and that it was introduced at a very remote period into Britain: the idea, however, of erecting it into a sign of adherence to a particular dynasty, family, or party, seems to have been reserved for a more

modern era, and may be presumed to have originated in the same motives which influenced, during the middle ages, the creation of military orders.

The collars described in the public records "*Collaria de liberatâ*," or "*liberaturâ Regis*," from the *liberate* under which they issued from the Great Wardrobe, or Jewel Office, have been treated by Favin[1] and other writers as insignia of orders of knighthood; but that they were distinct from the symbols of those institutions, may be collected from the fact that, although the effigies of several knights of the garter, on sepulchral monuments, antecedently to the reign of Henry the Seventh, are represented as adorned with them[2], a collar was not amongst the ensigns of the order until it was added thereto by that sovereign.

Whatever may have been the antiquity of similar collars in other states, every attempt has failed to carry the practice of conferring them in this country higher than the fourteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second, 1390, 1.

The select nature of the order instituted by his illustrious predecessor had afforded to that monarch comparatively few opportunities of decorating, in so acceptable a manner, not only his own chivalrous subjects, but also the numerous knights adventurers, who, in an age when the desire of renown in tourneys and feats of arms predominated over almost every other feeling, resorted to his splendid court from all parts of Europe.

King Richard, therefore, on the occasion of the magnificent justs held in Smithfield on the 12th of October, 1390, in honour of the Counts of Ostrevant and St. Paul, and other eminent strangers, distributed[3] his cognizance of the WHITE HART[4], pendent from a COLLAR composed of *cosses de genêt*, or broom-cods, of gold.

The records of the Pells, the Wardrobe Accounts, and the Fœdera, during that reign, furnish many instances of the distribution of this collar and badge amongst knights, ladies, and

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[1] Théâtre d'Honneur, l. 5, c. 2.

[2] See, in Blore's Monumental Remains, the tombs of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who died, in 1415, at Arundel; of Ralph Nevil, first Earl of Westmorland, who died, in 1425, at Staindrop; of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who died, in 1444, at Wimborne: also, in Dart's Canterbury, that of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, second son of Henry IV., and several others.

[3] Bibl. Cotton. Tib. c. 9, p. 25. Leland's Col. vol. ii. p. 312 and 482.

[4] The white hart couchant, gorged with a coronet, and having a chain reflexed over the back, is conjectured to have been assumed by Richard in imitation of Charles VI. of France, and in the same spirit in which his royal grandfather had adopted the arms of that kingdom. A strange story is related by Juvenal des Ursins, in his History of the French monarch, of a hart having been chased and taken in the forest of Senlis with a chain of gilt copper about his neck inscribed "*Cæsar hoc mihi donavit*," and of the king having consequently adopted, in the year 1380, a hart for his device, and two harts for supporters to his arms.

esquires, foreigners and subjects; and the king himself is represented as wearing such a collar in the celebrated contemporary picture in the Pembroke collection at Wilton, engraved by Hollar[1] in 1639, and by him dedicated to Charles I.

Soon after the institution of this device, or livery, the French king appears to have introduced the same at his court; for, in 1393, Charles VI. sent a magnificent collar, formed of broomcods, interspersed with the letters composing his word, or motto, "JAMES" [jamais] to the king of England, with three other similar but less weighty collars for the Dukes of Lancaster, Gloucester, and York[2].

Upon the dethronement of Richard, the White Hart continued for a short time to be worn as an emblem of party by the opponents of the Lancaster faction; and complaints were made that the Countess of Oxford[3] had caused certain Harts of gold and silver to be fabricated for distribution amongst the friends of the deposed monarch[4]. Hotspur is said to have also issued them to his military followers[5].

Henry IV. and his unfortunate predecessor were nearly of the same age, and had both imbibed in their infancy a predilection for the display of pomp, costly apparel, and splendid ornament. At the coronation of Richard, the young Earl of Derby, as he was styled by courtesy, though scarcely ten years old, carried the sword *Curtana* for his father, John of Gaunt, who had claimed the performance of that service in right of his earldom of Lincoln. He was then already a knight of the garter; it appearing that garters, adorned with roses and ostrich feathers, badges of his royal house, had been prepared for his decoration at that solemnity[6].

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[1] A rare impression from this plate is preserved in the British Museum. The king is in a kneeling posture, and habited in a robe, powdered, with collars of broomcods encircling a white hart couchant, with a collar of the same about his neck, and the white hart as a badge, not attached to the collar, but placed, like the star of a modern order, on his left breast. Several angels are introduced, all adorned with similar collars, and having the badge of the white hart on the left breast. The following description of the device is found in the verses subjoined to the engraving:

"Cur Regi e siliquis torques contexta genistæ
Cognomen Regis Plantagenista fuit.
Pendulus est albus cervus, cui colla catena
Perque quiescentis terga reducta ligat.
Regia cum fuerat mater pulcherrima cervam
Albam insigne tulit filius unde marem."

[2] Hist. des Ordres Religieux, tome viii. p. 278, where the device is minutely described. Upton de Militar. Off. p. 33. Menestrier, Art du Blason, p. 97, where it is erroneously treated as a military order.

[3] Philippa de Couey, second daughter and co-heir of Ingelram, Earl of Bedford, (by the Princess Isabel, eldest daughter of K. Edw. III.) and wife of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland.

[4] Walsingham, sub anno 1404.

[5] Leland's Collect.

[6] Exit. Pell. Pasch. 1 Ric. II.

Froissart mentions that King Henry, at his coronation, wore about his neck the devise of the king of France[1], whose favour towards his flagrant usurpation it was his policy to conciliate. Soon afterwards he distributed with a liberal hand amongst his adherents his own device, or collar, called S. or, (from the repetition of the letter), SS., which became thenceforward, and during the Lancastrian ascendancy, the sign, or livery, of the court.

The antiquity and origin of this collar, and the signification of the device, having occupied the attention of several writers, it will be the object of this essay to state the different hypotheses which have been produced on the subject.

Wicelius, a German polemical writer, contemporary with Queen Mary, and a violent adversary of the Reformation, asserts that he had found, amongst the manuscripts in the abbatial library of Fulda, a description of a society or religious order of *Saint Simplicius*, consisting of men of noble families whose custom it was to wear around the neck collars of silver, composed of the *twin* letters SS, the initials of the name of their patron: that the collar so worn contained, alternately with these letters, twelve very small silver plates, whereon were engraved the twelve articles of the Christian faith, together with "*the Simplician trefoil:*" that the image of the saint was seen pendent from the collar, with seven plates attached thereto, signifying the seven charismata of the Holy Spirit: and that this mystery was intended to express, that those who should be decorated with such a collar would prove, in peace and war, most constant in their devotion to the religion of Christ[2].

Where and when such an order or society existed does not appear; and, in the absence of any thing in the shape of evidence on that point, it may be reasonably asked, whether the whole be not one of the numerous inventions to which religious controversy at that period gave rise?

Following the steps of this writer, though with a different theory on the subject, Nicholas Harpsfeld, sometime Archdeacon of Canterbury, who died in 1583, after having suffered an imprisonment of twenty-three years for his adhesion to the ancient creed, treating, in his ecclesiastical history of Eng-

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[1] Chroniques de Froissart par Buchon. Paris, 1826, tome xiv. p. 226. The editor, in a note, calls it "celle (la devise) que le roi de France lui avoit donné, en signe d'amitié, pendant son exil à Paris." Modius, in his Pandectæ Triumphales, p. 150, describing the costume of the king on this occasion, says, "gestans *conchyliatum* torquem ordinis gallicani:" but he wrote *after* the institution of the order of St. Michael, and evidently mistook the device of the *cosse de genêt* for the collar of that order, which was not founded until the reign of Louis XI.

[2] Geo. Wicelius de Divis tàm Veteris quàm Novi Testamenti, 8vo. Basiliæ, 1557, p. 254, quoted by Dugdale in his Orig. Judicial. p. 102.

land[1], of the claims to sanctity of Etheldreda, consort of Egfrid, King of Northumberland, and, after separation from her husband, Abbess of Ely, relates that this princess, being afflicted with a tumour on her neck which occasioned her death, had, in her dying moments, expressed her gratitude to Divine Providence for having visited with so slight a punishment her youthful indulgence of pride and vanity in wearing around her neck a collar of gold. The author then observes, "It has been the custom of our English matrons to wear around the neck a collar of thin silk, called 'Etheldreda's Collar,' in memory, perhaps, of the circumstance which I have mentioned: and, would to God that this memorial might excite our minds to imitate the virtues of Etheldreda[2]! which was the intent, as I conceive, of the institution and practice. I could wish that the nobles of our own, as well as of other nations, who wear about their necks that collar which is called a 'Collar of SS,' might be animated by like motives; those letters denoting the name of St. Simplicius, of a senatorial family of Rome, who generously died for Christ." He then refers, for the origin, cause, and signification of that collar, to Wicelius and his treatise on St. Simplicius.

Notwithstanding the air of romance which pervades the two different narratives of these zealous theologians, Dugdale appears to have not altogether withheld his belief that such had been the foundation of the Collar of SS. In his "Origines Juridiciales[3]," he observes, "That this kind of ornament [the Collar of SS, worn by the chief justices and baron] hath been very anciently used here in England, especially by knights, we have sufficient testimony from monuments and tombs of *near three hundred years* old: how long before, I dare not take upon me to say; but the original occasion of them is of much greater antiquity, which from an author of credit (Wicelius) writing of the lives of Simplicius and Faustinus, brethren and Roman senators, who suffered martyrdom under Dioclesian the emperor, I shall here add [quoting then the passage from Wicelius abovementioned]; and the reason of this chain, so used by such noble persons, was in regard that those two brothers were martyred by tying a stone with a chain about their necks, and casting their bodies into the river Tyber."

As Dugdale published this observation in 1671, the testimony of the Monuments and Tombs, to which he alludes, would, from

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[1] Edited by Richard Gibbon, an English Jesuit, at Douay, in 1622, p. 86.

[2] Amongst the virtues of this virgin queen, the following are enumerated by Harpsfeld: laneis solis vestibus, lineis nunquam, rarò callidis balneis usa, et tùm quidem post omnes sorores [cænobii quo præfuerat] quibus abluendis diligenter priùs inservierat: non amplius quam semel per diem comedere solita, &c. &c.

[3] Page 102.

his own statement, scarcely ascend higher than the reign of Richard II.; and if any earlier instance had come under his notice, he would doubtless have produced it in support of his opinion on the subject.

The late Mr. Gough having observed in the church of Little Dunmow in Essex[1], near two figures on an altar tomb, supposed from the arms thereon to represent Walter Fitzwalter and Matilda Bohun his wife, who died in the reign of Richard I. the effigy of a lady adorned with a collar of SS; and it appearing by the "Monasticon Anglicanum[2]," that Matilda Fitzwalter, the grandaughter of those persons, and who is said to have been poisoned by King John, had been interred in that church between two columns on the south side within the choir, he at one time conjectured that the effigy so noticed was that of this individual, which would have afforded presumptive evidence of the use of the collar at the earliest period at which there is any trace of it amongst similar remains. In a subsequent part of his work[3], however, Mr. Gough retracts his opinion, from the circumstance that the knight is represented in complete *plated* armour, and the lady in a *mitred* head-dress and the *mortier*, all which were not introduced until, at least, two centuries later.

The other instances given by Gough of the Collar on ancient monuments are, so far as his imperfect accounts of the accompanying armorial and other ornaments enable us to consider them, all of dates subsequent to Richard the Second[4].

The Collar represented, though faintly in Dugdale's plate, around the neck of the figure of Sir Simon Burley, in St. Paul's Cathedral, as a Collar of SS, may have been the gift of Henry of Lancaster, who is known to have ineffectually endeavoured to save that knight from execution in the reign of Richard the Second, and the tomb was in all probability not erected until after the reversal of his attainder, in the 2d of Henry IV.

A Collar, and probably the same collar of SS, which is represented on the effigy of Gower in St. Saviour's church, was certainly of the gift of Henry IV. when Earl of Derby, to the

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[1] Sep. Mon. p. 30.

[2] Vol. ii. 76.

[3] Sep. Mon. clxxv.

[4] Sep. Mon. clxxi. Sir Robert Waterton and his lady in Methley church. The Collar was issued to that knight when an esquire, 20 Ric. II. out of the great wardrobe of Henry, Earl of Derby. Sep. Mon. 171. The figure in Harwood church is that of Sir John Nevill, who died 22 Ed. IV. 1482. Ibid. The other figure in the same church is that of Sir William Ryther, to whom, and to Sybil his wife, Richard II. granted license to endow the priory of Beauvale, with an annual rent for the celebration of masses. Mr. Gough has evidently mistaken the dragon's head issuant out of a mural crown, the crest of Ryther, for "a horse's head, with a curled mane, issuing out of a coronet."

poet, as appears by an original warrant remaining in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster[1].

We will not stop to refute the idle conjecture of Menestrier[2], that the cypher SS was that of the Countess of *Salisbury*, or to offer an opinion on the hypothesis of a respectable antiquary that it denoted the word *signum*[3], but proceed to state the evidence in proof of a proposition first suggested by the learned Anstis[4], and we think satisfactorily established, that the Collar of S, or "of ESSES," as it is written in many records, was a Lancastrian livery, and of the institution of Henry of Bolingbroke.

Amongst the unpublished minor poems of Gower, the Chronicle, in three parts, which forms a sequel to his VOX CLAMANTIS[5], merits a greater degree of consideration than it has hitherto received from antiquaries, on account of its curious enumeration of the badges of several distinguished personages of the court of Richard; the characters ascribed to them respectively by the poet, and the share which they had in the transactions leading to the deposition of that unfortunate sovereign. The date to which the poem refers, viz. 1387, is indicated by a chronogrammatical distich[6]. The poem is in Leonine verses; and the persons alluded to by particular badges are named in the margin. The following are the principal actors in the scenes which the poet describes:

"King Richard, under his cognizance of the SUN.
Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, as the SWAN.
Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, as the HORSE.
Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, as the BEAR.
Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, and Earl Marshal, as the CROWNED FEATHER.
Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, as the CRESCENT.
Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Duke of Ireland, as the BOAR."

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[1] "A°. xvij. Ric. II. Livrez a Richard Dancastre p^r. un coler a luy done p^r. Monsr. le conte de Derby p^r. cause d'une autre coler done p^r. mondit S^r. a un esquier John Gower—vynt sys sold oyt deniers. De p^r. Hugh Watton Chamburien au Conte de Derby." See *Retrospective Review*, N. S. vol. ii. p. 117.

[2] Menestrier de la Chevalerie, p. 44.

[3] Gent. Mag. vol. 85. 109.

[4] Address to the Earl of Pembroke, in his register of the Order of the Garter, vol. I.

[5] The Bodleian Library contains a fine copy, and there are two copies on parchment in the British Museum. Harl. No. 6291, and Bibl. Cotton. Tib. A. 4.

[6] "Tolle caput Mundi C. ter et sex lustra fer illi
Et decies quinque cum septem post superadde."

Some sarcastic English verses, said to have been written by an adherent of the house of Lancaster, in 1399, in which various persons are designated in a similar manner, will be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 90. As few of our readers trouble themselves with the collection of rubbish published in the volumes bearing that title, we shall shortly transfer these verses to our pages, for they are too curious to be allowed to remain unnoticed.

And against the following lines:

> "Qui gerit S tandem turmam comitatur eundem
> Nobilis ille quidem probus et juvenis fuit idem
> Sic quasi de cælis interfuit ille fidelis—"

the poet has placed in the margin: "*Strenuissimus comes Derbeie,*" who was then about twenty years old.

This affords indisputable proof that the letter S, whatever meaning may have been attached to it, was a favourite sign or cognizance of Henry at that date; and that it continued to hold a high place in his estimation in subsequent years, will appear from the following extracts from Wardrobe Accounts in the Office of the duchy of Lancaster:

"A°. 15 Ric II. [1391-2] pro j coler auri fact. pro domino Henrico Lancastrie, Com. Derb. cum xvii. literis de S, ad modum plumarum cum rotulis et scripturis in eisdem cum signo in torect. eiusdem."

"A°. 20 Ric. II. [1396-7] pro ponder. argenti unius Colerii facti cum Esses rollati et dati Roberto de Waterton eo quod dominus [Hen. Com. Derb.] dederat colerium ipsius Roberti *alio armigero,*" &c.

But the meaning of the letter S may be presumed to be explained as referring to the initial letter of the word Souvenez, by another warrant, in the same custody, of which the following is an extract.

——— "pro pondere unius Colerii facti cum Esses de Floribus de Soveigne vous de moy penden. et amaill. ponderis viij unc."

Comput. Garderobe Henr. de Lancastria. Com. Derby, de a°. 20 Ric. II.

It would be desirable to examine minutely some of the Collars represented on figures upon ancient tombs, such as those at Methley, Harwood, Tanfield, and Snaith, in Yorkshire; Little Dunmow, in Essex; Bakewell, in Derbyshire; Eastbourne, in Sussex, and other places, with a view to describe the ornament stated to be interposed between the SS. Mr. Gough thought the ornament in question at Harwood resembled a pomegranate.

Whether the flower which, in 1397, was known by the appellation of "*souvenez vous de moi,*" can be identified with the *teucrium chamæpitys*, or ground pine, which, Gerard states, is called, in German, "*vergiss mein nicht,*" and by us "*forget me not;*" or with the *myosotis scorpioides*, or the *veronica chamædrys*, the flower to which the Germans, as well as our own botanists, now give that appellation, is a point which may deserve further investigation.

The splendid tomb of Henry IV. and of his consort Joan of

Navarre[1], in Canterbury Cathedral, is profusely adorned with this favourite device of that monarch. The figure of the queen has a Collar of S around the neck. In the roof of the canopy are three shields: the one containing the arms of the king impaling Evreux and Navarre; the second, those of the king alone; the third, those of the queen singly; each shield being encircled by a collar formed of twenty-three letters of S. The roof is intersected by diagonal lines formed apparently of the words "*Soverayne*," and "*A temperance*," divided by the king's badge of the crowned eagle, and that of the gennet appertaining to the house of Evreux; and the spaces between the lines are diapered *with small sprigs terminating in flowers*. The word *Soverayne* is also said to be repeated six times on the cornice of the canopy. *A temperance* was the motto of the illustrious family of the queen; but it does not elsewhere appear that the word *Soverayne* was in use, as a motto or device, by Henry. In the absence of any more probable solution of the enigma, may it not be conjectured that the word *souvenez*, which we find was written *Soveigne* in a public record, may have been transformed into *Soverayne* by a blunder of the painter, or read incorrectly by those who have described the decorations of the monument?

The collar of S appears to have been distributed, on various occasions, by Henry V. and Henry VI. According to Juvenal des Ursins, it was bestowed as a reward by the former upon several individuals who had been of his company at Agincourt[2]. Hall, in his Chronicle[3], says, that the mayor and aldermen of London wore "rich collars" when they proceeded to Blackheath in order to welcome the king's return from his victorious expedition. Walsingham informs us, that when the Emperor Sigismund received the Order of the Garter at Windsor, in 1416, from the hands of Henry V., that monarch decorated him, at the same time, with the collar *of his livery*, which the emperor ever afterwards wore in public and private[4]. In a letter from one Forester to Henry V., published by Rymer[5], he

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[1] See Sandford, Gough, Dart, Willement, and Blore, for engravings and descriptions of this splendid tomb.

[2] "Et avec ce il leur accorda que tous ceux de sa compagnée qui n'estoient nobles il les annobliroit, et leur en donnoient lettres, et vouloit que dès lors ils joüyssent de telles franchises comme les nobles d'Angleterre. *Et afin qu'on les cognust il leur donna congé de porter un collier semé de lettres S de son ordre.*"—*Histoire du Roy Charles VI.* fol. 1653. p. 316.

[3] Page 72.

[4] "— signumque regale imposuit collo suo, quod imperator ex post semper congessit in omni conventu publico et privato." Wals. Ypod. Neustriæ, p. 192, and his History, p. 441.

[5] Fœdera, ix. 434; ibid. p. 440, 441.

says, "The emperor, on the 27th January [1416-17], entride the cite of Constaunce with the lyvere of the coler about his necke, a glad syghte to alle your lyge men to see"——"moreover lyketh yow to wyte that on Sonaday the last day of Januarie your brother the Kyng of Rome werede the gowne of the garterez with your coler opynly at the hye messe." The same fact is averred also in a letter to the bishop of Durham, to be found in the Fœdera.

Lobineau, in his "Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne[1]," gives an extract from the accounts of the Duke of Brittany, between 1414 and 1424, in which there is mention of a collar of SS of the order [livery] of the King of England, containing twenty-six letters of S enamelled with the motto "A MA VIE."

Both Henry V. and VI. appear to have revived the use of the symbol of the broom-cods. Amongst the jewels of the former, in the copious inventory on the parliament roll, many collars are mentioned, and some formed of broom-cods; and the latter monarch used such a collar alternated with the letter S. There is extant a writ of privy seal, dated 26th July, in the 4th of his reign, ordering payment, inter alia, to "Johan Palyng, orfevre, de Londres, pour un coler d'or fait de S et Bromecoddes, pour nous mesmes, poisant deux unces et demy et trois deniers d'or."

This king also, in the twelfth year of his reign, sent six gold, twenty-four silver-gilt, and sixty silver collars *of his livery* to the Emperor Sigismund, in order that he might deliver the same to the inhabitants of Basle, and to other knights and esquires, according to the discretion of the said emperor and of the king's ambassadors there resident[2]; and, in the same year, there was a further supply of eighty collars of gold, silver-gilt, and silver, for the emperor's distribution amongst counts, barons, knights, and esquires of his realms[3].

On the accession of Edward IV. the WHITE ROSE was substituted for the letter S, in the collar of the king's livery.

The figure of Sir Robert Harcourt, Knight of the Garter, on his tomb at Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, is represented as adorned with a collar of roses, from which there is pendent a WHITE LION, the badge of Edward IV. as Earl of March. A collar of roses also encircles the neck of the effigy of James, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1463[4], in Berkeley church.

The Lancastrian device again became general upon the restoration of the princes of that house to the regal power. There are

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[1] Page 921.
[2] Warrant of privy seal, 14 Apr. 12 Hen. VI. and Cottonian MSS. Cleopatra, F. iv.
[3] Another, dated 19 Dec. 12 Hen. VI.
[4] Gough's Sep. Mon. p. 114.

several warrants for the delivery of collars of the king's livery to foreign ambassadors during the reign of Henry VII., by whom the PORTCULLIS was introduced alternately with the letter S; and collars in that form, with a rose pendent, were then issued to the two chief justices and the chief baron, and have ever since been worn by their successors in those high offices.

By the statute for reformation of excess in apparel, 24 Henry VIII., the wearing of a collar of gold, "named a collar of S," was restricted to the degree of a knight. In the following year Sir Stephen Pecocke, mayor of London, and such of the aldermen as were knights, appeared on several occasions of ceremony in collars of SS[1]. The collar now worn by the city chief magistrate, composed of SS., roses, knots, and portcullises, was presented to the corporation by Sir John Allyn, and first worn by Sir William Laxton in 1544[2].

The wills of Henry VII. and VIII. are sealed with a signet on which are the royal arms, surrounded by a collar of S, and a rose, between two portcullises, pendent therefrom.

Since the accession of Elizabeth, no mention has been discovered of the issue of collars of the royal livery, excepting those which are still provided by the lord chamberlain for the judges, the kings and heralds of arms, and certain officers of the royal household.

STANDARDS.

IN the article on "the BANNERS used in the English army," some observations were made on STANDARDS[1], about which very little is known. It is, therefore, with much satisfaction that we are enabled to lay before our readers the blazoning, from contemporary manuscripts, of those which were borne by many of the principal individuals in this country in the reigns of Edward the Fourth and Henry the Eighth.

It is stated in the paper referred to, that Standards "had in the chief the cross of St. George, were slitte at the end, and contained the crest or supporter, with the poesy, worde, and device of the owner." The length of them varied according to the rank of the bearer: the king's was from eight to nine yards in length; that of a duke seven yards; a marquess's six yards and a half; an earl's six yards; a viscount's five yards and a half; a baron's five yards; a banneret's four yards and a half; and a knight's four yards. They were registered by the heralds,

[1] Hall, pp. 798. 800. 805.
[2] Maitland's London.
[3] N. S. vol. i. pp. 111. 113, 114, 115.

and the charges on them were selected and authorized by the Officers of Arms. The original grant of a Standard to Giffard of Chillington is still preserved; and docquets of the grant of a Guydon to Hugh Vaughan, Esq. 1491, and of a Standard to Sir Hugh Vaughan, Knt., are recorded in the College of Arms[1]. It is not a little singular, that though ancient families are well acquainted with the arms of their ancestors, they are entirely ignorant of the bearings placed on the Standards under which they fought in war. The papers which will be inserted on the subject will fortunately supply this information in numerous instances; and hence, whilst they add to the stores of the lover of Heraldry, they cannot fail to interest the descendants of those persons who are thus honourably commemorated.

Nor are the first two articles destitute of value for historical purposes, as they present authentic notices of the number, expenses, regulations, and progress of two armies which invaded France, the one in 1474, and the other in 1513.

The expedition into France under Edward the Fourth is noticed by Chroniclers, from whom it appears that it consisted of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers; that it was admirably equipped; and that Edward landed with it at Calais, in July, 1474. The amicable result of the expedition is well known; and Edward returned to London in the September following. Of Henry the Eighth's invasion, in 1513, Hall[2] has given a very particular account, and his list of the chief persons who accompanied the king agrees exactly with the ensuing article; but the latter supplies a few facts relative to the march and success of the English army, which render it of some historical value.

An allusion to Standards, in a letter from Queen Katherine of Arragon to Thomas, afterwards Cardinal, Wolsey, dated at Richmond, 13th August, 1513, whilst the King was in France with that expedition, is so intimately connected with this subject, that it is desirable the passage should be inserted. Speaking of a war with the Scots, her Majesty says, "My hert is veray good to it, and I am horrible besy with making *standerds*, banners, and bagies"[3] [badges.]

The blazon of the Standards of Edward III., Richard II., Henry V., Edward IV., Henry VII., and Henry VIII., have been taken from a beautifully illuminated MS. in the College of Arms, containing paintings of the standards of a great many persons in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

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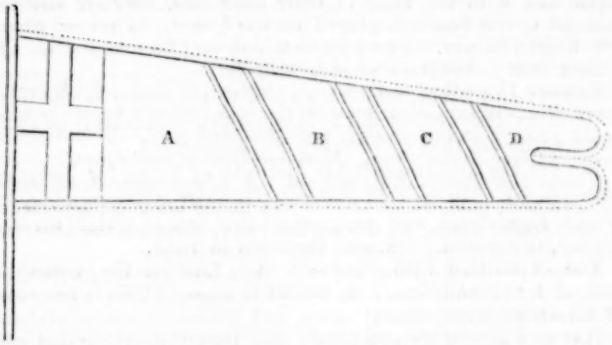
[1] The Guydon contains Hugh Vaughan's crest, viz. a man habited and holding a sword, but placed in the Guydon longitudinally, as if swimming, sword in hand. The Standard contains one of Sir Hugh's *Supporters* in A. and his crest, a fish's head with a pike in the mouth, is four times repeated, in B and C.

[2] Ed. 1809, p. 537. [3] Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, v. i. p. 83.

The annexed wood-cut will best explain the parts of the Standard referred to in the blazon by the letters A. B. C. D, and the engraving of one of the Standards of Henry the Seventh gives a sufficient idea of the way in which the charges occurred. The motto was placed on the bends, between the spaces marked by the letters in the annexed wood-cut.



The ground was sometimes of one colour, but more generally of two; if of two, the division was always into longitudinal stripes, sometimes two, sometimes four in number. In the following blazon, after the name of the person whose Standard is described, the first thing noticed is the colour or colours, the uppermost, where there are two, being uniformly first mentioned; and unless otherwise especially stated, the Standard is to be understood as consisting of two stripes only. Then follow the charges, the capital letters A, B, C, D, designating the respective divisions of the Standard, and which are referred to by similar letters in the wood-cut above.

STANDARDS.

[From the MS. marked I. 2. in the College of Arms.]

Edward III.—Blue and red. A, the Lion of England imperially crowned; in chief, a coronet of crosses patee and fleurs de lis, between two clouds irradiated; in base, a cloud between two coronets. B, in chief a coronet, in base an irradiated cloud. C, in dexter chief and sinister base an irradiated cloud, in sinister chief and dexter base a coronet, as before. Motto—Dieu et mon droyt.

Richard II.—White and green. A, a Hart couchant, argent, armed, unguled, ducally collared, and chained or, between four suns in splendour. B, two suns. C, four suns. Motto—Dieu et mon droyt.

Henry the V., by the House of Herforth.—White and blue. A, a Swan, wings elevated and displayed argent, beak gules, legs sable, ducally gorged and chained or, with three roots of trees, one

in dexter chief and two in base, or. B, two similar roots. C, five similar roots, three in chief and two in base. Motto—Dieu et mon droyt.

HENRY THE V., for the House of Lancaster.—White and blue. A, a red Rose, barbed, vert, seeded gold. On B and C, nothing. Motto—Dieu et mon droyt.

A third standard.—White and blue. A, an Ibex statant, argent, armed, maned, tufted, ducally gorged, and chain reflexed over the back, gold, with four red roses. B, two red roses. C, five red roses; two on the white, as many on the blue, and the fifth over the division of the colours. Motto—Dieu et mon droit.

EDWARD IV.—Blue and red. A, the Lion of England, imperially crowned between three red roses on the blue, and as many white roses on the red, all barbed, seeded, and irradiated gold. B, two similar roses. C, four similar roses. Motto—"Dieu et mon droyt."

A second standard.—Blue and red. A, a large white Rose, seeded and irradiated gold, with a smaller rose in the lower sinister corner. B, two similar roses. C, five similar roses; three on the blue, and two on the red stripe. Motto—Dieu et mon droyt.

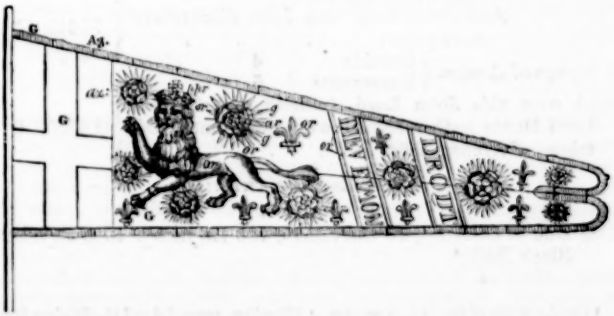
A third standard.—Blue and red. A, a Lion passant gardant, argent, with five white roses. B, two white roses. C, five white roses. Motto—Dieu et mon droyt.

HENRY VII.—White and green. A, a Dragon gules; in chief, two red, and in base three white, roses. B, one red and one white rose. C, three red and two white roses. Motto—Dieu et mon droit.

A second standard.—Similar, excepting that the dragon is vomiting flames, and that the other part is semée of flames, instead of roses.

A third standard.—White and green. A, a Greyhound statant, argent, between four red roses. B, two red roses. C, five red roses, three and two.

A fourth standard.—Blue and red. A, the Lion of England imperially crowned. The whole banner semée of roses (the white engrafted on the red), irradiated, and fleurs de lis irregularly dispersed. Motto—Dieu et mon droit.



A fifth standard.—White and green. A, a Greyhound courant, argent, collared gules. The whole banner semée of roses slipped (the white engrafted on the red), portcullises, and fleurs de lis, or.

HENRY VIII.—White and green. A, a Dragon. The whole banner semée of roses slipped (the white rose engrafted on the red), fleurs de lis, or, and flames of fire, without any apparent regularity of arrangement.

[From the MS. marked 2nd M 16, in the College of Arms[1].]

A declaracion aswell of Capiteignes theire Speires and Archers reteigned wyth our Sov'eigne Lord Kyng Edward the 4th[2] in his servise of Guerre into his Duchie of Normandye and his Realme of Fraunce as of theire wages for the second quarter paid by John Sorell and John Fitzherberd tellers of the Kings mony in his Receyt at Canterbury the moneth of Jun the 15 yere of the Reigne of our said Sov'eigne Lord Kyng Edward the iiij[t]. [1475] that is to sey,

5 Dukes.	Speres . .	334.	.	£8728	8 4.
	Archers . .	2802.			
6 Earles.	Speres . .	186.	.	3599	3 0.
	Archers . .	1004.			
13 Barons.	Speres . .	198.	.	5430	8 6.
	Archers . .	2347.			
12 Banneretts.	Speres . .	94.	.	2886	19 6.
	Archers . .	833.			
18 Knyghts.	Speres . .	93.	.	2583	18 6.
	Archers . .	840.			
173 Squiers and Gentilmen.	Speres . .	293.	.	7308	0 9.
	Archers . .	840.			
Gonners, Fletchers, Bowyers, & others.	Artificers & others	564.	.	1378	10 4.
Some Total.	Speres . .	1198.	11457.	32015	13 10.
	Archers . .	9695.			
	Artificers & others	564.			
Tresorer.—John Elryngton, Tresorer of the Kings Guerres hath payed . .				1515	16 8.
And John Sorell and John Fitzherberd have payed . . .				30419	17 2.
4 Kyngs of Armes.	Heralds	4			
	Pursyvants	5			
And over this John Lord Audeley and Galliard Lord Duras hath reteyned with them unto Breteigne of Archers 2000 . . .				£4550	0 0.

KYNG EDWARD THE IIIJ[th].

At 13[s]. 4[d].

The Duc of Clarence, 10 Chevaliers, 100 La[nces]. 1000 A[rchers]. Black Bulle[3].

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[1] On the cover of the MS. is written "Miscellan. temp. Edw. III. Willam Harvey alias Northrey King of Arms."

[2] The numbers in the MS. are expressed by Roman numerals.

[3] In some instances, rude outlines of these badges are placed in the margin, and from

The Duc of Gloucester, 10 Chevaliers, 100 L. 1000 A. Whitt Bore.
The Duc of Norffolke, 2 Chevaliers, 40 L. 300 A. Whytt Lyon [rampant].
The Duc of Suffolke, 2 Ch'lrs. 40 L. 300 A. Lyon of Gold [rampant], the kew forched.
The Duc of Bokyngham, 4 Ch'lrs. 40 L. 400 A. The Stafford's knot.

At 10^{li}.

The Marquis of Dorssett.

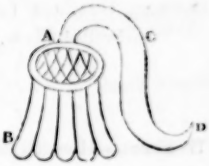
At 6^{li}. 8^{d}.

Th'Erll of Northumberland, 10 Chevaliers, 40 L. 200 A. Cressant silver.
Th'Erll of Rivers, 2 Chevaliers, 40 L. 200 A. Scallup silver.
Th'Erll of Penbrok, 40 L. 200 A. Drewhgt [draught] horse gold.
Th'Erll of Douglas, 4 L. 40 A. Hart [heart], gulis
Th'Erll of Ormonde, 2 L. 10 A. Peyr gryphongs[1].

At 4^{li}. Barons.

The Lord Hastyngs, 40 L. 300 A. Blake Boull, hed rasyd, hornys and pys[2], and bout the neke a crowne, gold.
The Lord Stanley, 40 L. 300 A. Gryppe lege rasyd gold[3].
The Lord Scroppe, 20 L. 200 A. Cornyche chowe.
The Lord Howarde, 20 L. 200 A. Whytt Lyon, on his sheulder cressant azur.

The Lord Fferrers, 20 L. 200 A. Ffrenche Wyfis hood boundyn[4].



The Lord Grey Codoner[5], 10 L.—A. Tresse passant thorough crowne gold wythin the compasse of the tresse a gre[6] silver.
The Lord Grey Rythyn[7], 20 L. — A. Black ragyd staffe.

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which two wood-cuts have been copied. They appear to have been drawn long after the list was compiled.

[1] A male griffin.

[2] i. e. Pied—that is, the head was black, pied gold.

[3] The Stanley badge has been called an Eagle's claw, in relation to the crest.

[4] The part reticulated, and marked A, went on the head; B was a sort of plaited drapery, or veil, that half covered the face; and C was a lappet which hung down behind. When this hood was removed from the head, the end of the lappet, marked D, was tucked into the girdle, and the hood thrown over the shoulder; a practice both of men and women, retained by the former in some state dresses as late as the time of James 1st, as the portraits of Lord Burleigh and his son sufficiently prove. For examples of the female hood of the period, see Strutt's Dresses and Habits, plates cvii, cxvii, and cxxv.

[5] Lord Grey of Codnor.

[6] i. e. A gray, a badger. See vol. i. p. 307, under "Badger."

[7] Lord Grey of Ruthin.

The Lord Fitzwaren, 10 L. 50 A. Bousers knott.
The Lord Cobham, 5 L. 50 A. The Blake Saryn [Saracen's] hedde.
The Lord Lysle, 5 L. 50 A. Lyon silver sheuyng holeface, crownyd gold, enarmede azur.
The Lord Clynton. A mulet gold.
The Lord Boyd, 2 L. 20 A. An anker gold.

BANERETTS.

Sr John Asteley, 2 L. 12 A. [No cognizance is mentioned, but in the margin is sketched a cinquefoil Ermine, which is the arms of the Astley family.]
Sr William Aparre [Ap Arry] 16 L. 140 A. Maydinhed.
Sr Thomas Montgomerye, 10 L. 100 A. [No cognizance mentioned, but in the margin is sketched a fleur de lys gules.]
Sr Thomas Borough, 16 L. . . . A. The Armure of an erme and the gauntelot.
Sr Rauf Hastynges, 8 L. 100 A. Shafront silver, with 3 Eystrygs ffedyrs.
Sr John Ffenys, 4 L. 40 A. Martyn sylver.
Sr Willm Stanley, 2 L. 20 A. Hart hede silver.
Sr Robert Tailbosse of Kyme, 12 L. 80 A. The White Boull.

Sr John Radeclyff, Ffitzwater, 8 L. 10 A. Garbralle[1] silver.

Sr Thomas Howard, 8 L. 40 A. Salet silver.

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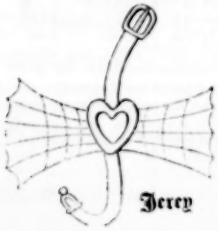
[1] Although assisted by the contemporary sketch in the text, it would be difficult to describe what a Gerbralle was, were it not for the painting of Lord Fitz Walter's standard, *temp.* Hen. VIII. in the MS. in the College of Arms, which has been referred to, and the description of it in a subsequent page, where he is said to have borne on his standard, an *elbow gard*; whence it appears that it was the armour for the elbow. The annexed wood-cut represents the manner in which it is drawn on Lord Fitz Walter's banner: the word "Jerey" was probably the motto of Sir John Radcliff.



Sr Humphry Talbot, 10 L. 100 A. Renynghonde silver, on shoulder a mollet.
Sr Thomas Grey, 8 L. 40 A. Skalyng lader silver.
Sr John Arundel, 2 L. 20 A. An Akkorn.
Sr Richard Dunstalle, 10 L. 100 A. The Whytt Coke.

KNIGHTS.

Sr James Haryngton, 12 L. 100 A. Lyon p'ts hed silver.
Sr Robert Chamberleyne, 12 L. 100 A. Ffryrs gerdyll azur.
Sr William Norys, 12 L. 100 A. Blake Ravyn hede rasyd.
Sr John Harlewyn, 3 L. 50 A. Blake Sarezyn hede cope.
Sr John Fferrers, 2 L. 15 A. A Maskell Gold.
Sr John Maleverer, 3 L. 30 A. Whytt Grehound [c]urant.
Sr Laurence Raynford, 12 L. 60 A.
Sr Nycholas Langford, 8 L. 60 A. 2 Whynggs silver.
Sr John Savage, 3 L. 30 A. Unycorne hede rasyd silver.
Sr James Radclyffe, 1 L. 12 A.
Sr William Trussell, 8 L. 80 A. Blake As hede, rasyd, & boute the the nek croune gold.
Sr Richard Brandon, 1 L. A Lyon hede rasyd gold.
Sr Richard Corbett, 3 L.
Sr John Cooke, 8 L.
Sr Simond Munford. Fleur de lys gulys.
Mr Dodeley Dene of the Kyngs Chapell, at 4^s ℔ jo. A grat [grate, or gridiron] silver.

Mr Pierse Courteney. A Saint Anthony cross azur
Mr John Gounthrope. A Sawtier gold; on the Sawtier a Lion hede rasyd silver . . . .
Mr Gartier [Smith]. A brode arrowe hede blake armyned . . . . . } at 10^s ℔ jo.

M^r of the Ordnaunce Pyks, viz. John Sturgyn, . . at 6^s 8^d ℔ jo.
M^r of the Kings Tentts Rychard Garnett . . at 3^s 4^d ℔ jo.
Mr Scureys . . . . . at 12^d ℔ jo.
A Lance . . . . . at 18^d ℔ jo.
Clarensceux, Noroy, Marche . . . . . at 28^d ℔ jo.
Heralds Sergeaunts at Armes . . . . . at 24^d ℔ jo.
Pursyvantz . . . . . at 18^d ℔ jo.
Willm. Warde and Edmond Gregory . . at 12^d ℔ jo.
Comptroller of the Ordinaunce William Roose . . at 4^d ℔ jo.
The Clerke of the Ordinaunce Thomas Bonys . at 2½^d ℔ jo.

It^m. Bouyers 8. It^m. Carpenters 19.
It^m. Masons 24. It^m. Smiths 32.
It^m. Sawyers. It^m. Plumbers.
It^m. Turners. It^m. Horsharnesmakers.
It^m. Coupers It^m. Carters.

It^m.—All baner berrers and standard berrers to have doble wags aftyr as they are of aveour or degree.

Mem.—The Constable to delyver the Wache Worde to the Kyng whych dowen he shall delyver hyt to the Marschall, the Marschall to advertyse the Arme.

M^d.—A Fyer to be made befor the Kyngs Gret Pavelyon or Tent where the Wache for that Nyght furst shall resort unto, aswell men of Arme as Archers, &c.

When the Kyng or any other Prynce furst displeyth theyr Baners yt wode be doone by sadde and discreet auncyent counceillours, some of theym hooryd of age, schewyng the lawfull cawse why, to th'entent that there shuld be founde no wyldfulnes in the said Prince, but thatt he doeth hit upon a just cawse and quarrell; wiche doone to comaunde the Chief Heraulde to unrolle hit, and the Prince to make hym Knyght thatt berrith the sayd baniere yf he be not before, and comaunde hym to hold fast and to ryde forthe in the name of God.

[From the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra, C. v. fol. 59—64.]

HERAFTER FLOYON THE NAMES OF THE CAPTAYNS AND PETY-CAPTAYNS WYTH THE BAGGES IN THEIR STANDERTS OF THE AREMY AND VANTGARD OF THE KYNG'S LEFFTENAUNT ENTERYNG IN TO FRANCE THE XVJ^th DAY OF JUNE IN THE Vth YER OF THE REIGNE OF KYNGE HENRY THE VIIJ^t [1513].

George Erle of Shrovesbury the Kyngs Leftenaunt of hys vant gard, bayryth in hys Standert goulls and sabull a Talbot, sylver, passant, and shaffrons gold.

Thomas Erle of Derby bayryth goulles a Eygelle gold, wyth swedylled chyld in the fette, and Eygells fett.

The Lord of Sent Johns [1] bayryth gold halff a Lyon sabull, gotted gold, rampyng out of a wrayth goulls and sabull, wyth a platte betwen hys fette, voydded, the same platte goulls per palle.

The Lord Fitz Water bayryth a Babyon with a hatte upon hys hed, and a bull's hed sabull rassed, the hornes sylver, wyth a crown and a cheyn at hyt, about hys nek sylver, and a elbow gard and the sonne, gold.

The Lord Hastyngs bayryth blew and bloakett [2], a Bulls hed sabull, rassed wyth a crown about his nek gold, and iij sykells and garbes gold.

The Lord Cobam bayryth a Dolfyns hed sabull, wyth a wrayth about the same sylver and sabull. Made Knyght at Torney.

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[1] "Lorde Decowrey Prior of St. Johns." Hall's Chronicle, p. 537.

[2] Upon this word Archdeacon Nares has made the following remark:

"Blonckct, *adj.*, Gray. Used by Spenser as an epithet for liveries or coats, and explained in the original notes, 'gray coats.' I believe it meant at first *whitish*, for I find in Cole's Dictionary, 'a blanquet pear, Pyrum subalbidum.' If so, it is from the French *blanc*. Kersey also has *blankers*, white garments.

'Our *blonket* liveries bene all to sadde
For thilk same season, when all is ycladde
With plesaunce.'

Shep. Kal. May, v. 5.

I have not met with the word elsewhere."

Syr Ryse ap Thomas, with iij. M[l] Walsh men in his retenue, baryth sylver a Ravun sabull. Sir John Oghan, in the same retenue, bayryth a Cokatryce goulls, powderd oen [query] and martletes gold.

Shropshyr. Banerett.—Sir Thomas Cornwell, Baron of Burfford, bayryth sylver a Lyon goulles, powderyd wyth bessaunts, and a crown apon his hed gold, and Cornish choghes. Made Banerett at thys tyme; and Robert Pole his Pety Captayn.

Staff. Banerett.—Sir John Aston bayryth goulls a Bulls hed gold, couped. Made Banerett at thys tyme; and Thomas Kynersley his Pety Captayn.

Notyng. Banerett.—Syr William Poynt bayryth goulls and sylver a Lyon passaunt sabull, wyth a synkfoyll goulls perced, in hys fotte, and Lyons fette wyth synkfoylls in the same, goulls, perced. Made Banerett at thys tyme; and Roger Poynt hys Pety Captayn.

Derby. Banerett.—Sir Henry Savcheverell bayryth goulls a gett Buk[1] sylver. Made Banerett at thys tyme; and John Bradburn hys Pety Captayn.

Shrop. Banerett.—Sir Thomas Leyhton bayryth sylver a Serpent sabull with hys wyngs displeyd, and Bores hedds couped sabull. Made Banerett at thys tyme.

Shrop. Banerett.—Sir Thomas Blont bayryth sylver a Lyon passant goulls, the tayll reversed, wyth a crown apon his hed gold, and sapits[2] in the sonne. Made Banerett at thys tyme; and Edward Blount his sonne his Pety Captayn.

Leycest.—Sir John Dygbe Marshall of the Vantgard bayryth a Ostrych sylver, wyth a molett for a difference assur.

Middlesex.—Sir Samson Norton Master of the Ordinance bayryth a Serpent goulls powderd wyth platts, and iij swards trianguller.

Leycest.—Sir Richard Savcheverell Tresorer of the seid Vauntgard, bayryth a gott[1] Buk sylver apon a wrayth gold and golls. Made Knyght at Torney.

Staff.—Sir John Draycott bayryth gold a Serpents hed rassed goulls; and Richard Draycott his brodyr hys Pety Captayn.

Staff.—Sir Lewes Bagott bayryth goulls a gott Bukes[1] hed sylver cowped, apon a wrayth, and a bar apon his nek gold; and Robert Cawardyn his Pety Captayn.

Notyng.—Syr Thomas Sutton bayryth a Fox hed goulls rassed; and Rolynd Revell hys Pety Captayn.

Notyng.—Syr John Dunham bayryth vert a Merteron[3] gold apon a wrayth betwen ij spayrs goulls; and Charles Barnbe his Pety Captayn.

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[1] This word, which is also written "gott," does not occur in either of the numerous glossaries which have been consulted. It probably meant a male buck.

[2] The Crest of Blount is an armed leg in the Sun; but what is meant by "sapits" has not been ascertained.

[3] Query?

Shropshyr.—JOHN DOD bayryth sylver a Bleu bud or a Heydod [1], assur. John Maynwaryng hys Pety Captayn.

Notyng.—RIC. SAVAGE bayryth goulls a Unicornes hed sylver with a difference. Thomas Leyke baylle of Chesterfeld his Pety Captayn.

Notyng.—SYR RIC. BASSETT bayryth a Borres hed sylver couped; and John Wykersley hys Pety Captayn. The seid Sir Richard made Knyght at Lylle.

Derb.—ROBERT DARLEY bayryth goulls halff a Buk gold and sylver per pale, the hornes contercolerd de l'une et l'auter, iij barrs apon his nek sabull unde or wave, issant owt of a wrayth goulls and sylver; and John Parker his Pety Captayn.

Derb.—NICH. FITHERBERD bayryth goulls and vert a hand with a Gantlett gryphon sylver stondyng per pale; and John Irton hys Pety Captayn.

Staff.—RIC. ASTLEY bayryth purpull a Crown gold and a bush of ostrych fythurs in the same crown goulls, and synkfoylls hermen [ermine] perced with bessantes; and John Chetwen hys Pety Captayn.

Derb.—SIR JOHN LEYK bayryth sylver a Peycokes tayll; and Thomas Leyk hys brodyr Pety Captayn. The seid Sir John mad Knyght at Lylle.

Worcester.—HOMFFRAY RYDYNG bayryth assur a Serpent sylver, and Serpent hedes sylver; and Bykley his Pety Captayn.

Chestershyr.—JOHN PESSALL bayryth sabull a Bayr sylver yssant out of a wrayth sabull and goulls, wyth a crown abowt his nek goulls; and William Egerton hys Pety Captayn.

Shrop.—JOHN COTTES bayryth sylver a Coke goulls his hakell and his tayll gold; and Ric. Cresset his Pety Captayn.

Shrop.—WILLIAM CHORLTON bayryth a Lyons hed, the face holle, goulls, iij labells gold apon the same under the mouth; and William Chorlton hys Pety Captayn.

Shrop.—SYR JOHN MAYNWARYNG of Eghtfeld bayryth gold a Asse hed haltered sabull and a cressent apon the same; and Rondell Maynwaryng his [query, son] his Pety Captayn. The seid Sir John mad Knyght at Lylle.

Shrop.—JOHN BLOUNT bayryth sylver a Lyon passant goulls, the tayll reverssed, with a crown apon his hed gold, and a cressent apon his shulder for a difference; and Ric. Laycon his Pety Captayn.

Derb.—SIR THOMAS COKYN bayryth sylver a Coke goulls; and Robert Cokayn his Pety Captayn. The seid Sir Thomas [mad] Knyght at Lyll.

Derb.—SIR WILLIAM GRESLEY bayryth assur a Lyon sylver passant, and gourds gold. John Gresley his Pety Captayn. The seid Sir William made Knyght at Lyll.

SYR GYLBERT TALBOT the yonger, bayryth goulls and sabull a Talbot passant silver, with a cressent apon his shulder for a difference; and watteryng pottes sylver. Homffray Butler his Pety Captayn. The seid Sir Gylbert made Knyght at Lyll.

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[1] Query, a Hedge-hog?

Derb.—Robert Lynaker bayryth gold a Greundes[1] hed sylver and sabull quartered, the eyse goulls, wyth iiij scalops countercolerd apon the same hed; and George Palmer his Pety Captayn.

Derb.—Thomas Twyfford bayryth sylver a Lyon rampyng sabull with a flourdelys apon his shulder sylver. Roger Rolleston his Pety Captayn.

Derb.—Sir John Sowch of Codnour bayryth goulls a Faucon 'splayd syttyng apon a stok ragged gold, and a cressent assur apon the faucon, and a Asse hed goulls rassed and haltered, and a Grey in a tresse gold[2]. Dave Sowch brodyr hys Pety Captayne. The seid Sir John made Knyght at Lyll.

Derb.—Arthur Eyr bayryth vert a Leg or a botte sylver and goulls partie per pale, with a spur apon the helle gold; and Thomas Eyr his brodyr his Pety Captayn.

Cambryg.—John More bayryth goulls halff a Lyon gold issant owt of a wrayth wyth a bar daunce upon his nek sabull; and Edmund Everyngham his Pety Captayn.

Derb.—Rauff Leych bayryth goulls a hand holdyng a Serpent, and the serpent wrython about the hand; and Ric. Leych his Pety Captayn.

Staff.—Ric. Myners and John Wyscott joyntly bayren Sir John Aston' Stondert ut supra.

Staff.—William Chetwen bayryth goulls a gott Bukes hed sylver rassed apon a wrayth; and Phylypp Chetwen his brodyr his Pety Captayn.

Staff.—Edward Lyttylton bayryth sylver a Hertes hed sabull, and a horne wyth the bawdryk sabull hunggen in the same Hertes hed; and Edmund Acton his Pety Captayn.

Walsh.—Merydith ap Mathew bayryth silver iij Borres hedes coupped sabull. His Son his Pety Captayn.

Notyng.—Sir Ric. Bossom bayryth goulls a Skwyrrel syttyng apon a wrayth gold; and Robert Knyston baylle of Ashburn his Pety Captayn. The seid Sir Ric. made Knyght at Lyll.

Derb.—John Curson of Croksall bayryth a Cokatrice displayd goulls with a hed in his tayll, his fette and his wattelles assur. Edward Cumburford his Pety Captayn.

Chestershyr.—Thomas Bulkley bayreth sabull a Bulles hed cowped sylver; and Rondyll More his Pety Captayn.

Hereford.—Sir Edward Cropte bayreth assur a Lyon passant gold the tayll reverssed, and Croftes vert. Thomas ap Guylham his Pety Captayn. The seid Sir Edward mad Knyght at Lyll.

Shrop.—Homffray Kynaston and Thomas Trentham a C men wyth owtten Standert.

Staff.—Fraunces Bradok bayreth sylver a Grehond sabull wyth a coler about his nek goulls; and Grehondes hedes sabull with a coler on the nek goulls; and Thomas Bromley his Pety Captayn.

William Vernon bar the baner of Sent George the same tyme.

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[1] Grewnd, a Greyhound. See Nare's Glossary.

[2] A Badger within a wreath of hair. See vol. i. New Series, p. 307.

John Leych bar the baner of the Armes of the seid Levtenaunt.

Thomas Rilleston bar the Standert of the Talbot and Shafrons.

The Myddell Ward of the Kynges aremy at the same tyme; the lord Herbert, lord Chamburlayn, the Kynges lefftenaunt, and in hys cumpany at the same tyme thes foloyng:

The Erle of Northumburlond; the Erle of Wylshyr; the Erle of Kaynt; the Lord Audley; the Lord Drek.

Sir Robert Dimmok, Tresorer.

Sir Randell Brurton, Marshall.

The Baron Carow M^r of the Ordynance wych was slayn at the furst cumyng to Tirwyn'.

The Baron Cursson with dyvers other Knyghts and men of worshepp undur the seid lord Chamburlen at the same tyme.

THE PROGRESS OF THE VAUNTGARD IN TO FRAUNCE A° V^to HENR. viii.

In primis from Calice the xiij^t day of Jun' to Neunham brygg. The xv^t day of Jun' entered in to Fraunce in Picarde, all the aforssayd Standertes displayd, and logged at Lullyngham. From Lullyngham to Mergysson. From Mergysson to Lysk. From Lysk to Dornham. From Dornham to Cordes. From Cordes to Tirwyn.

M^d that Mons' Pount Remy was Captayn of Tirwyn, and departed forth of Tirwyn wyth iiij M^l soudiours in his cumpany, of the wych ther was iiij C lxviij men of armes on horsbak and in complet harnes; aftur whos departur the walles of the town wer cast down in every place abowt the seid Tirwyn.

The vj^t day of Septembre' all the Kynges aremes remeved from Tyrwyn ner unto the castell of Cotteney, and so to Losenmarle: from thens to Launce ner unto Betten a walled Town, and so to Pount Avaudyn, enteryng in to Flaunders leyvyng Sent Omers Ayryth and Beten not ij mylles apon the lyft hand, wech ben walled Townes of the Archdukes. From Pountavaudyn to Seclyng: from Seclyng to Pount Abowyn, and laft Lyll ij mylles apon the lyft hand. From Pount Abovyn to Hardyn, and so to Arde j myll and dim. from Tourney. And so wer befor Tourney or the town was entered vj days; and entered into Torney the xxiij day of September wheras the Kyng and his aremes rested to the xiij^t day of October and justed. The Kyng brak xv spayrs at on aftur non apon dyvers men that justed wyth hym the same day, at the wych justes the Archduk and the Duches of Savoy with dyvers other of the nobullest of Flanders and of dyvers other cunteys wer present. The xiij^t day of October the vantgard departyd from Towrney and loged at Hardyn; and from Hardyn to Canwey: from Canwey to Iper: from Iper to Dykesmer: from Dykesmer to Fourn: from Forn by Dunkyrk; and so to Gravlyng to Calys the xxij day of Octobre.

M^d that the Emperour Maximilyan was present with the Kyng in all the Journey and departed from the Kyng at Tourney. Ther was also the lord Wallen, the lord Leny, the lord Emere, the lord Isylsteyn, and dyvers other nobull men, strangers, of dyvers contereys.

The names of the Frenshe prisoners takyn there besid Tirwyn the xvj[t] day of August in the v[t] yer of the reign of Kyng Henry the viij[t]:

The Duke of Longville wych was Captain of the C gentylmen of the French Kynges howse.
The Steward to the French Kyng and xx[t] Gent' in his charg.
The lord Clermont Vis admyrall of Fraunce leevtenaunt of the Dolphyns cumpany.
The Dolphyns standert beirer.
The Lord Fayette lieutenaunt of the Duck of Alenconys company.
The Captayn Bayart.
The Standert bayrer of Robynet Framgellys cumpany.
The Standert bayrer of the grett Squier of Fraunce.
The lord Brye.
The lord Robert of Seynt Severyn.
It' xij of the French Kynges gard.

The names of part of them that were slayn:

The lord Bushy; the grett bastard of Vaundosme; besyd dyvers other.

The Standertes that were takyn the same tyme.

The Dolphyns Standert; the Duck of Alenconys Standert; the grett Squier of Fraunce Standert; the Seneschall of Armaygaut; the Standert of the cumpany of Robynet Fraungell; the lord Busshy Standert; the Standert [of] Sir Robert de la March.

ADVERSARIA.

Breach of Privilege.—Few persons are aware of the various things which have been declared by the House of Lords a breach of privilege; but as these offences are visited with no trifling penalties, we are induced to inform such literary persons as are engaged on the memoirs of noble lords, or in editing their works, that they stand a fair chance of being brought on their knees to their lordships' bar, in reward of their lucubrations. In 1721 the House resolved, that it was a breach of privilege, "after the death of any lord of that House, in any person to print his *works*, *life*, or *last will*, without consent of his heirs, executors, administrators, or trustees!" Having no disposition to incur their lordships' displeasure, we refrain, with very becoming deference, from commenting on this resolution. It is true that there are not many peers at the present day who would venture to bring an author or publisher to the bar for this offence; but as any peer may call upon the House to act upon it, their lordships could not, we apprehend, refuse to enforce a resolution which stands upon the journals; and thus Mr. Moore and all other biographers and editors of noble lords

write with the fear of Newgate before their eyes. It would be worth while to inquire, to what period after a peer's death this resolution extends; and whether the author of the Life of Lord Clarendon, or of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, or even of Robert Fitz-Walter, marshal of the army of God in the reign of John, or the editor of the Testamenta Vetusta, as that work contains numerous *wills* of peers who lived in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, would be amenable? No such protection, we fear, is extended to our monarchs; and whilst we may write the lives of the whole list of kings from William the Conqueror to George the Third, in perfect security, a man dare not, without the chance of disgrace and imprisonment, presume to speak of a deceased baron, however virtuous or profligate his life may have been!!! No anomaly in the constitution of a civilised country ever equalled the existence of the monstrous privileges of the two houses of parliament; for, as in this instance, a man may be deprived of his liberty for an offence not only wholly unknown to the laws of the land, but which we are quite sure not two lawyers in England are aware is any offence at all. The affair is so curious in itself that we shall extract all which occurs respecting it from the journals of the House of Lords, for the benefit of authors, editors, and publishers, without any further remark than to suggest, that, for the sake of common sense, and for the reputation of the peerage itself, to say nothing of the liberty of the subject, the House ought to appoint a committee to inspect its journals, with a view of rescinding such preposterous resolutions as the one in question.

"Complaint being made to the House of so much of an advertisement inserted in the newspaper intituled, 'The Daily Journal, Monday, January 22, 1721-2, as gives notice, 'that the works of the late Right Honourable John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, in prose and verse, with his life (completed from a plan drawn up by his Grace) by Mr. Theobald, and a true copy of his last will and testament, will speedily be published, by E. Curll, over-against Catherine-street, in the Strand;'—Ordered, that the said E. Curll do attend this House to-morrow.

"Tuesday, January 23, 1721.—The House being informed 'that E. Curll attended, according to order;' he was called in; and so much of an advertisement inserted in the newspaper intituled, 'The Daily Journal, Monday, January 22, 1721-2,' as gave notice, 'that the works of the late Right Honourable John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, in prose and verse, with his life (completed from a plan drawn by his Grace) by Mr. Theobald, and a true copy of his last will and testament, will speedily be published by the said Curll;' being showed to him, he owned, 'that he caused the same to be printed; that he had not the consent of the executors or trustees of the said late duke, for publishing his said life, works, or will;' and being further examined in relation to the printing the said advertisement, he was directed to withdraw. And being accordingly withdrawn, it is resolved and declared, by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, 'that if, after the death of any lord of this House, any person presume to publish in print his works, life, or last will, without consent of his heirs, executors, administrators, or

trustees, the same is a breach of the privilege of this House.' And it being moved, 'that the same be entered upon the roll of standing orders of this House:' it is ordered, that, on Friday next, this House will take the said motion into consideration; and the lords to be summoned. Then it was agreed by the House, 'that the said Curll should be again called in, and reprimanded by the Lord Chancellor for causing the said advertisement to be printed, and forbidden to publish the book so advertised.' And the said Curll being again called in, and, on his knees, reprimanded by the Lord Chancellor accordingly, and forbidden to publish the said book, he was directed to withdraw: and being withdrawn, the House, according to order, proceeded to take into consideration the motion made the 23rd instant, for entering upon the roll of standing orders the resolution and declaration then made against publishing in print the works, life, or last will of any lord of this House. And the same being read by the clerk was, with some additions, agreed to by the House, as follows: 'Notice being taken, that the works, lives, and last wills of divers lords of this House have been frequently printed imperfectly, and published after their deaths, without the direction or consent of their heirs, executors, administrators, or trustees of such lords; it is therefore resolved and declared, by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, that if, after the death of any lord of this House, any person presume to publish in print his works, or any part of them not published in his lifetime, or his life, or last will, without consent of his heirs, executors, administrators, or trustees, the same is a breach of the privilege of this House.' Ordered, that the said resolution and declaration be entered on the roll of the standing orders of this House, and printed and published, and affixed on the doors of this House, to the end all persons that may be therein concerned may the better take notice of the same."

Eltham Palace.—The conversation which took place on this venerable ruin, in the House of Lords, a few evenings since, does honour to the Marquess of Lansdowne, Lord Darnley, and Lord Goderich; and we perceived with considerable satisfaction that there are at least three peers in the country who will exert themselves to preserve remains which ought to be secure from that ruthless spirit which would destroy all that does not at first sight appear to be *useful*, not merely because they are a beautiful specimen of the architecture of the middle ages, but because it is so intimately associated with English history. It is not surprising that persons who are destitute of *hereditary* prejudices of an historical nature in their own families, or who are both ignorant and careless of the history of their country, should evince a culpable indifference to monuments of former times, and appear anxious to destroy every thing which is dear to those whose names are identified with the most important events in the annals of England. Against this feeling the Howards, Percys, Greys, Clintons, Talbots, and Nevilles, are bound to unite: they should consider the removal of the remains of such buildings as Eltham Palace little short of an insult to their families; and if the government will not preserve them, they ought to contribute from their own purses to their conservation.

It would, we know, be idle to talk to men who know not the names of their own grandfathers, about the value of historical associations; but as it is a matter of policy to increase the respect of the lower orders for the aristocracy, is it, we ask, wise to remove the few architectural remains which involuntarily excite respect for such members of the peerage as derive their wealth and honours from ancestors whose fame forms part of their history? Can a man view Alnwick, Arundel, or Warwick castles, for instance, without inquiring into the history of these magnificent edifices; and does not that history impress him with respect for the representatives of their former owners, as well as for the elevated station which enabled them to perform those deeds which thrill the listener with interest and wonder? Little analogy as there may appear to be between ancient castles or palaces and the aristocracy, government may rest assured that they insensibly decrease the veneration of the public for the second estate in the realm, when they destroy buildings which are identified with those events in English history whence the most ancient of our nobility derived their honours, or in which they were conspicuous. Far be it from us to deny, that the man who, by his talents and virtues, acquires a patent of nobility, is inferior to him whose ancestor gained it by the same means four hundred years ago; but we do assert, that the respect paid to the peerage is mainly to be attributed to the historical associations connected with the names we have mentioned; and that in proportion as objects which cannot fail to keep that respect alive are removed, the peerage itself is lessened in the public estimation.

British Museum.—We would suggest to the trustees of the British Museum, the propriety of placing in the Reading-room an interleaved copy of the catalogue of each collection of their MSS., for the insertion of notices of such as have been edited. A regulation might be formed, that, upon the publication of any entire MS. or portion of one, the editor should furnish the Keeper of the Manuscripts with a reference to such printed copy. Similar mention ought to be made of complete transcripts taken at any time from a volume, although not for the immediate purpose of publication, in case of injury happening to the original.

Is it to indulge a personal pique, at the expense of the public, that a printed Catalogue of one department of MSS. is not placed among the other Catalogues in the Reading-Room?

The most important purpose of the Library is, that it may contain voluminous works, and more particularly books of reference, which are not readily to be found elsewhere. Among these may be classed the "London Gazettes." The set in the Museum is not only very imperfect, but many of the volumes for the last ten years are *bound up without the Indexes*, and neither these Gazettes nor any other periodical publication is, we are told, placed in the Library for two years after its appearance. Now, is it too much trouble for one among the host of librarians, sub-librarians, deputy sub-librarians, and assistants of that establishment to see that so valuable an official publication as the "London Gazettes" is bound up *properly*, and that it be regularly supplied?

In one of the most valuable, but least known, Collections in the Museum are about ten thousand charters, which were indexed by Ayscough. Why is not that Index printed?

THE WARRENS OF POYNTON.—The principal object of "The History of the House of Warren," a work in which it is manifest that great attention was given to the subject by its learned author, was to prove that a race of gentry of the name of Warren, who had resided, from the reign of Edward III., at Poynton, near Stockport, in Cheshire, were in legitimate descent from the ancient Earls of Warren; and that, being so descended, the head of that family had a right to the earldom of Warren.

The second position was a palpable non sequitur. For if it could have been proved, to the satisfaction of a Lords' Committee, that Sir George Warren did descend in the line contended for by Mr. Watson, it would by no means have followed that he was entitled to the rank and privileges of Earl of Warren, which had once passed to the issue of a female heiress; and, on the same principle, would have gone, on the death of John, the last Earl of Warren, if any where, to the issue of his sister, the Countess of Arundel.

In his first position he appears to be equally in error. He has shown, indeed, that Vincent[1] and Dugdale[2] are both wrong when they deduce the Warrens of Poynton from John de Warren, an illegitimate son of the last Earl. He has also produced very probable reasons why the Warrens of Poynton did not descend, as others have conjectured, from a John de Warren, said to be son of John, the seventh Earl, who died in 1304, by a second wife, a daughter of Mowbray. But it does not follow that, having cleared away these two hypotheses, the third which he adopts becomes established as indisputably true. We are persuaded, indeed, that that hypothesis is equally without the support of evidence, and in opposition to very pertinent probabilities with the two which Mr. Watson has ably disposed of.

It is admitted that the Poynton family descend from a Sir Edward Warren, who was living in the reign of Edward III. This is a point about which there is no dispute. The question is, how Sir Edward was connected with the Earls? Mr. Watson deduces his descent from Reginald, a second son of William, the second Earl (and consequently grandson to Gundred, the daughter of the Conqueror), who is said to have had, by Adeliza, a daughter of Roger de Mowbray, William, his only son and heir; who, by Isabel, a daughter of Sir William de Haydon, had Sir John Warren; who, by Alice, daughter of Roger de Townsend, had another Sir John, father to Sir Edward, by Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Port.

Now, we have no attempt to *prove* the existence of the two Sir Johns: no inquisitions (for the latter of these, at least, must have lived within the period through which we are so rich in that species of evidence): no reference to any thing which has the semblance of authority for the marriage with Townsend and Port. The whole is

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1 "Discovery," p. 525. 2 "Baronage," I. 82.

taken from an unsupported pedigree, which purports to have been prepared by Flower and Glover, but which would seem to betray some inferior hand, when it gravely states that Hugh Capet was the son of Osmund de Comitis Villâ, by Warina, sister to Herfastus, did we not know that the truly respectable name of Glover is subscribed to other northern pedigrees in which there are errors as palpable. We think, therefore, that till there is something to prove the existence at least of these two Sir Johns and their wives, it were too much to call upon his majesty to allow a dignity to their supposed personal representative, which would have had the effect of placing him above all the earls of the realm. We think, moreover, that the true descent of Sir Edward Warren, and consequently the relation in which the Warrens of Poynton stand to the Earls of Warren, is shown in a very satisfactory manner in a volume relating to the topography of the south part of Yorkshire, which has been lately published. It was known to Dugdale that the last Earl of Warren, who died in 1347, left a will which was entered in the register of Zouch, Archbishop of York. Mr. Watson, when he was preparing his History of the House of Warren, inquired for this will; but, to his great mortification, found that Zouch's register, which contained it, was lost. He was therefore compelled to take his knowledge of it from the few notices of its contents to be found in Dugdale's Baronage. In the course of the researches made for the topographical work just referred to, the author discovered, not indeed the original register, but a very valuable abstract of it made by Dugdale's great friend and coadjutor, Dodsworth[1]; and in that abstract a much more ample notice of the contents of the earl's will than is to be found in the Baronage. He mentions in it several children, males and females, all of whom must have been illegitimate; and amongst them occurs the name of *Edward de Warren*, to whom he leaves 20*l*.

It is then for the first time shown, that the last Earl of Warren had a son who bore the name of Edward; and as the house of Poynton is known to descend from an Edward de Warren, who must have been contemporary with that Edward; as there was a strong current of tradition that it did descend from an illegitimate son of the last Earl of Warren; as the distinction in the arms of the Warrens of Poynton was a lion rampant ermine, which was the coat of Nereford, and the earl is well known to have had a mistress of the name of Maud de Nereford; as there is also an absence of all evidence for any other descent of Sir Edward Warren, the undoubted ancestor,—we confess we see not how the conclusion can be evaded that he is the Edward de Warren named in the will, a son, but not legitimate, of the eighth and last Earl.

The name of Warren was allowed to all the male issue of the Earl. This appears to have been on the same principle that the Cornwalls, Barons of Burford, and the Somersets, now Dukes of Beaufort, had their surnames. The one descended from an Earl of *Cornwall*, the other from an Earl of *Somerset*. So the Earl of Warren gave the

[1] Dodsworth's MSS. at the Bodleian, vol. xxviii. f. 134.

name of his earldom to his illegitimate sons. Another illegitimate son of the Earl of Warren not noticed by Watson, named Ravelyn, is mentioned in the Rolls of Parliament, 9 Edward III.[1]

"Of the Signification of the Armor of a Knight.—Unto a Knight, which is the most honourable office above all other, is given a sword, which is made like unto a crosse, for the redempc'on of mankinde, in signifying that like as o'r Lord God died uppon the crosse for the redempc'on of mankinde, even soe a knight ought to defend the crosse and to overcome and destroie the enemies of the same; and it hath twoe edges, in tokening that with the sword he ought to meyntayne knighthood and justice. Alsoe to him is given a spere, signifying truth, which is even as a speare; and truth ought to goe before falsehood: the iron of the speare betokeneth that truth hath much strength afore falsehood; which truth is susteyned by hope. The targett is put forth afore him and sheweth it to the people, which keepeth him from the stroke of the enemie; even soe it betokeneth that truth doth shewe himselfe to all men, and hath not power to doe any falsehood. The helmett is close, and a man having it on cannot looke on highe but towards the earth, which alsoe defendeth the cheife most highe and principall member of man's bodie, which betokeneth feare, without which principall he cannot be obeisant to the said order; whearby it maketh him ashamed to incline himselfe to any vilanous deeds, which be contrarie to the said most noble office. The bodie harnissed, which is close and suer to his bodie on all sides, betokeneth a castell or fortresse, which is well kepte and closse, that noe man enter into it, which unto the knight giveth noble corage; soe that by his default theare can enter into him neither treason, shame, unfaithfulness, or other kinde of vices, and alsoe keepeth his bodie that he be not suddenlie overcome. The legg harnisse is given a knight to keep him suer from perill, signifying that a knight with sword, speare, mace, and other necessaries of iron, which apperteyneth to a knight, ought not to shrinke, but keep his waie. The spurres be given him to put forth and prick his horse for the more expedic'on makeing, signifying dilligence and spede; for thearby he maye mayntayne the highe hono'r which he hath and maketh hast for his things to be done. The gorgett is given a knight to keep and defend him from strokes, which, without it, would soone pierce him, for it is writhen aboute his neck; which betokeneth obedience, which maketh him to fulfill the said order, and to doe his sovereign's will and commandemen^ts^; whearby treason, desceit, unfeithfulness, nor other kinde of vice, maye cause him to breake the oathe which he hath made, and contrariewise being disobedient he doth dishono^r^ his lord, and worketh not according to his oath and order. The marke, token, or armes, is given a knight to the end that he maye be discerned and the better knowne howe farre and which waye he goeth, signifying thearby his force and courage; which force of corage defendeth a knight from

[1] Vol. ii. p. 68.

all manner of vices, and inforceth him to vertues and good customes, by the which they maynteyne rightfullie the order of knighthood, according to the high honor which to them is due and app'teyneth. The shield is given him to put betwene the enemie and him to beare of the strokes, betokening that a knight's office is to be meane betweene the king and his people, for a p'fect unitie betwene them. The gantletts are given a knight to weare on his hands, to the end he maye defend the same, and maye be the more suer to receive the strokes if it chance any part of his armor to faile, signifying that beside noble corage, yet vertue ought to be in him, to the end that if his corage did pricke him to do any thing contrarie to the said order, yet vertue might staie him and resist the same. The saddell of his horse is to the end that he maye sit suer therein and stedfast when he rideth, soe that he cannot stirr or move unlesse he be willing; signifying thearby the steadfastnes and suertie of courage which ought to be in him; whearby it causeth him to be in the front of the battaile, wch suertie aideth him in adventuring for the love of knighthood. And the great charge and deed of knighthood is, that he ought not to remove or retorne from things lawfull. The horse is given to the said knight, whearby he is mounted and sett more higher than another man, and seen further of; signifying thearby the noblenes of courage, and the apt and redie apparrelling of him to that which apperteyneth to the order of knighthood more in him than any other man. The horse hath a bridle, which the knight holdeth in his hand by the raynes, whearby he maye holde and refrayne his horse at his will; signifying thearby that he ought likewise to refreyne his will from evil, and to bend himselfe to goodnes."—*From a MS. in the College of Arms.*

PERQUIRENDA.

Rolls of Parliament.—We believe an Index to these valuable parliamentary and historical documents was commenced about the year 1767. When we consider their importance, and the rigidness with which evidence is exacted of the fact of a sitting under a writ of summons to Parliament in cases of claims to peerages, and which are to be founded upon the Records of Parliament, we can readily imagine of what infinite value this Index would be; and few persons will deny that it ought long since to have been published. That *accuracy* in a work of that nature is of essential importance is most clear; and consequently a series of years may have been required for the perfection of so laborious an undertaking, in order to prevent the possibility of a *second life* being devoted to the same object. Still, however, should it assume the most perfect form, time and money enough have been sacrificed. We cannot therefore be deemed impatient, if, after the lapse of a *half century*, we venture to inquire, whether it is likely to be completed before the moths and worms have destroyed those sheets which have been some years lying useless in the printer's warehouses? Many are the works, whose authors are long since numbered with the dead, that might have benefited by the references

which such an Index would have afforded; and the Public Libraries might as well have received the work in portions as many others which by the munificence of Parliament they possess.

STATE PAPER OFFICE.—Is the Commission for printing the most important Documents in the State-Paper Office, under the auspices of "Robert Lemon, Esq. F. S. A.," to whose high *literary* reputation we have before paid homage, likely to realize the hopes which have been excited during the life-time of the present generation? Or are the public to be for ever excluded from access to the important historical documents preserved in that office, because the distinguished *literary* Commission have fallen asleep over their labours?

PREROGATIVE OFFICE.—Why are not the Calendars to the Wills in Doctors' Commons printed? Is it because they would be of infinitely more practical utility than most of the works which the Record Commission has given to the public? In an office in the receipt of such ample revenues, why is there not a *duplicate* of these Calendars, and one, at least, arranged under the second letters?

CREATIONS OF HONOURS, CHANGES OF NAME, &c.

From the London Gazettes, from 23rd May, to the 22nd June, 1828.

June 3.—Whitehall, May 5.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto the Reverend Charles Tyssen Tyrell, clerk, sometime of Oriel College, Oxford, second son of Sir John Tyrell, of Boreham house, in the county of Essex, bart. his royal license and authority, that he, the said Charles Tyssen Tyrell, and his issue, may, in compliance with an express condition contained in the last will and testament of his late uncle, the Reverend John Jenner, late of Billericay, in the county of Essex, D.D., formerly of Jesus college, Cambridge, deceased, and in testimony of his grateful and affectionate respect for his memory, take and use the surname of Jenner, in addition to, and before his present surname of Tyrell; and that he and they may bear the arms of Jenner quarterly, in the second quarter, with his and their own family arms.

June 10.—Whitehall, June 9.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Anthony Van Dam Searle, of Guildford-street, in the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, gent., his royal license and authority, that he and his issue may, in compliance with a proviso contained in the last will and testament of his maternal great aunt, Catharine Mary Van Dam, late of Guildford-street aforesaid, spinster, deceased, take, and henceforth use, the surname of Van Dam only, and also bear the arms of Van Dam.

June 13.—Whitehall, June 11.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto John Fogg, of Bedburn-hall, in the county of Durham, Esq., his majesty's royal license and authority, that he may, to evince his respect for the memory of his maternal great uncle, John Walton Elliott, late of Bedburn-hall aforesaid, esq. deceased, henceforth assume and use the surname of Elliott, in addition to, and after his present surname of Fogg.

Whitehall, June 12.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Jacob Cole, of Kirby-moorside, in the county of York, gent., his royal license and authority, that he, the said Jacob Cole, and his issue, may (in compliance with a condition contained in the last will and testament of his kinsman, William Wells, late of Pickering, in the county of York, gent., deceased, and to manifest his grateful and

affectionate respect for the memory of the testator) take, and henceforth use the surname of Marshall, and bear the arms of Marshall, of Picking, or Pickering, only.

June 17.—St. James's, 16th June.—The Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, and the Right Honourable John Calcraft, were sworn of his majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and took their respective places at the Board accordingly.

June 27.—Whitehall, June 26.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Robert Anthony Purvis, of Newcastle upon Tyne, gent., and to Anne his wife, late Anne Atkinson, his royal license and authority, that they may, in compliance with a clause in the last will and testament of Ralph Atkinson, of Angerton, in the county of Northumberland, and of Newcastle upon Tyne, esq., deceased, take and use the surname of Atkinson only, instead of that of Purvis; and that the said Robert Anthony Purvis may take and use the arms of Atkinson; and that the arms of Atkinson may also be borne by the issue of their marriage.

July 1st.—St. James's Palace, June 28.—The King was this day pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Herbert Jenner, his majesty's advocate.

Whitehall, June 28th.—The King has been pleased to grant unto Sir Benjamin Hallowell, of Beddington-park, in the county of Surrey, and of Orpington, in the county of Kent, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Commander of the Royal Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, and a Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, his royal license and authority, that he and his issue may, in compliance with a clause contained in the last will and testament of Anne Paston Gee, late of Beddington-park and Orpington aforesaid, widow, deceased, take and use the surname of Carew, in addition to, and after that of Hallowell, and bear the arms of Carew, quarterly, with those of Hallowell.

July 8th.—Whitehall, July 5.—The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Horatio Francis Kingsford Martelli, student of Brazenose college, in the university of Oxford, his royal license and authority, that he and his issue may, in compliance with a proviso contained in the last will and testament of his maternal grandfather, Thomas Holloway, late of Chancery-lane, in the county of Middlesex, esq., deceased, take and use the surname of Holloway only, and bear the arms of Holloway.